

THE RAPE OF PALESTINE

by WILLIAM B. ZIFF

Opinions

"Having read 'The Rape of Palestine,' I stand amazed at the scholarship, the courage and the competence of William B. Ziff, its author. The book is full of political dynamite — in its documented indictment of the British camarilla which in betraying the Jewish nation is betraying the British nation as well; in its unsparing exposure of self-deluded Zionist leadership; in its passionate and convincing demonstration that anti-Semitism threatens to annihilate not only us Jews but everything connoted by 'Christian civilization.' It is a moving and powerful and vastly significant book, the kind of book, it seems to me, that makes history." — *Eugene Lyons*

"The Palestine problem is not a local issue. It has become one of major significance to the world at large. Mr. Ziff's great book is a splendid contribution to the clarification and ultimate solution of that problem. It is a perfectly amazing historical document. Its clarity and charm of style, its forthright logic and masterly presentation of facts make it one of the outstanding books of this generation." — *William Griffin, Editor and Publisher, New York Enquirer*

"At last there has come what has so long been needed, a clear, accurate, dependable account of the betrayal of the world's hope in Palestine." — *Charles Edward Russell*

"This book should be read by all those in responsible position in American public affairs who are interested in the foreign scene." — *H. Styles Bridges, U. S. Senator, New Hampshire*

"Every lover of humanity and everyone who hopes to preserve our present civilization against disaster should read these dynamic pages. This book is an eye-opener." — *William Green, President, A. F. of L.*

"I heartily recommend Wm. B. Ziff's book. This great book should be in the hands of all those interested in gaining a proper understanding of the vexing Palestine problems of today." — *Reverend Ralph Sockman, Former President, Greater New York Federation of Churches*

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William B. Ziff

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PALESTINE

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ZIFF
THE RAPE OF PALESTINE

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“ . . . I hope the Hon. Members will believe me when I say that I am not pro-Jew ; I am pro-English. I set a higher value on the reputation of England all over the world for justice than I do on anything else . . . but when I see this sort of thing going on, with the Government unable to put any argument an the other side, it makes me perhaps bitterer than even a Jew can be against the Government of Palestine today.”—*Address by Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P., to his peers in Commons, May 29, 1934.*

PREFACE

The parlous condition of the Jewish people over a large part of the known world, and particularly in such countries as Germany, Poland and Rumania, has called increasing attention to the workings of the Mandate for Palestine now administered by Great Britain under the authority of the League of Nations. The Mandate, when it was written, as well as the antecedent Balfour Declaration, clearly contemplated that the "home" to be established in Palestine was intended for *the whole Jewish people* who were to be established there by international sanction in the *future*. The intention was to provide a sane and reasonable solution to the age-old Jewish problem, and it anticipated those circumstances which have rendered so large a portion of the Jewish race homeless.

If this was indeed the purpose of the Mandate it has proved a miserable failure, since it has solved nothing and has only succeeded in adding a new and formidable problem to a world already sinking under the weight of problems. Many reasons are adduced for this failure. Much is made of the irreconcilable differences between Arabs and Jews, which the mandatory now claims render the Mandate unworkable.

The claim that an opposing promise was made to the Arabs will be examined in these pages, as will be the circumstances under which the Balfour Declaration and Mandate were issued. The assertion that the Declaration was extorted from an unwilling Britain by Jewish financiers during the War, can be obviously disposed of as a pure invention of the anti-Semitic mind. Another and more reasonable claim made to justify Britain's position in this matter is that she was totally ignorant of the real conditions in Palestine and the actual problems she was letting herself in for when she made her bargain with the Jews. Under ex-

amination this contention loses much of its plausibility. For a hundred years Zionism, as we shall see, had been almost as much an English movement as it was a purely Jewish one. As for local conditions in Palestine, it is undoubted that British officialdom knew more about Arab social and economic problems than the Jews aspiring to settle there. From the time the American scholar Robinson attempted to explore archaeological remains in the Holy Land in 1837, London has, through the Palestine Exploration Fund, concentrated on the study of every minute detail that related to Palestine. "Theirs," state De Haas and Wise, "were the surveys, the compilation of flora and fauna, theirs too the enumeration and localization of the Bedouin tribes ; theirs the studies in local conditions, the compilation of customs and excise, estimates of population, speculation as to the origins of peoples, observations on everything that relates to the area between the River of Egypt and the cedars of Lebanon." ¹ Reaching far back into the 1840's, Lord Palmerston had compiled for his Government thorough material on Palestine, considering the possibility of exercising a British protectorate over that region in the Jewish interests. Since that time the accumulation has been so vast that it is only fair to say that the British archives contain a better survey of Arab social, economic, agricultural and other problems than the Arabs have of themselves.

As for the Declaration itself, it may be assumed that Lord Balfour, its author, is an infallible witness to its intended purpose. He wrote : "The national and international status of the Jews to that of other races . . . would be promoted by giving them that which all other nations possess : a local habitation and a national home . . . [where] they would bear corporate responsibilities and enjoy corporate duties of a kind which, from the nature of the case, they can never possess as citizens of any non-Jewish state." ² It will be evident from the records that neither the Declaration nor the Mandate confers upon non-Jews any rights which would allow them to interfere with the growth and operation of the National Home. It is obvious that if these documents were to be interpreted so as to include National Home rights to non-Jews, both the National Home grant to the Jews and the

rights of non-Jews would be repealed by implication. The document would then repeal itself, which on the face of it would be a *reductio ad absurdum*.

As will also be seen from these pages, British trusteeship of the Holy Land was the result of Jewish demand itself, Wedgwood admitting rather shamefacedly in this respect that the Jews were "almost the only non-Anglo-Saxon people who seem to believe that on the whole England does try to behave decently towards other people."³

If the records are to be believed, the Mandatory for Palestine has followed a deliberate defaulting policy in respect to its obligations there, and has itself largely created the conditions which it now so thoroughly decries. A large share of its policies have been motivated entirely by British power politics in the Mediterranean, in which the Mandate was used for the purpose of surrounding British Imperial strategy in the Middle East with the aura of sanctity. A factor of even greater importance, however, is the gross anti-Semitism of a handful of civil servants in the bureaux of Whitehall and Westminster. It is to the phobia of these men against Jews that most of the troubles agitating the Holy Land can be traced. Its wantonness is not flaunted, it is true, like the excesses of the German Nazis or the Polish Endeks. It lies icily beneath the shining hardness of bureaucratic logic. It is overlaid with the softness of English colonial skill — but, as we shall discover, it is in no sense less intense, and fully as implacable, as the open anti-Semitism of the Nazis on the Continent.

This, briefly, will be found to be the underlying condition which hides beneath the maze of pretension by which London has consistently justified its bad faith to the Jews and to the world. It is this factor which has caused the declared policy of the Mandate to fail so ignominiously and which has allowed the Holy Land in these past years to be given over to hooligans and desperadoes who have murdered its citizens, burned its crops and houses and demoralized its commerce.

The records are voluminous. This book attempts only the barest factual description, as free as such an account may reason-

ably be from evaluations or interpretations which the facts do not bespeak in themselves.

For those who desire fuller information on the various aspects of this subject, a selected list of reference works will be found in the notes and bibliography. The attention of the reader should also be brought to the fact that except where otherwise indicated, italics are in every case my own.

W.B.Z.

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inside front and back covers.*

THE RAPE OF PALESTINE

BOOK ONE

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE OF THE BOOK

THE ANCIENT LAND OF ISRAEL

The Zionist fabric is not new. It is of a piece with the whole history and tradition of the Hebrew people. It is inextricably a part of that dynamic stream of consciousness which has swept the Hebrew past a long succession of centuries which, by all logic, should have suffocated him. Unconsciously, even the apostate Disraeli acknowledged the great compulsion of the Hebrew past in the life of the living Jew. Cut to the quick by fellow-members in Parliament who taunted him with being a Jew as he made his maiden speech, he cried in reply: "That is all very well — but when your ancestors were chasing each other around trees with stone axes, mine were writing the Talmud."

A short glimpse into the history of this remarkable people will shed a clear light on much of the present Jewish situation which must otherwise remain confused and inexplicable.

For countless generations the world has been content with the paradox which allowed it to affirm with Sir William Jones, that the Hebrew Scriptures "contained more sublimity, more exquisite beauty, and finer strains of poetry and eloquence than could be collected from all other books that were ever composed in any age or any idiom"; and in the same breath to believe that the Hebrews who wrote them were a tribe of wild, illiterate shepherds on a scale of development comparable to that of the modern Bedouin.

Recent archaeological research brings us to the more reasonable conclusion that the people who wrote the Bible were a race who lived in a high state of civilization, not inferior in many of its aspects to that of the present day.

Among the most interesting of these discoveries is the un-

doubted proof that Abraham actually lived. We have the word of Sir Leonard Woolley and other scholars, that "the fact of Abraham's existence was vouched for by written documents almost, if not quite, contemporary with him."¹ And Prof. J. Garrow Duncan remarks that in Genesis i-xi are whole passages which "describe actual history dating two thousand years before Abraham, and other passages which are translated from ancient cuneiform records as if the writer had the tablets before him." He describes at Ur, the Jewish patriarchs' birthplace, two-story houses with plastered rooms, together with sewers, pillars and courtyards. "Some of the cuneiform tablets were on the subject of mathematics," from plain sums in addition to methods of extracting cube roots, a knowledge, he avers, Abraham most certainly possessed.²

It is now clear that the Jews originated in Mesopotamia, a colonizing offshoot of that ancient Akkadian-Sumerian culture, in which, according to the consensus of modern scholarly opinion, civilization itself was cradled.

The Hebrews entered Palestine as an educated people. That writing was in common use among them even as early as the time of Moses, is shown by the findings at Lachish. Here Sir Charles Marston came upon letters written in ink describing contemporary history, the earliest known use of alphabetical writing.³

Recent excavations confirm completely descriptions in the texts of the Old Testament. At Tell Sbustujeh in Samaria were found exquisite decorations, delicately carved inlays, and various articles of metal craftsmanship, obviously those referred to in Kings 22:39, Amos 3:15 and Psalms 45:8. Here are the palaces of Ahab, and houses built with hewn stone, often of two or three stories, speaking evidence of the rich civilized life which produced them. Excavations elsewhere in Palestine tell exactly the same story. Apparently even the greatest attention was paid to matters of sanitation, and "the great water tunnels at Gezer and Jerusalem show that no amount of trouble was considered superfluous in order to provide uninterrupted access to water."⁴

In the light of these findings, the great prosperity of the Hebrew nation cannot be dismissed as so much oriental braggado-

cio. It must be accepted as a faithful account of historical fact.

The soil had been the basic source of Palestine's wealth and had been so during all the ages until the hand of a barbaric and improvident race fell heavy upon it and robbed it of its fertility. The Song of Solomon describes the luscious beauty of the well-kept and thickly populated country in the springtime; and we have to-day for reference the remarkable notes of an Egyptian named Sinuhe (about the twentieth century B.C.) who, compelled to reside for a while in the highlands of Palestine, relates tersely: "There were figs and grapes and more wine than water. Its honey was ample and its oil abundant, and all kinds of fruits hung from its trees. There were wheat and barley and all kinds of flocks, without number." ⁵ About 200 B.C. another articulate traveler, one Aristeas, raptly describes the country as an agricultural paradise. ⁶ Josephus himself never grew tired of praising the fertility of his native land. The Galilee uplands he describes as being so closely cultivated as to resemble "a large garden." Tacitus echoes much of this unbounded adulation; while Polybius declared that the district between Beth Shan and the Lake of Galilee alone could support an army.

Biblical testimony itself was unstinting in its lush description of the region as being a land flowing with milk and honey. Deuteronomy describes it as a beautiful country with "brooks of water and fountains and lakes that spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat, barley and vines, and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive oil and honey, a land where one can eat without scarceness, where there is no lack of anything. . ."

The Jew had been a skilled agriculturist. He knew how to prepare the soil, manure it and clear it of stones and debris. He was accustomed to terrace the hills and knew how to practice irrigation by means of cisterns, wells and canals. The ploughshare itself was made out of iron. ⁷ The ground had to be turned over at least three times, and the plough followed by the harrow. ⁸ So highly was agriculture esteemed that even Saul, although he was already anointed king, is seen returning from his day at the plough. ⁹

In the hands of this provident people who loved their soil, this

whole territory was an eden of rich meadows, numberless fruit trees, vineyards, palms and closely cultivated farms and gardens. Grain crops and vegetables of all kinds grew in profusion both in the valleys and on the hills. The land was so rich in fruits of every kind that they were exported to world markets, where they were famous for their superior quality. All through ancient times the Jordan Valley was noted for its corn, dates, balsam, flax and other products. Here in the last century Tristram came upon elaborate ruins of sugar mills still surviving.¹⁰ Pliny called Judea as famous for dates as Egypt for spices. Galilee was known throughout the ancient world for its olive oil. Its importance alone is shown by the amount supplied annually to the King of Tyre by Solomon: 160,000 gallons of best quality.¹¹ Across Jordan the sleek, fat kine of Bashan were proverbial. And Gilead bore perfume and medicine for the whole Eastern world. Hence the proverb, "Is there no balm in Gilead?"

Up to the Fifth Century A.D. the bare hills of Moab were covered with waving corn and closely settled vineyards. Some remnants of the immense forests which once stretched from Kfar Saba and east into Bethlehem still existed as late as 1840, when they too capitulated to the general war of extermination waged by the wandering native population against the woods and soil of this favored country. Writers, even down to the Crusades, described great woods like those of Sharon. As late as Nehemiah's time there was a forester in the Royal Service to control the timber supply around Jerusalem,¹² and from the hieroglyphic papyrus Golénisheff (about 1150 B.C.) we learn that the Egyptians had been importing timber from the Carmel region for generations.¹³

In this eden of prosperous husbandry it is no surprise to see industry and manufacture keeping pace to create a well-rounded base for the wealth of this fortunate nation. Allied with the farmers were innumerable shepherds, cowherds and cattlemen. Dairying was of sufficient importance to make a cheese market necessary in Jerusalem. On the other side of Jordan the Jews dealt in wool, and everywhere raised poultry from the earliest times.

They were equally alert and practiced in handicrafts which

were considered a family pride and tradition. At the time of Jesus, Jewish literature mentions no less than forty kinds of craftsmen. Hillel was a woodcutter ; R. Yeshoshua ben Hananya a smith ; Jesus of Nazareth a carpenter and maker of cattle yokes, and Saul of Tarsus a weaver of tent cloths. An interesting picture of various crafts is given in the Wisdom of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus), a book belonging to about 200 B.C. Here the ploughman, the grazier, the carpenter, the engraver, the smith, the potter and the physician are all spoken of.

Excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim (the Biblical Debir) showed that the industrial life of Israel onward to the end of the Exile was well developed. "The evidence of weaving and dyeing, of the pottery industry, and especially engineering, is now greatly strengthened. The evidence of the weaving industry is overwhelming." ¹⁴ At Debir, Dr. Albright discovered six dye plants and remnants "showing that there must have been a loom in nearly every house." ¹⁵

At the south end of Lake Tiberias was one of the first purely manufacturing towns in economic history. Beautiful dyed cloths and dyes were exported as well as phosphorus, asphalt, tar, salt, glass ornaments and perfumes. Pliny tells us that 'Judean pitch' was world famous. Iron mines were found in the Lebanon and near Jerash. Josephus mentions the 'hill of iron' which "extended as far as the land of Moab." Dr. Glueck found in 1934 abandoned workings of rich copper fields in the region north of the Gulf of Aqaba and remarks : "When the Biblical historian asserts 'there was no weighing of the bronze from which he [Solomon] made all these vessels, because it was so much,' one may believe that he was not exaggerating the facts." ¹⁶

In those days the present industrial relations between East and West were reversed. The Orient was then the great industrial center and exchanged its manufactured products against the raw materials of the less developed Western countries.

Solomon was canny enough to exploit the unique geographical position of his country. He was the originator of the policy of customs and levied on both imports and exports to keep his treasury full.¹⁷ The commerce of the Hebrew State extended in all

directions, as far east as China, and as far west as Natal and Zululand where coins dating from the time of the Maccabees have been recently discovered.¹⁸

On the sea, Rawlinson observes that while the friendly dealings of Hiram with David and Solomon are well known, "the continued alliance between the Phoenicians and the Israelites has attracted less attention."¹⁹ This continued composition of interests between the two neighboring Semitic nations is mentioned by Herodotus and other ancients and is confirmed by modern authorities.²⁰ Says Klausner: "Jewish sailors were just as numerous as Jewish donkey-drivers."²¹

Fishermen too were numerous and the catch so plentiful that much of it was salted and sold abroad. Trade both by sea and over the camel routes thrived. Aristeeas declares fulsomely that "a great mass of spices, precious stones and gold is brought into the district. . . For the country is well adapted for commerce as well as for cultivation, and the city [Jerusalem] is rich in the arts, and lacks none of the merchandise which is brought across the sea."

This was the country which Jehovah had promised to his people Israel "for an everlasting possession"; a veritable beehive of plenty and happiness, tribute to what will happen when a favored land and a gifted people meet in conjunction. The Assyrian Sennacherib leaves a record of its populousness: "I took forty-six of his strong walled cities as well as the small cities in their neighborhood, which were without number."²² Josephus remarks that "the cities lie here very thick and the very many villages that are here, are everywhere so full of people . . . that the very least of them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants."²³

Population estimates vary, curtailed by the dust of antiquity, but in every case they were so considerable as to cause the modern observer to gasp. In an age where opportunities for sustaining concentrated industrial populations were largely non-existent, the land certainly maintained a per capita density incomparably larger than that which allegedly overcrowds it today.

Diodorus, Strabo, Tacitus, and Dio Cassius all agree that "the

population to the square mile was larger in Palestine than in any other portion of the Roman dominion." ²⁴

In Exod. 12:37 we are told that there were "about 600,000 on foot that were men, besides women and children" plus "a mixed multitude" that went up from Egypt. Chron. 21:5 asserts that when David numbered the people, including the soldiery, or those who were called into the actual service of the King in due course, month by month throughout the year, "all they of Israel were 1,100,000 that drew sword; and of Judah, 475,000," exclusive of Levi and Benjamin. Josephus estimates the number shut up in Jerusalem during the siege by Titus at 2,700,000. ²⁵ From the figures he gives, Galilee alone must have held fully 3,000,000 people, while the whole of Palestine could be conservatively estimated at at least 12,000,000.

Certainly if one may judge from Roman accounts of the wars with Judea, where figures running into the millions were given for the slain, and the numbers sold into captivity ran into legions, these figures are not incredible.

CHARACTER OF THE HEBREW

If the Jews are to return to become a collective force in the world of men, they will beyond doubt resuscitate their ancient law. Prof. A. A. Berle points out that "that law, only vaguely understood, and of only very limited application in world history, will have then a full exposition and a thorough working out in terms of modern life." ²⁶ An increasing army of educators, disgusted with the tyrannical and unpleasant philosophies which are blasting civilization to its foundations, see in the Hebrew laws the elements for a social regeneration of this sick world. "Certainly," says Berle, "many of the laws relating to the ordinary life and relations of mankind, as laid down in ancient Mosaic law, if applied to a modern city block, would regenerate it root and branch."

Most of what passes for a history of the Hebrew people has been filtered through hostile Greek and Roman sources and

through the hardly less hostile bias of medieval Christianity. The significance of Hebrew genius in relation to its peculiar understanding of cultural values is hence not generally understood. Dr. Marion E. Cady says of this situation that "now it is being fearlessly asserted that as in religion, so in education, the Jews have made the greatest contribution of any nation, ancient, medieval or modern."²⁷ Prof. E. C. Baldwin of Illinois University concludes that "modern culture, both artistic and ethical, goes back to Athens and to Jerusalem, but that English culture owes far more to the Hebrew than to the Greeks."²⁸ And Dr. F. T. Lamb asserts that "if our boys and girls were trained as Jesus was trained up to twelve years of age, they would be in every desirable respect greatly the superior of the boys and girls trained under the best methods of the present day."²⁹

The essential core of the Hebrew idea was the superiority of reason. That system of life which is commonly called Judaism, was in the most real sense no religion at all. It was never formal, abstract and separated from life, but a throbbing and vital part of it. It was completely unlike pure theological systems such as that evolved by the Greeks — which, attempting to reconcile themselves with the world in its broadest sense, found religious inheritance irreconcilable with rational thinking. It is necessary to understand Judaism in this sense, as a civilization rather than a religion, in order to grasp adequately the dynamics and vitality which have kept Zionism consciously alive over this great lapse of years. Judaism was concerned deliberately with the quality of living on this earth, with the bringing of every phase of existence into relation with eternal truth. "It is worth remarking," comment Graham and May, "that no matter to what heights of social vision and spiritual exaltation the Hebrew seer might climb, he never lost that urge toward physical well-being which had impelled his remote ancestors to venture into the Promised Land. In the same breath in which he speaks of multitudes streaming to Zion to commune with God, he mentions the vine and the fig tree which every citizen may call his own."³⁰

"The drift of all Hebrew thinking," says MacDonald, "as thinking, was to link up morals and intelligence."³¹ Judaism

significantly regarded stupidity as the source of evil in individual man. A sinner was a blunderer and not a rational person, and the ultimate morality was not to be a fool. Worshipping Reason, the Hebrew could not credit anything which was either irrational or static. To his mind, nothing existed rigid and unalterable in a state of 'being,' but only of 'becoming.'

The great Rabbi Hillel, who preceded Jesus by a generation, typified this remarkable viewpoint. Asked by a heathen who wished to make sport of him, to be taught the whole Torah ³² while standing on one foot, the gentle Hillel replied: "What is hateful to thee do not to others. This is the whole Torah. The rest is merely commentary."

While the Hebrew concept regarded all life forces as constituting one unity not capable of being subdivided on varying moral bases to suit varying emergencies and occasions, it was irrevocably anchored in an implicit belief in the sacredness of the individual personality. At a time when Romans compelled gladiators to slaughter each other for sport in the arenas, when material appetites and gross oppressions were the elements of universal law, this free people was living in accordance with a code which for sheer gallantry of expression has had no equal before — nor perhaps since. A spirit of mercy and humanity pervaded the Hebrew legal system. In Jewish law there was never such a thing as legal justification for inequality. No man could vindicate an act of injustice by an appeal to law. Complete equality before the bar of justice was the right of all from humble herdsman to king. The Deuteronomic Code declares no single witness sufficient to convict a man of wrongdoing. Malicious witnesses were severely dealt with. "A straying animal must be taken up and returned to its owner, and if a beast has fallen under a burden the passerby must aid the owner in raising it to its feet again." ³³ This applied also to lost articles and provided that if the owner were unknown the finder must care for them until the owner appears. ³⁴

Israel had a real love for animals. The law required a man to hasten to the aid of any beast, even if it belonged to an enemy, that was sinking under its load; ³⁵ a sense of justice that

even extended to the threshing floor where the law provided that "thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the grain."³⁶ Love of the resident alien is explicitly demanded in Deut. 19:33 ; Deut. 10:19 and Exod. 22:21 ; 23:9. The duty of treating strangers, together with orphans and widows, with justice, mercy and generosity is emphasized, decreeing that the gleanings of grain fields, orchards and vineyards must be left free for them to gather and enjoy.³⁷ The taking of interest on loans to the poor is forbidden.³⁸ Runaway slaves must be received and treated kindly and are not to be surrendered to their owners or oppressed.³⁹

More amazing still, in an ancient world of cruelty and ruthlessness, are the injunctions of Deut. 24:16, where the principle of individual responsibility is laid down, so that a relative may not be punished for the misdeeds of a son — in striking contrast with practices in operation even today in such allegedly civilized states as Russia and Germany. Reverence for the aged is strictly enjoined, as is the use of just weights and measures. The animism still practiced throughout Europe and in parts of America, is declared strictly illegal. Prohibited also are practices of magic, spiritism, and pagan rites of communion with departed spirits.⁴⁰

Uncleanliness is completely discountenanced. In his splendid book, *Medicine in the Bible*, Dr. Charles Brim details the amazing medical knowledge and sanitary understanding of the ancient Israelites. Says Dr. Victor Robinson in this regard: "There are passages in the Pentateuch which deserve a place in the Corpus Hippocraticum."⁴¹ And Col. Edgar Erskine Hume avers that every principle of modern military sanitation was known and used by Moses.

Hebrew law also emphasized good breeding, as: "Let another man praise thee and not thine own mouth,"⁴² or: "When thou sittest among many, reach not thine hand out first of all."⁴³

Education was widely diffused. The sons of rich families had their tutors, while parents in more modest circumstances taught their own children. Those who could afford it wore handsome clothing of various colors and often the outer garment was embroidered with gold. Everywhere and at all times song and music were to be found. The harp or organ was one of the many

instruments known. We hear of pipes, psalteries, cymbals and trumpets, all of which required skill in playing and therefore implied instruction.⁴⁴ Music seems to have been the joyous climax of all occasions of public or private life. The international repute which Jewish singers had achieved is indicated from the inscription on an Assyrian monument where the chief item of tribute laid on Hezekiah by an Assyrian ruler was the demand for a company of men and women singers.

Labor was highly esteemed. The Talmud directed every father, regardless of his social position, to teach his son some useful trade.⁴⁵ "The tradesman at his work," it declares, "is the equal of the most learned doctor"; and avers that "he who derives his livelihood from the labor of his hands is as great as he who fears God." The most prominent authors of the Talmud were in fact simple workingmen, shoemakers, ironworkers, laborers; proud men who knew no masters and brooked no slaves.

We can also conclude that among the Jews, women enjoyed a free and independent social position. Two of the twenty-four books of the Bible received their titles from the names of women, Ruth and Esther. There were seven prophetesses spoken of in the Talmud. Among them Deborah judged the people and went out with Barak to fight against Sisera. During the reign of Josiah, Huldah was so highly thought of as to be consulted by the chief officers of the kingdom. The king himself bowed down to his mother, as Solomon did to Bathsheba. Wherever in Precepts, Psalms or Proverbs filial devotion is mentioned, father and mother are made equal, as is done in the Fifth Commandment.

Hebrews were never ruled like slaves of an Eastern despot. They were called into council by their kings and contended boldly for their rights. Decrees affecting the whole community were ratified by the general voice of the people, freely assembled. This free people, for all their gentle philosophy of life, were always animated by the spirit of liberty and inspired by the cry 'To your tents, O Israel!' They knew how to resist oppression. They were not overawed by the cruelties of Antiochus or Herod; nor, alone among the peoples of the earth, cowed by the might of Imperial Rome.

Specific legislation defined and restricted the powers of the crown, in itself eloquent testimony to the democratic spirit prevailing in Israel throughout the whole history of the monarchy.⁴⁶ We search antiquity in vain for an example of free government comparable to that provided by Israel. In all the other States of the ancient world, the life, honor and property of the subject were at the disposal of the sovereign ; but to the Jewish mind, absolute power in a ruler was incomprehensible. The power and authority of the king were directly circumscribed by law. The highest executive, political and judicial powers of the State were vested in a council of seventy Elders (*Zekenim*) and a smaller chamber composed of twelve Princes (*Nesiim*), who together constituted the Congregation or Parliament of the nation. As we learn from Kings 21:23-24 and 23:30, it had the authority to make and unmake kings and on occasion actually did so. Remarks Sulzberger : "While the modern monotheistic conception of the universe is largely the product of their [the Jewish] genius, so the modern conception of the rational, democratic, representative government owes its origin to the same ancestry." And adds the famed Master of Balliol, Edward Caird : "It is not without significance that the great struggle for political freedom in this country [England] was led by men who drew much of their inspiration from the Old Testament. . ." ^{46a}

The bulk and mainstay of the nation were middleclass farmers and villagers, each one of whom felt himself equal to Caesar. Tacitus remarks on their health and the fact that they are "capable of enduring great fatigue." Josephus describes them as a war-like people, greatly desired as mercenary soldiers and disliked for their arrogance and pride of race.

The idyll of Jewish speculation was no Valhalla, but a time of grace when swords would be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks.⁴⁷ They were the first people in history who regarded their fate not from the standpoint of physical supremacy but from that of moral harmony; yet there was no people in history who possessed the haughty pride in race and the passionate love of country which continually distinguished

them. This passion of the Jewish people for Palestine is coeval with the Race and is disclosed in every turn in their history — a sentiment as enduring as the Jew. "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" begins the Psalms. The Hebrews, a poetical people, addressed their country with all the ardor of one referring to a loved one: "Land of beauty!" "The princess among the nations!" "The joy of the whole earth!"

Coexistent with this infatuation for the country was an unbending love of liberty, so reckless and intense as to amount almost to an obsession. The Jewish greeting was *Shalom* (peace), but all who encountered him were shortly to discover that it did not mean peace at any price.

STRUGGLES FOR INDEPENDENCE

Situated in the very pathway of invading world conquerors we find this brave people again and again refusing to pay tribute or accept oppression. Typical in sheer pathos is the bitter rebellion of the little country, under King Jehoiachim, against the world power of Babylon during the reign of the omnipotent Nebuchadnezzar; and nine years later, under King Zedekiah, the doughty refusal to pay tribute. Enraged at the unaccountable nature of this long and obstinate defense against his advancing hordes, the lordly Chaldean determined that the city of Jerusalem should be no more inhabited. He ordered it leveled to the ground. An indiscriminate massacre took place and those who survived were carried off into captivity. The entire country laid in ruins and all that would burn was put to the torch. The prophet Jeremiah, witness to the destruction, wept: "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people; . . . What thing shall I liken to thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? . . . Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens." ⁴⁸

Nebuchadnezzar thought he had put a final end to this rebellious and irreconcilable people; but not more than fifty years later he who by his own claim sat at the right hand of God, became with all his works only a memory and the Jews returned

to Palestine. The mighty one had fallen in 539 B.C. to the Persian Cyrus, who was happy to have a nation settled in this seaboard province bound to him by the thongs of gratitude.

Typical again of the magnificent character of this race were their later wars under Judas, son of Mattathias, who was surnamed Maccabeus. A new conqueror had risen in the shape of Antiochus, the Syrian Greek. Now was to begin the first of those world struggles in which the force of idea was advanced as taking precedence over that of inherent personality. This war was fought to stem the sweeping onrush of Hellenism by which the known world seemed about to be engulfed.

With a small group of his determined followers Judas refused to yield. Attacking giant armies again and again with his little band of guerrilla fighters, he won a succession of victories. The Syrian in a towering rage at this lilliputian effrontery, declared his intention of utterly exterminating every individual of the Jewish people. He invaded with the enormous armies so characteristic of despots of the period.

Able to muster but a handful of ill-equipped men, Judas was counseled to retreat. He replied with characteristic recklessness: "If our time has come to die, let us die; but let it never be said of us that we turned our back on an enemy." With only eight hundred men he attacked the invading legions near Adorsa. Here, fighting grimly to the last, the stern company gave up their lives. But the miracle had happened: the invader, nonplussed by the unexpected nature of this furious resistance, was stopped dead in his tracks. Jonathan, brother of Judas, took up the struggle. The Syrian levies, dismayed and beginning to believe they were fighting devils instead of men, gave the matter over as a bad business and went into retreat.⁴⁹ Once more Jews saluted each other with the old greeting of *Shalom* and began to build where they had left off.

FINAL REBELLIONS

It was inevitable that the lengthening shadow of Rome should fall on this little land which, for all its smallness, was yet the

crossroads of the world and necessary for anyone who would hold a firm grip on the rich hinterland of Asia and Africa. The times were turbulent. The Maccabean princes themselves were in civil war, Hyrcanus warring against his brother, Aristobulus II. Finally the two brothers entreated the assistance of Pompey, then commander-in-chief of the Roman troops in the East, and elected him arbiter of their mutual differences. The consequences of this step were fatal to the Jews. Pompey with true Roman forthrightness, finding the place pleasant, decided to remain. He therefore invested Jerusalem on his own account. The Jews, trapped by their own folly, put up their usual stiff resistance and the usual slaughter ensued. "The constancy and unshaken firmness" of the defenders, says an account of the siege, "excited the astonishment and admiration of the conquerors" who, however, with fine circumspection, were not so abashed as to omit reducing the country to the status of a Roman province and exacting a crushing tribute. This was about 63 B.C., after the Jews had enjoyed scarcely a hundred years of freedom.

Under Herod, who was soon to sit on the Jewish throne as a Roman puppet, a conscious policy was adopted aimed at denationalizing this dynamic people. In despair the frantic nation writhed and spat in every direction like a caught wildcat. Continuous sullen insurrection made the air electric. A large number of Jews turned in sheer weariness from what was evidently a hopeless struggle, to a desire for a world religion where peace and justice would reign once more. The new prophet, Joshua of Nazareth whom the Greeks called Jesus, arose to interpret this new direction of Jewish hope. He preached to a rebellious, crushed and unhappy people, his own nation, a class whose stake in the world had been gradually destroyed. Reason had spoken against the futility of attempting to maintain a Culture and State independent of the redemption of unhappy mankind the world over. They turned to this great new prophet, confidently considering the national devotion of the rest of Jewry as so much outworn, reactionary adherence to a social order clearly failing and soon to be outmoded in the coming brotherhood of man. The Jews of the Dispersion carried the new faith with them and

"formed the bridge across which Christianity entered the Roman world." ⁵⁰ It was from the synagogues of the far shores of the Mediterranean that its gospel of world brotherhood was fervently proclaimed, so that for generations there was so little difference between Jew and Christian that both factions attended the same synagogues together. Had anyone told the followers of this new idyllic creed that in its name their brother Jews would one day be flayed alive and boiled in oil, he would have been considered a lunatic.

In Judea itself things went from bad to worse. One Roman governor outdid the other in cruelty and rapacity. The whole Hebraic conception of life crumbled under an onslaught of graft, lust, sabotage and provocation. The old courtly idea of Jewish ethics became a liability; dishonesty and venality were soon recognizable as the only guides to a comfortable existence, and began to corrupt the character of the people themselves. The country was overrun with robbers, and justice was sold to the highest bidder. Great numbers of the wretched Jews, unable to stand this intolerable situation any longer, emigrated.

These were the conditions that preceded the disastrous war which desolated Jewry and dispersed the Jews. Goaded to wild desperation they rose once more in insurrection, a rebellion the most desperate of any recorded in history.

Ironically enough, Agrippa II, descendant of the Maccabean kings, thoroughly Latinized, joined with the Romans. Attempting to show the rebels the folly of opposing the conquerors of the world, he urged them to lay down their arms and submit. The reply was open defiance.

Retaliating, the Romans massacred almost a hundred thousand Jews. The hills around Jerusalem were turned into a forest of crosses on which despairing patriots paid in last full agony for their devotion.

The rebels however were made of stuff that was not to be cowed by these punitive measures. They attacked with such indomitable fury that they soon held a large section of the country.

Enraged by this unheard-of insolence, Cestius Gallus invaded from Syria with an immense army, burning all the towns and vil-

lages on his way and slaughtering the inhabitants. Investing Jerusalem, he was to his own astonishment defeated and put to flight.⁵¹

The Emperor Nero, puzzled by this extraordinary occurrence, wisely decided to take no chances. He appointed the great General Vespasian to prosecute the war, who again laid siege to the capital.

Meanwhile the Jews were wasting their strength and resources in internal quarrels. Within the city sanguinary civil wars and sub-civil wars rent to shreds the defenders, who displayed a common front only when the invaders were visible beneath the walls. When the Romans had been driven back, these fratricidal contests were at once resumed.

The attack was now in the hands of Titus, Vespasian's son. Grown weary of this interminable investure, he attempted to parley with the insurgents, who contemptuously refused any terms whatsoever save unconditional freedom. Finally, as a result of the continuing internal struggles of the defenders themselves, the city fell. Josephus graphically pictures the indescribable events that followed: "One would have thought that the hill itself on which the Temple stood was seething hot, full of fire in every part, yet there was more blood than fire, and those that were slain were more in number than those who slew them. Nowhere was the ground visible, so covered was it with the dead . . . but Simon and John were still living, and a few brave men were with them, who took up a position in the Upper City, on the Hill of Zion, and still held out. For the last time Titus . . . again offered terms to the insurgents." They declined them, and eighteen days later the Holy City of the Jews was at last subdued. Refusing all mercy, the defenders had fought for every house on every street. It is said that 1,100,000 Jews were slaughtered. And Josephus assures us that there was no place in the land which did not suffer the same calamities as the Capital. "The Romans pursued, took, and slew them everywhere."⁵² They were without question the most formidable opponents that Rome had ever encountered, and Roman hatred for these bitter rebels extended even to foreign parts. Great massacres took place in Egypt and

Cyrene. Tremendous numbers were taken away as captives, to fight as gladiators in the public theater or to be devoured by wild beasts.

Living symbol of the indomitable Semitic spirit, three fortresses still held out to the end. The last to be taken, Masada, under the command of the lion-hearted Eleazor, maintained itself for long months as an island of resistance after the sea around it had been beaten into submission. Rather than surrender, the defenders slew each other, the last survivor defiantly setting fire to the castle before executing himself. So they fell, writes Tacitus, "with swords in their hands, contending for liberty, and, in the act, preserving it. . ." ⁵³

It had taken Titus more than seven years to subdue a tiny corner of the earth whose inhabitants had not much more to offer in arms and battlements than their simple valor. Returning to Rome, the weary conqueror caused an arch to be erected to commemorate the event, a recognition only given to honor a victory over great and formidable enemies.

Large numbers of Jews who had escaped the destruction sought asylum in various parts of the world. The dispersion had begun in earnest.

THE DISPERSION

Even these catastrophic losses did not serve to break the Jewish spirit. Scarcely a generation had passed when the same old revolt broke out again, more tempestuous than ever (A.D. 116). This time the dispersed Jews suddenly rose in blazing fury to aid their brothers who had been struggling in Judea. "Myriads," says Eusebius, "had already been killed in the past seventeen years." There is plenty of evidence that the Jews did equal damage to their enemies.

Simultaneously the scattered men of Israel rose in mad rebellion in the provinces of Egypt, Lybia, and Cyprus, determined to recover their patrimony. They were led by one of the most stirring figures in all the records of man, a new Hannibal come to plague the Roman, named Bar Kochba. Eusebius declares in righteous indignation that entire districts were terrorized by

their armies ; they "laid waste the land." Whole provinces were devastated in this amazing struggle of one small gallant nation against the mightiest empire of the world. Bar Kochba had succeeded in accomplishing the impossible : he drove out the Roman, holding the entire Empire at bay, and set up a Jewish State. The quality of the man may be judged from the prayer he is said to have addressed to the Lord Jehovah asking that no assistance be given to the enemy. "As for ourselves," he finished piously, "we ask no help — we will take care of ourselves."

The Emperor Hadrian was appalled. In desperation he set aside all other tasks of state, concentrating his energies on the business of wiping out Judea, which had now become a menace to the very life of the Empire.⁵⁴

For almost four years the contest continued. When finally resistance ceased, Judea resembled a wilderness. All men capable of bearing arms had fallen, together with their auxiliaries from the Diaspora ; and "the unburied bodies of the hundreds of thousands of the dead poisoned the air." At the fall of Bethel alone half a million Jews are said to have lost their lives.

Such vast numbers were sold into slavery that in Rome a Jewish slave was cheaper than a horse. Determined to put an end to this refractory race, Hadrian devastated Judea and swept it clear of Jews. He rebuilt Jerusalem under the name of *Aelia Capitolina* and issued an edict forbidding any Jew to set foot in it on pain of death. Such Jews as survived withdrew into Galilee.

It is interesting to note that to the Roman, Christianity was still merely a schismatic Jewish sect. Even at that late date he regarded Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre as spots especially venerated by the Jews. And in his anxiety to stamp out what he considered to be Jewish rites, Hadrian built a Temple to Venus on Golgotha or Calvary ; and in the Grotto at Bethlehem where Jesus was born, the worship of Adonis was established.

Even after the ferocious revenge taken by Rome for their last uprising, the will of the Jews for a free Zion remained unbroken. Utterly ruined and bitterly oppressed, they still had strength enough under the reign of Constantine to erupt again in open rebellion in the Fourth Century A.D. The Roman Emperor sent

a powerful army against them, which stamped out the uprising with indiscriminate slaughter. The survivors taken captive were sold as slaves. But if the Imperial Government thought it was through with this obstinate race whose will to national existence continued without a State, without territory and almost without human rights anywhere, it soon realized its miscalculation. The fierce determination of the Hebrew to recover what was his by main force, remained fiery and undeterred as before. When King Chosroes of Persia proclaimed war against the Western conquerors, the Jew, Benjamin of Egypt, created a Hebrew army of thirty thousand desperate men. Together with the Persians they conquered the larger part of Palestine and held it under Jewish administration for fourteen years.

This was the last straw. Along with the barbarians it had absorbed, Christianity had taken on much of the pagan hatred for Jews. The monks had long been urging the Emperor Heraclius to exterminate this obstinate people. This was their opportunity to drive their argument home. When the country reverted to Byzantium, the contentions of these men who alleged to speak in the name of a Jewish Prophet, bore fruit. In one fell swoop every right the Jews had to human existence were taken from them and they were hunted down like animals. Those who escaped fled to the arms of their brethren in Egypt and the Mediterranean world to hope anew. Palestine itself was now peopled almost exclusively by Roman soldiers, Greeks and the inmates of Christian monasteries. Thus the Jews defended to the last their right to the land whose every stone they adored, and entered the long trek of homelessness which was to be their destiny through the ages. If ever sheer love, devotion, courage and sacrifice spoke for a human right, it speaks in the wars of the Jews for the heritage given them by their Father Abraham. In all the world of fact or fiction there is no record like this. A man must indeed be pulseless who can survey it without admiration and awe.

CHAPTER II

"MAY MY RIGHT ARM WITHER. . ."

THE JEW NEVER GAVE UP HIS CLAIM TO PALESTINE

The whole history of the Jew, if it has any meaning at all, lies in a demand for political restoration. Despite the spirit in which Jewish history later began to be falsified, one may understand that what these unhappy exiles concentrated all their hopes and yearnings on was the dream of a reborn Jewish State. It dominated the writings of the rabbis ; it permeated prayer and poetry ; it was part and parcel of every expression of existence. "We cannot," they complained in prayer, "serve Thee according to Thy commandment." And mournfully the Talmud proclaims : "He who has not tasted the bread of Palestine does not know how bread tastes."

Their oath of fealty is famous wherever men gather who love character and devotion : "May my right arm wither ere I forget thee, O Jerusalem !" For a thousand years their toast and blessing rang in challenge : "Next year in Jerusalem !"

Jews were buried with a bag of Palestine soil under their pillows, that they might poetically have in death what had been so cruelly riven from them in life. In Jerusalem where some few stones of Solomon's Temple still survived the ravages of the vandal, the Jew poured out his sad, passionate heart.¹

No matter where the Jews lived, culturally and spiritually they moved in a Palestinian milieu. "It did not matter to them that Palestine was in the possession of Bedouin or Turk" — three times daily the petition went up that her crops might prosper — exactly as though the Jews still lived there in undisturbed possession. "After each meal the Jew gave thanks for the Land as though he were still living in it and enjoying its produce."² He was certain of again occupying it, and always remembered that he was in exile.

The scattered communities of the Jews, until modern enlightenment shattered them beyond recognition, were far more than

mere retreats of religious zealotry. They were rather an organized attempt to continue their national existence in every possible sphere and to remain as an individual force in history. All through the Dispersion, from the captivity in Babylon, wherever Jews migrated they sought each other out and formed themselves into self-governing communities as a matter of collective self-determination. Thus until the Emancipation the Jews were to all intents a territorial group. The fact that they were distributed in a number of pales or ghettos did not render a common territory less of a factor in their lives.

The entire structure of Jewish existence stemmed from the faith that the Temple would soon be rebuilt and the Jewish State restored. And they wished to be ready when this happy time arrived. Thus these pathetic exiles lived, like creatures stepped from drama, and forgot the dreary present in dreaming of an idyllic future which they believed near at hand.

One can readily understand the sweet Hebrew poet Halevy, singing a thousand years after the Exodus in identical strain with the troubadours who composed the psalms. All chivalrous hearts must weep for the constancy and the beauty with which he lifts his lyrical voice and cries : "To weep upon thy misery I am like a howling jackal ; but when I dream thy return and restoration I am the harp for thy joyous songs."

So also, in this unbroken continuity of belief and longing, the modern Hebrew poet Bialik, eye-witness to the pogroms of South Russia, was to pledge his faith in the destiny of his people ; singing in deathless words that unending claim which to the Jew is his title in this world :

"Thou wilt not totter, tent of Shem —
I shall rebuild thee.
Thou wilt yet outlive the palaces
As thou didst the days of the destruction
When the towers crumbled."

THE FIRST ESSENTIAL TO JEWISH TITLE

It is on this tenacious, unwavering concentration of hope, sacrifice and prayer that the first part of the Jewish claim to Palestine

is based and not alone, as Judeophobes would attempt to make out, on the mere existence of a Jewish State in remote antiquity.

Dr. Wm. E. Blackstone, quoting the foremost authorities on international law, pointed out in 1891 that since the Jews never gave up their title to Palestine, the general 'law of dereliction' could not hold in their case: "for they never abandoned the land. They made no treaty, they did not even surrender. They simply succumbed, after the most desperate conflict, to the overwhelming power of the Romans . . . and were captured or enslaved. . . Since then, having no sovereign nor political head through whom they could speak, they have disputed the possession of the land, by continued protest through their literature and their public and private worship." He showed that the Jews throughout the ages have continually stated in the Passover service: "Next year we hope to celebrate it in the land of Israel," and that other feasts and prayers recount the same unbending sentiment, as, "Next year children of freedom in Jerusalem!"³

Blackstone quotes the outstanding legal luminaries of his day, who agree that the Jewish claim was legally, at least, sound. He points out that according to the logical precedents established by such authorities as Buswell, Wheaton, Clifford, Phillimore and others, "the forcible manner by which Israel has been kept out of the land, with no means of redress, is equivalent in principle to a continued state of war," and that therefore "limitations should in no event run against them until they have had the opportunity to present their claim at the bar of the only possible earthly court, an International Conference."

The greatest legal authorities have agreed that according to the foundation principles of international law there is no basis for prescription against Israel, either on the ground of dereliction or of undisputed possession — that therefore the Jews have a valid claim on Palestine as long as there is a single Zionist alive. Certainly no more desperate opposition to despoliation has ever existed in history, nor a sterner demand for restitution.

The British Government in 1920 recognized without reservation the validity of this claim.⁴ It points out in clear, ringing words that Jewish nationalism has been continuous, and refers to

the fact that it is "the oldest nationalist movement in history." No more thorough, comprehensive or understanding statement of Jewish aims has ever been penned than this official English publication which is now buried somewhere in the dusty files of Whitehall.

CHAPTER III

THE WANDERING JEW

FIFTEEN HUNDRED YEARS OF TRAGEDY

Despite the frightful suffering to which their position in medieval life daily exposed them, the Jews maintained a vigorous, colorful, picturesque existence in which their communal and personal life blossomed out in rich and luxuriant beauty. Scattered from the Persian Gulf to the Irish Sea, the Jewish communities acknowledged equally a system of law that bears comparison with the great systems of the world. With dynamic resilience Jewish life readjusted itself to the new conditions, but carried over with it the old Eastern civilization intact. In the midst of the intellectual decay which overtook mankind during the Dark Ages, it is astonishing to see Levi ben Gershon calmly asserting the existence of primary matter, Hasdai Crescas refuting the narrow concepts of Aristotle, and Rambam dipping his majestic mind into the realms of psychiatry. Academic research and such modern subjects as sex hygiene were part of the regular curriculum of Jewish schooling. Every child was taught the Law; and the sages even implied that the study of the Torah and the observance of its laws were more important than the ceremonies of Worship. "All the *mitzvot* [religious injunctions] are not equal to one word of the Torah," says an authority of the Third Century with sweeping bluntness.

It was in this vibrant atmosphere that Judaism thrived and held staunchly to its belief in the reconquest of the Promised Land, and not in the pallid air of religious zealotry which was later to settle on its spirit like a sickness.

Behind the shroud of silence to which anti-Jewish bias has consigned it, the organized civilization of the Jews during the Dispersion glistens like a diamond. While all else was in the most impenetrable darkness and ignorance, Hebrew writers and scholars not only constructed original works, but studied and elab-

orated the writings of classical antiquity and rendered them accessible to the Christian countries of the Occident. The Arab invasion which followed the rise of Islam was instructed from the same source. Jews wrote the first works on fevers and *materia medica* and translated them into other languages. They founded and supported the famous schools of Salerno and Montpellier. Until the end of the Sixteenth Century medicine was almost a Jewish monopoly. In all of the other arts and sciences, mathematics, astronomy, physics, alchemy, history and geography, Jewish minds excelled. Typical of the stature and enterprise of these lordly exiles was the expedition of Columbus. The great navigator himself is said to have been a secret Jew or Morrano. More to the point, every officer on board the three ships was a Morrano ; the nautical instruments, charts and tables without which the voyage would have been impossible, were all invented by Jews. According to the historian Francis Trevelyan Miller, Columbus' ships were owned by the Jewish Pinta Brothers, and as for the myth of Isabella's jewels, Herbert Adams observes that "not jewels, but Jews were the real financial basis for the first expedition of Columbus." ¹ It is also interesting to note that the first European to set foot in the New World was the Jewish interpreter Luis de Torres, closely followed by the Jewish surgeon Marco and the Jewish physician Bernal.²

The Jews left no branch of learning or science untouched. Said Sombart : "Israel passes over Europe like the sun ; whenever it appears new life shoots up, but when it is withdrawn all that once flourished withers away." ³ The German scholar, Dr. M. I. Schleiden, declares that during the Middle Ages "the Jews were the preservers of agriculture, of all large industries." ⁴ And Valeriu Marcu assures us that "the most important monarchs seem to have been unable to manage without Jewish educators, advisers and ministers. . ." ⁵

In commerce as in culture, the part played by this expatriate people was tremendous. "At all points where the formation of cities was going on, where an urban community was developing out of the former *castellum* of the Romans, the Jews contributed a decisive element by bringing trade within the walls." ⁶ This is

expressed in a truly classic manner in the words with which Bishop Rüdiger of Speyer opens his charter to the Jews in the year 1084 : "Desiring to make a city out of the village of Speyer, I have admitted the Jews. . ." Summing up their collective relationship to a single State, Abbott comments on the expulsion edicts of 1492, that "the life of Spain went out with the Jews."

The distinguished character of this Hebrew culture is traceable everywhere, where it is not hidden by slander and omission.

The personal life of the Jew was no less well-ordered. Until later edicts ousted them from that work, agriculture was the most highly esteemed of occupations ; and they practically held a monopoly on handicrafts where taste as well as manual skill was required. As a speaking instance, when the edict of expulsion reached Sicily in the Fifteenth Century, the State Counselors entreated the King to delay the measure, for they said : "Nearly all the artisans in the realm are Jews. In case all of them are expelled at once we shall lack craftsmen capable of supplying mechanical utensils, especially those made of iron, as agricultural implements and equipment for ships, galleys. . ." ⁷

Labor itself remained dignified in Jewish life, as it was in the old homeland. Bespeaking this attitude, Maimonides laid down the axiom that "a single coin earned by one's manual labor is worth more than the whole revenue of the Prince of the Captivity, derived as it is from the gifts of others." ⁸

The sanctity of the Jewish home continued in undiminished tradition. Nothing in modern life can excel the courtly respect and single-hearted devotion which the Talmudic husband displayed towards his spouse. "He loves her as himself," declares the Talmud, "but honors her more than himself."

All through this period the Jews justly prided themselves on their fastidious habits and regard for the amenities. Cleanly habits were in fact codified, and Jewish medieval law contained a systematized scheme of etiquette, of good custom and refined taste. It was not until centuries of ghetto life and cruel degradation had rendered the Jews indifferent to their surroundings that this old characteristic ceased to distinguish them.

It was the Fourth Lateran Council under Innocent III which

in 1215 made the first serious encroachments on the freedom and possessions of the Jews, forcing them by decree to wear a distinctive mark on their clothes, the so-called 'yellow badge.' The decree of the Synod of Breslau in 1267, prohibiting Jews from living together with Christians in the Eastern provinces where "the church was still a tender shoot," finally led to the establishment of the Ghetto in all countries. The Jewish quarter was usually situated in a disreputable, crowded, unhealthful section of the city. It was guarded by night so that no one could enter or leave. Its area was to serve for all time; it was not to be enlarged. Its narrow, crooked streets were always dark. In this foul area where sunlight could not enter, there was no room for trees, grass or flowers. Infant mortality was staggering; the faces of young and old alike were habitually pallid.

Deprived of all legal position and branded as incorrigible Satanists, isolated like lepers from the rest of mankind, these proud Semites found themselves unwittingly the prey of all comers. The attitude of the Church gave pitch to the orchestra of hate and despoliation in which state, city and populace largely participated. Not content with humiliating and caging them like dangerous animals, accusation upon accusation was piled at their door. It was claimed that they made a practice of stealing the consecrated host wafers, mistreating the body of Christ in them until blood flowed forth. At the time of the Black Death they were accused of poisoning the wells; and lending tone to these charges, in many places confessions were extorted from them on the rack.

Jews were compelled like cattle to pay a poll tax, a heavy admission tax, and a whole list of other imposts partly ridiculous and partly humiliating. When they could be mulcted of nothing further, they were expelled over night and their meager possessions confiscated.

Even the written records of Hebrew science, philosophy and learning, so lovingly and painstakingly collected, were prohibited. A typical example is the decree of destruction of the Talmud in France, in 1242, followed by the public burning of twenty-four wagonloads of Jewish books.

In Germany especially, the massacre of Jews took place before the Plague gave an added impetus to the pogrom frenzy. Murderers and incendiaries were allowed free rein and in more than three hundred and fifty communities the Jews were murdered, drowned, burned, broken on the wheel, hanged, strangled, buried alive and tortured to death for the sanctification of the name of God.⁹

The entire world had become a horrible dungeon in which this proud and intellectual people suffered the tortures of the damned. They were exterminated in York and London; in Spain at the instigation of St. Vincent Ferrer; in Italy where John of Capistrano preached; in Poland, Bohemia, France, Moravia and Austria. They were turned into human torches to fiendish rites from one end of Europe to the other, ripped open with pitchforks and scythes, or beaten to death like dogs. In France alone, during the reign of Charles VI, over a hundred thousand Jews, totally destitute, were forced to leave their homes and seek refuge in Germany, Spain and Savoy. Typical of the period were the actions of Philip the Fair, who in the Fourteenth Century had the Jews unexpectedly driven out to obtain possession of their goods; and that of Charles VI, who in 1394 again decreed banishment and conversion of their possessions to the State Exchequer.

The onrush of the Crusaders exposed the Jews to a new series of sadistic outrages. Whole communities were wiped out in cold blood, sacked, and forcibly converted. In the Rhineland, and in France at Anjou, Portou and Bordeaux, thousands were burned *en masse*; and when in 1105 Godfrey de Bouillon took Jerusalem in the name of Christendom, his first act of piety was to drive the Jews into the synagogue and burn them alive.

The list of tortures and outrages suffered by this unhappy people is unending. In 1336 a mob of five thousand peasants led by two nobles, the 'Armladers,' armed with pitchforks and axes, traversed Franconia, Alsace, the Rhineland, Bavaria and Austria, and massacred all the Jews of one hundred and twenty communities in their lust for spoil. In 1298 a nobleman from Roettingen named Rindfleisch, declaring himself appointed by heaven to ex-

terminate the Jews, marched through the country and for six months committed the most unheard of outrages against his hapless victims. One hundred and forty-six communities were reduced to bloody shambles.

In Spain and Portugal during the Fifteenth Century more than a million and a half horrified beings slipped into the crazy whirlpool of the Inquisition, the *auto-da-fé*, torture, violation, banishment, and death. In faraway Ukraine in the decade following 1648, the entire Jewish community, almost eight hundred thousand human creatures, was butchered with revolting tortures so hideous as to defy description. All over Europe the dread "Hep ! Hep ! Hep !" of the hooligans echoed in the dark streets of the ghettos. In all parts of the Western world Jewish blood flowed down many widely separated rivulets into one mighty stream. In North Africa and the Orient, like a sickening flood, the same indignities, cruelties and disasters overtook their fleeing footsteps.

Each new depth to which this once sturdy people were pushed only served to open up deeper and unsuspected abysses of horror. Forbidden to own land, to engage in handicrafts, deprived of membership in the all-powerful guilds so as to be virtually excluded from trade, harried, slandered and ridiculed, the walls of the Ghetto held them like a prison.

The effects of this system of branding a whole people as a pariah class were as deplorable as they were inevitable. The Jew became the mark for the meanest of insults. He was beaten, reviled, scorned and abused by everyone. This constant humiliation and degradation finally brought him so low that he became the mockery of mankind. He lost the courtly bearing, the refinement of speech and manner which had always distinguished the Hebrew character. Suffering and debasement had also wrought vast changes in the inner consciousness of the race. Where once he had stood on his native Judean hills, the fiercest, most intractable fighting man in all the ancient world, long centuries of persecution had made him submissive like a whipped dog. Meekness and non-resistance became rationalized into a veritable philosophic code. The once lofty Jewish mind hardened and be-

came grooved in a maze of ritual. Where once had stood the proud gentility of Hillel, now huddled the wraith-like figure of the pious Israel of Miedzyboz, who preached "humble submission" and a dervish-like rapture of worship which could not but have amazed the stiff-necked old Hebrews in whose name this slave doctrine was enunciated.

The love of inquiry, the intellectual penetration traditional to the Jew, was now transformed into an absurd concentration on dialectical speculations. Deprived of normal outlets to his energies, futile speculations and the splicings of fine theories became his entertainment. The old great Jewish culture disappeared, unnoticed, in a wilderness of stratified formalities, words and ritual.

To complete this sorry picture of deterioration and collapse, the strangled Jewish mind became obsessed by a peculiar indirectness of approach to all problems. The most realistic of all peoples became unreal, pedantic and mystical. All of these changed factors of character and outlook are reflected in the development of the Messianic doctrine.

It must be noted that the earlier seeking after a Messiah rested on quite a different base. It spoke for the sturdy rebellious nature of this people, that their thoughts were always on freedom. It reflected a passionate desire for a leader who in strictly mortal fashion would help them redeem what had been raped from them.

The remolded concept rested very subtly on a completely opposite psychology, although the idea appeared to be the same. The impatient rebelliousness, the stiff self-assurance, the commonness of instinct, which had caused the widely separated Jews to rise like one man under Bar Kochba, had vanished. In their stead lived a new zealotry in which dogma and visionary metaphysic vied for mastery. Like a dazzling light, blotting out the sordidness of his surroundings, a deep sense of mission now enveloped the befuddled Jew. With humble piety he conceived of himself as the instrument whereby all the peoples of the earth, including those who had abused and vilified him, would be led into eternal gentleness and bliss. Thus tremulously awaiting the di-

vine deliverer lived the Jews, a great nation who had shriveled to a caricature of themselves through the cruelest set of circumstances ever to beset the path of man.

They had not long to wait. A whole host of Messiahs appeared in response to this wishful expectation. From Abu Isa of Ispahan in the Seventh Century, Zonarias of Syria in the Tenth, to the shabby Zabetai Zevi, they periodically kept the Jewish world in a fever.

Most notorious of all of these was perhaps Zevi, who announced himself to be the Messiah in Smyrna in the year 1640. Wild frenzy possessed the Jewish communities. Shrewd business men in Amsterdam, Hamburg and Venice disposed of their possessions in order to be prepared for the hasty journey to the Holy Land. Others subjected themselves to penance in order to be rendered worthy of redemption. In the meanwhile the 'Messiah' was hamstrung by the Moslems, who gave him the usual choice, and Zabetai, no martyr, became a Mohammedan.

The colossal collapse of Zevi sent a crushed chill through the Jewries of Europe. They shrank like condemned men into their hovels. Only an ironclad religious particularism could save the Jew from the deep confusion and widening chaos which was engulfing him everywhere. To this he retreated.

"LIBERTY ! FRATERNITY ! EQUALITY !"

Two events conspired to put an end to the Ghetto. One was the discovery of America, releasing vast rich areas for settlement and exploitation. The other was the gradual dry rot which overtook the feudal era and its master, the totalitarian church.

Out of the ashes of this decaying order gradually developed a new force, the power of industrial capital. This new force immediately discovered itself in mortal opposition to the entire system of life the Medieval Era had erected, since it could only maintain itself by free competition and continuing consumer expansion, which meant the opening of new markets. The greater the competition among merchants and those who held the power to grant credit, the better would industry flourish.

The Ghetto was one of the medieval corporations which had to go in the interest of a speedy evolution of capitalism. Though it continued in some cities into the modern era, its fate was sealed.

It was this young and growing industrial capitalism which was the great lever creating the modern democracies, and with them the emancipation of the Jews.

The new system soon developed a philosophy justifying itself, and fiery expounders of its tenets. "Liberty ! Fraternity ! Equality !" became the rallying cry of the day. Leading in the van of this movement, the French revolted and solemnly declared the principle of the inalienable Rights of Man.

The question arose as to whether this queer race of the Jews whose glorious past history was long forgotten, sunk in the torpor of religious formalism, was capable of supporting such enlightened ideas. Learned debates took place as to whether, if they were enfranchised, they could take their place in an organized secular society ; whether they could become soldiers, manufacturers, artisans, professional men — in short, whether they were capable of competing in the civil society which was to be based on the new order. The atheist and liberator Voltaire considered them dangerous and incurable reactionaries, a source of religious superstition. Others like Tallyrand, Montesquieu and Mirabeau asserted that the Jew must be included in the new dispensation.

Almost coincident with these events the American Revolution exploded in the face of an archaic world and based its fundamental principles on the same Rights of Man. Soon thereafter the victorious young Napoleon was carrying the doctrines of the new belief along with his cannon and gun-powder and putting them into operation by force.

In this onrush of the Liberal spirit the Western Jew miraculously found the walls of the *Judengasse* ¹⁰ torn down. They fell before his eyes like the walls of Jericho, and he stood blinded and unaccustomed in the streaming sunlight. The inner glow which had made his world a place of happiness despite its drab cruelty, was dimmed by the new glare.

Enthusiastically the Jews put themselves in line with this glorious theme of world brotherhood. For the first time the

vernacular took the place of Hebrew in their daily life. The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries were the age of *Massentaufen* (mass baptism). In Berlin alone it is said that over half the Jewish community was converted in the course of one year.

Early an attempt was made to meet this wholesale desertion of Judaism by creating a new and reformed liturgy and a new attitude towards Jewish destiny. Inaugurated in Germany, 'Reform Judaism' quickly took shape as a creed. Jews who had formerly considered themselves expatriate Palestinians who would in the fullness of time be returned to their own country, began to refer to themselves in Germany as 'Germans of Mosaic persuasion.' The question arose as in the emancipation in Holland, whether Jews were a nation or a religious cult. This was straddled at the Reform Conference at Brunswick in 1844 by Ludwig Philippson who declared: "Every nation has its historical mission, and the Jews have theirs. They are a nation dedicated to religion." This new attitude soon spread among the Jews like a devouring flame. The fine old Jewish civilization had finally become a religious cult, separate from secular life, with an ordained pastorate and all the paraphernalia of that office.

The last step in this denationalization process, in which the Reform Rabbis led the procession, was the transformation into metaphor of the doctrines of Jewish nationalism for which the race had steadfastly held over so long a period. All that now remained of laws meant to control the social and economic interests of the Jews was dead ritual.

For a brief century the ideal of again making themselves an individual force in history sank into comparative insignificance and gave place to a desire to become adapted to environment. Both the spirit and fact of Jewish history became falsified; and Jews endeavoring to win equal rights in every sphere of human activity began to frame both their thought and action with an eye to the opinion and point of view of others. As a living force with legitimate, healthy rights of its own, Judaism was discounted by Jews, who had transformed themselves into neo-gentiles. It survived only as an innocuous shadow.

The inexorable forward movement of 'toleration' hit its peak immediately after the World War. Palestine was seemingly returned to Jews who wished to go there. In the last strongholds of anti-Jewish reaction, minority clauses guaranteed by the nations of the world were put into operation. In Germany a Jew, Dr. Hugo Preuss, framed the Constitution of the Weimar Republic, hailed as the last word in justice and democracy.

Enthusiastically the Western Liberals and 'Assimilationists' went to the very point of denying the existence of a Jewish nation altogether. Learnedly they 'proved' that a Jewish race could no longer possibly be in existence.

Had anyone told these enraptured Jews that the last strongholds of ignorance, meanness and tyranny would not yield but would instead reacquire a vitality and strategy capable of once more putting Liberalism desperately on the defensive, his only reply would have been a smile of pity and commiseration. How could they dream that the Germany of Mendelssohn and Lasker would become the Germany of Hitler and Goering; that throughout the civilized world the old blood libel, the old mass hysterias and slanders, the old inhumaneness and cruelties, would be revived with even increased force and viciousness. All of this was contrary to the rationale of the new order; hence it became schematically impossible.

While all this was happening, the torch of Jewish nationalism distorted and vitiated, but alive, spluttered among the masses still going about their daily tasks in the ghettos of East Europe.

'THE LOST TEN TRIBES'

In the wake of the irresistible Liberal sweep which was de-Judaizing the Jews, occurred a most remarkable phenomenon: the Anglo-Saxon people, rising rapidly to world power, literally pitched themselves headlong at the same time into a Judaizing process.

Aroused by such magnetic personalities as Knox and Tyndale the British peoples retreated to creative Prophecy, to the stern and simple democracy of the Hebrew Bible. The Old Testa-

ment in particular was studied with impassioned thoroughness. James Truslow Adams remarks that "Christ did indeed occupy a place in their [the Puritan] theology, but in spirit they may be considered Jews and not Christians. Their God was the God of the Old Testament, their laws were the laws of the Old Testament, their guides to conduct were the characters of the Old Testament."¹¹ "They baptized their children," writes Lord Macaulay, "by the names, not of Christian saints, but of Hebrew patriarchs and warriors."¹² Even the old Saxon names, once household words, were condemned to oblivion.¹³ "Cromwell hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament," comments Cleveland. "You may know the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment."

Every attitude of the aggressive young imperialism which the Anglo-Saxon was erecting became tinctured with Hebrew philosophy. So completely was it absorbed that a large section of the English people began to look upon themselves as being actually descended from Israelites. A whole body of literature sprang into being claiming that the word *British* was derived from *Brith* and *Isb* of Hebrew, meaning 'circumcised man,' and that the English were descended from the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel.¹⁴

This conviction on the part of a large part of the British public became so great that it resulted in the forming of 'The British-Israel World Federation,' at one time claiming over five million members, and including such eminent personages as Queen Victoria and King Edward VII.

The Hebraizing spirit attended other considerable sections of the Reformation though it was particularly at home with the Anglo-Saxon peoples, whose identification with Hebrew history and philosophy became so complete as to almost appropriate it for themselves. Lecky expressed this debt in the famous remark: "Hebraic mortar cemented the foundation of American Democracy!" In the same vein Ulysses S. Grant advised his countrymen to "hold fast to the Bible. It is the sheet-anchor of your liberties. . . ." And Jean Paul bespoke his times when he

declared that "the first leaf of the Mosaic record has more weight than all the folios of men of science and philosophies."

Protestant theology in particular, rested on the belief that the world of mankind was evolving towards a millennium in which holiness was to be triumphant everywhere, and that a primary prerequisite to this happy eventuality was the return of God's Chosen People, the Jews, to the Holy Land.¹⁵ Supporting their position with direct quotation from Biblical Prophecy, a large group of earnest men, divines, statesmen and writers, set themselves to be the instruments to speed this desired end. Specialized histories of the Jews gained wide circulation, and it was not long before the political emancipation of Zion became a lively topic in English politics.

By 1839 popular interest had become so intense that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, after sending a special commission to the Holy Land to report on conditions there, addressed "A Memorandum to the Protestant Monarchs of Europe on the Subject of the Restoration of the Jewish People to the Land of Palestine." From this date onwards a pro-Jewish Palestinian discussion ran parallel in the *London Times* with the agitation over the Eastern question.

The Government, taking canny notice of this body of public feeling and being interested in the Near East on its own account, commenced to take a hand. With the entry of the murderous anti-Christian Mehemet Ali into Syria, the advocacy of Zionism became quietly identified with English foreign policy.

Interest mounted rapidly in all circles. The statesman Lord Shaftsbury became so absorbed in the project that he learned Hebrew. The colonization expert, Colonel George Gawler, devoted virtually all his time to this cause, firmly convinced that Jewish repatriation was a political desideratum for England, conveniently sanctioned by Holy Writ. A whole succession of English representatives in the Near East befriended the Jews and took an active interest in their cause. It became a ruling passion with such men as Laurence Oliphant and the archaeologist Conger.

A mountain of literature and a whirlpool of activity had by now been brought to bear on the matter. All these writers and orators pointed out the desolate, empty, semi-savage condition of the country. Various associations were formed to agitate the cause, and monster mass-meetings were held. English statesmen such as Sir Samuel Montague guaranteed publicly that "not only will the Jews be assisted in colonizing Palestine, but practical shape will be given to their aspiration for the restoration of the Jewish Kingdom."

While the interest in the fate of the Jews was most spectacular and deep-seated in Britain, manifestations of it were evident everywhere.

In France, Joseph Salvador called for the assembling of a European Congress to restore the Holy Land. Here, too, Henri Dunant, founder of the Red Cross and author of the Geneva Conventions, was an ardent Zionist. Napoleon also is said to have contemplated the restoration of Palestine to the Jews. This is reported to have been one of the objects of his ill-fated adventure in Egypt and the Near East.

In America the second president of the United States, John Adams, announced himself an ardent Zionist who "really wished the Jews again in Judea, an independent nation. . ." The lively sympathy for Hebrew resettlement is shown also by the petition to President Benjamin Harrison submitted by Dr. Wm. Blackstone, Chairman of the Conference of Christians and Jews, in 1891. Signed by an imposing list of the greatest names in America, clergymen, corporation presidents and public officials, it offered an elaborate plan for Jewish colonization, declaring that "not for twenty-four centuries since the days of Cyrus, King of Persia, has there been offered to any mortal such a privileged opportunity to further the purposes of God concerning his ancient people."

By 1914 a powerful non-Jewish public opinion, favoring the enterprise as a rational historical development, existed everywhere. In England itself, long habituation to this program as well as what appeared to be obvious self-interest had committed British policy to it.

REAWAKENING HEBREW CONSCIOUSNESS

As unaware of all this as if it had taken place on Mars, a wholly independent movement began stirring in the Hebrew ghettos.

As early as 1857 the Hungarian Rabbi Jehouda Alkalai suggested the purchase of Palestine by a company to be formed for that purpose, and in 1864 Professor Heinrich Graetz demanded a Zionist solution for the problems confronting the Jewish race.

Others like the writers Hess, Kalisher and Smolenskin began to voice articulate opinions.

In 1882 Leon Pinsker issued his volume *Auto-Emancipation* in which he demanded that the Jews redeem themselves by their own self-will. Like a lone tragic eagle, Pinsker gazed with tortured sympathy at the misery of his people. Appalled at their apathy and wretchedness he wrote: "Among the living nations of the earth the Jews occupy the position of a nation long since dead. With the loss of their fatherland, the Jewish people lost their independence and fell into a decay which is not compatible with existence as a whole vital organism. The State was crushed before the eyes of the nations, but after the Jewish people had yielded up their existence as an actual State, as a political entity, they could not nevertheless submit to total destruction — they did not cease to exist spiritually as a nation. The world saw in this people the uncanny form of one of the dead walking among the living. The ghostlike apparition of a people without unity or organization, without land or other bond of union, no longer alive, and yet moving about among the living, this eerie form scarcely paralleled in history, unlike anything that preceded or followed it, could not fail to make a strange, peculiar impression upon the imagination of the nations."

Finally fired by the atrocious pogroms that were taking place in South Russia a group of intellectuals formed the *Chovevi Zion Society*¹⁶ which soon attempted practical work in the direction of a resettlement in the Old Land.

Jewry which had been gazing on all these vague gropings with tolerant amusement, living like a drugged man on promises of a new world order where men would live like gods, was jolted from

this fantasy by two startling events. The first of these had been the arrest, torture and conviction of the leading Jewish notables in the city of Damascus, Syria, on a charge of having murdered a local friar for blood ritual purposes. The whole Jewish community was terrorized, with the agreement and connivance of the English and French consuls, who stated their belief that the ritual murder charge was historically proven.

In France, the very center of enlightenment, after a long barrage of anti-Semitic incitement, the Jewish officer Dreyfus was railroaded by a secret military tribunal in 1894, degraded and condemned to penal servitude for life for alleged treason. Everywhere press and populace placed the stigma on the entire Jewish community, with the weight of the Government thrown behind a deliberate persecution of those attempting to prove the unfortunate man's innocence. It soon became so apparent that the whole case was a deliberate frame-up that the ensuing hubbub forced the authorities to retry the Jewish officer some four years later, when, under farcical circumstances, he was once more sentenced to Devil's Island.

The doughty novelist, Zola, risked his career by issuing the famous *J'Accuse*, exposing the outrageous nature of this affair. Arrested, he fled to England where he went into hiding.

After an agitation which convulsed the entire civilized world, Dreyfus, who had been kept in an iron cage on the Island, was pardoned, still unvindicated.

The anti-Semitic movement now grew with marvelous rapidity, confounding every theory of the educators, who had held such a result impossible. Jewry once more began to seek communion with its own organic forces. The desire for a specifically Hebrew cultural scheme in which they could live their lives out, began to arise in the minds of the unhappy creatures groping their way around tortured ghetto paths.

HERZL

Sitting quietly in the press galleries during the second Dreyfus trial was a young Viennese journalist named Theodor Herzl.¹⁷

A thoroughly Westernized Jew who accepted the Enlightenment as a matter of course, he suddenly saw the Jewish problem outlined stark naked. Returning to Vienna, his head full of the question, all unaware that anyone had ever written on this subject before, he penned his pamphlet *The Jewish State*.¹⁸

Friends, de-Judaized like himself, to whom he enunciated these 'revolutionary ideas,' counseled that he had been working too hard and urged him to see the great brain specialist Max Nordau, which nothing daunted, Herzl did.

One of the journalist's friends inquired anxiously of Nordau after the visit: "What do you make of him?"

"Well," said Nordau thoughtfully, "it is of course quite possible that he is crazy — but if he is, so am I, because I agree with him."

Tall, majestic, handsome, looking like an Assyrian god who had stepped down from an old frieze, the magnetic personality of this figure suddenly galvanized the incoherent movement into action. Until then Zionism had been resting upon a vague cultural-settlement base, with no definite scheme of control. The great difference between Herzl's viewpoint and that of his immediate predecessors was his pointblank insistence on political guarantees before a single other step was taken. Claimed this new master: ". . . the solution of the Jewish difficulty is the recognition of the Jews as a People, and the finding by them of a legally recognized home to which Jews in those parts of the world in which they are oppressed would naturally migrate, *for they would arrive there as citizens just because they were Jews, and not as aliens.*" With prophetic insight Herzl insisted on complete political guarantees. He wrote: "An infiltration is bound to end in disaster. It continues until the inevitable moment when the native population feels itself crushed, and forces the Government to stop the further influx of Jews. *Immigration is consequently futile unless based on an assured supremacy.*" His *a priori* demand was for "sovereignty over a tract of the earth's surface that is adequate for our rightful needs as a nation."

There was something almost omniscient in the man's ability to peer into the curtained future. In a letter to the Rothschilds at

Vienna he pointed out that the Liberal governments of Europe, apparently so firmly established in the prosperity of those days, were not to last. They would fall and would be replaced by tyrants, either royal or popular, who would be worse than the aristocracies whom the parliamentary governments had displaced.¹⁹ It took less than forty years for this prophecy to come true.

At the first Zionist Congress he predicted that the Jewish problem would inevitably be turned into the problem of Zion. "We are laying the cornerstone," he declared, "for an edifice that will house the entire Jewish nation."

On all sides the storm of opposition mounted like a rising hurricane. Assimilationist rabbis thundered against him in their pulpits. The Jews of Germany, where he proposed to hold his first Congress, gazed on the man as a dangerous lunatic, so the historic Congress was held in Basle instead. But he had gotten the ear of the crushed Jewish masses and had touched their imaginations as no figure had since the ill-fated messiah Zevi.

Abused and ridiculed as few men have been in history, Herzl continued with his plan to attempt the purchase of Palestine, and to form a chartered company which was to control and direct the resettlement. He finally received an audience with the Sultan, who placed an itching palm on the table. The Zionist leader went out to find ways of covering it.

Jewish millionaires might have easily provided the £10,000,000 demanded by Abdul Hamid for a concession in Palestine, but they shied away from the idea. Herzl, hat in hand like a petitioner, presented his plan to the philanthropist Baron de Hirsch. The great man listened benevolently and finally said: "Herr Herzl, I observe that you are an intelligent man — but you have such fantastic ideas."

In vain Herzl cajoled and pleaded: he could not raise the money; and in the meanwhile the 'Young Turks' made an end to Abdul Hamid and the Palestine negotiations together.

On the pulse of these events the British kept practiced and interested fingers. When Herzl came to London he found to his amazement that English public opinion, joined by a government

whose interests were coincidental to this scheme of development, had created ready-made for him a galaxy of famous and influential supporters. Powerful organs such as the *Daily Chronicle* and *Pall Mall Gazette* were demanding the fulfillment of the Zionist program and calling for a conference of the Powers to consider it.

Herzl had already appeared at the sittings of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. Given the honor of being the first witness on the problem of Jewish homelessness and immigration, he had been questioned closely by the Commission for an exact definition of what was meant by Zionism. He replied with his usual straightforwardness that it meant the establishment of a Jewish State under absolute guarantees of political control, and nothing else.

The British now took a direct hand and offered the territory of Uganda in West Africa on a full autonomous basis under chartered rights, "a recognition," states the official British *Peace Handbook No. 162*, "that Herzl and his following were regarded seriously in serious quarters." Supporting the Government in this well-intentioned offer was a young M.P. named Arthur James Balfour.

But the Russian Zionists rebelled ; and at the next Congress the whole Uganda scheme was thrown out. It was Palestine or nothing.²⁰

Within the Zionist movement itself various schisms began to develop. The widest of these was that of the so-called Practical Zionists who derived from the old Chovevi Zion Society. They were bitterly opposed to Herzl's policy, were uninterested in political guarantees, and stressed 'cultural' and 'practical' work. One of their rising stars was the young chemist Chaim Weizmann. Their leader was Achad Ha'am, a little pinch-faced man with a goatee and the eye of an ascetic.

Achad Ha'am represented all that his arch-enemy Herzl would never understand in his lifetime. He was born in a little village in the Pale and was brought up in an ultra-orthodox home where secular knowledge was tabu. He literally concentrated on the Talmud, and his knowledge of that book became so great that

local rabbis would come to consult him when he was still in his early teens. He was a typical hair-splitter in words, the personified ideal of the spirit of philosophic dialecticism in the flesh. He considered all 'political' Zionists to be barbarians. "What we lack," he wrote, "is a fixed spot to serve as a national spiritual center, a safe retreat, not for Jews, but for Judaism. . . The foundation of a single great school," he insisted, "of learning or art in Palestine . . . would be, to my mind, a national work of the highest import and would do more to bring us near to our goal than a hundred agricultural colonies."

Fanatically understood by the queer type of scholastic whose soul he interpreted, Achad Ha'am, if influence counts, was the most potent of all the modern Zionist forces. Belittling Herzl as a wild dreamer, his influence began to be apparent after the latter's death, and finally triumphed. He was an extremist who could care much for idea and little for men, a product and consequence of that tragic pariah world into which the gentiles had sequestered Jehovah's people.

Herzl saw what Achad Ha'am did not — what, indeed, he was incapable of seeing — that a free and living culture is not the source but the outcome of an organized and stable life, and that this contemptuous attitude towards political control could only end in one more ghetto — this time in Palestine.

It is the Hebrew tragedy that the manly Herzl should have died young and the visionary Ha'am should have lived to a ripe old age. On July 3, 1904, harassed and worn, the incomparable leader suddenly sickened and died. He was then only forty-four years old.

The Zionist movement had already begun to be encumbered with ideological contentions, and factions of various descriptions. Its leadership fell in the hands of minor worthies, followers for the most part of Achad Ha'am, who talked in learned circumlocutory motions and all but smothered in the mantle they had inherited. Even so, carried along by its own irresistible momentum, Zionism continued to grow rapidly.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWEL OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

TOPOGRAPHY

The name 'Palestine' occurs for the first time in Herodotus. Like its Hebrew equivalent, *Pelesheth* (Land of Wanderers), it meant only Philistia. At first applied to a small section of the coast it later spread to encompass the entire country. Until the resurgent Zionist movement brought this area into the sphere of world politics its identity was largely interchangeable with that of Syria,¹ a generic term used to describe the entire region of Asia Minor but later contracted to cover the confines of Palestine and the block of territory immediately to the north of it.

With proprietary determination the Jew has always referred to his homeland as *Eretz Israel*, 'The Land of Israel.' The Arabs call it *Esh-Shem* (the Land to the Left) since it represented the northernmost limit of their natural range.

By and large, this territory must be accounted one of the most stirringly beautiful and, certainly, one of the most remarkable countries on the face of Mother Earth. It is not to be wondered by those who have seen it that "some of the finest visions of the true age of reason have been penned within its borders."²

Here in matchless beauty can be found every climate from tropical to sub-alpine, and a bewildering variety of flora and fauna to match — all in a half hour's ride. It is possible to pass through four different zones, from the scotch fir in the hill country down to the date palm growing in its native soil on the plains of Jordan.

The valley of the Dead Sea, sultry and depressing, lies thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean. From this strange salt lake, almost visible to the naked eye is Jerusalem, twenty-six hundred feet above sea level, where in the sparkling night air one feels as if he could reach up and touch the cold white stars. In the north the country rises precipitously to a height of

nine thousand feet above the ocean calmly sunning itself below, and becomes alpine. On the central range, snow has been known to reach a depth of nearly two feet. This explains the feat of Benaiah who *went down and slew a lion in the midst of a cistern in the day of the snow*. The beast had strayed up the Judean hills from Jordan and had been caught in a sudden storm.

A fertile plain fronts the Mediterranean for the entire length of the country except where rugged Carmel reaches down to the shore. East of this plain, finally giving way to the mountains of Judea, lie rolling foothills studded with rich valleys. South of Jerusalem this range gradually fades into a forbidding sandy waste of desert, what is left of ancient Edom, glowering in the hot sun. In the north, the historic valley of Esdraelon, ancient highway between the great land masses of Asia and Africa, splits the mountain range which spreads across Palestine from Haifa to Jordan.

In an area but little larger than Vermont this endless variety of view seems almost theatrical. No other country can begin to match it. None has a valley like that deep gash called the Ghôr, where bananas droop like lolling odalesques in the shimmering heat ; nor a roll of iridescent desert like that which falls from the multi-colored rocks of Judea to the opal shores of the Dead Sea. Yet in these neighboring hills the climate is so temperate that first rate apples may be grown ; and on the hottest days the nights are cool enough to sleep under blankets.

The climate is divided roughly into a rainy and dry season, with a short period of scorching desert winds called the *Humseen*. The rain falling in the three winter months becomes a deluge.

Wild flowers follow each other in stunning confusion. Glittering like precious gems, anemone, crocus, poppy, wild mignonette, oleander and narcissus, sparkle in the sun just as they must have once delighted the Hebrew women in the old days.

Overhead, birds of all kinds make the air gay with their limpid notes. Whole hosts of harmless lizards of every color dart like small genii across the banks of hedge and sward. In the wilderness are tiny gazelles who look as if they had been painted on the landscape. It is claimed that there are still wolves, hyenas and

jackals in the hills. Tristram speaks of foxes near Nablus ; ³ and a crocodile is said to have been caught in the River Zerkâ as late as the year 1902.

Beyond this eloquent native beauty, which the hand of barbarian man is not powerful enough to destroy, the country has been stripped and starved. In parts it is a veritable carcass of a land.

Travelers gazing on Palestine for the first time, aghast at its stony hills and deserted valleys, invariably exclaim : "Can this unfavored country be indeed the Land of Promise, the land flowing with milk and honey ?"

The great oak forests of Gilead, Bashan and Lebanon are gone, as are the groves of the Jordan Valley and the date palms of the maritime plain. The Hebrew laughter which once came down from the hills lives only in echo. These hills, once covered to their tops with cornfields and vineyards, are dead. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that while for miles and miles there is no appearance of life or habitation in the hills of Judea except an occasional goatherd, there is hardly a hilltop of the many within sight which is not covered by the vestiges of some fortress or city of former ages. Where now only forbidding rocks greet the eye, the soil on their steep sides was once held securely in place by ingeniously devised terraces.

The indescribably wild state of the country, before the Zionists came, is pictured graphically in the chronicles of the last century. Some of the descriptions given are almost unbelievable. Churton refers to the plain between Jerusalem and Jordan as "bare as a desert." ⁴ Walpole exclaims : "On my road I saw six ruined towns and only six living persons." ⁵ Mark Twain called it "a hopeless, dreary, heartbroken land . . . inherited only by birds of prey and skulking foxes." ⁶ And that staunch believer in Prophecy, the Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth, wept that "here is one of the most remarkable and best situated countries in the world, without a population, without resources, without commerce." ⁷

West of the Jordan even the surface ruins of cities have been obliterated. Only the bare remnants of the once extensive He-

brew irrigation works crumbling on the hillsides, remain to remind the traveler that once this country was populated by a civilized people. Standing on the Moab hills and looking east, one can see nothing but a tired, worn country, as naked of signs of life as mid-ocean. In Old Testament times it included the fruitful lands of Moab, Gilead and Bashan. That this vast region was then one of the most fertile and populous on the globe is amply proven by the multitude of ruins which dot its surface at the present day. From a single outlook Merrill counted as many as forty ruined cities and towns.⁸ Buckingham described "ruined towns in every direction, both before, behind, and on every side of us. . . There was not a tree in sight as far as the eye could reach."⁹

Even in early Christian centuries Trans-Jordan * was so thickly settled as to be honored with the seat of a bishopric. Many Greeks drifted in and settled among the Syrian and Roman elements. After the Fourth Century, the Bedouin Arab inundated the country and left it a wilderness again, as it remains today.

The tumbling remains of fine marble baths, great columns, evidences of a cultivated life now hushed in death, are looked upon by the Arab with uncomprehending eye. Merrill, with the hurt conscience of a great archaeologist, complained bitterly that these aboriginals were wantonly smashing the famous ruins.

At Jerash alone are remains unexcelled by the best antiquities of northern Damascus. Throughout the length and breadth of the land these relics may be seen, the names of many of them forgotten. Polla, overlooking the Jordan, once a great city with castle, colonnades and mausoleums, is now distinguished by only a few pillars.

Today the very names of these places are forgotten. The Bedu¹⁰ herd their sheep in these deserted courts and make their rude beds of grass among their stones. They extract the same blackmail, and if it is withheld, sweep off the harvests in the same time-sanctified retaliation. Their frail houses of hair had been

* Trans-Jordan, the territory of the Jewish National Home lying east of the River Jordan (so designated to distinguish it from Cis-Jordan, the area lying west of the River Jordan) was later detached by the British as a separate administrative area under the name of 'Transjordan.'

there four thousand years before, and are there again today unchanged.

The whole of Eastern Palestine is incomparably more fertile and better watered than the western third of the country. Draining it are a number of large rivers, fed by innumerable springs, filled with fishes and other aquatic life.

Travelers glowingly describe its rich soil and natural beauty. Irby and Mangles mention "the vast variety of natural flora ; and downs with verdure so thick as to appear almost turf." ¹¹ Lord Lindsay declares that "the whole of the country . . . on the east of the Jordan . . . is fertile in the extreme." ¹² And Merrill comments that he has seen men on the plains of Gilead "turning furrows which were nearly a mile in length, and as straight as one could draw a line."

This whole area across Jordan is one of the most favored territories on the earth. It only awaits the coming of an energetic and intelligent race to become again everything that it was in the past.

JEWISH PRE-WAR SETTLEMENTS

Historians agree that there has been no period since the time of Joshua when there have not been Jews in Palestine. If length of continuous settlement makes the case, Jewish residence of some 4400 years vastly overshadows any rival claim which can be offered.

The oldest identifiable community whose continuing record can be established are the Jews of Pekiin, a village in the hills of upper Galilee near Safed, a group which has not moved in two thousand years. This settlement is referred to in the Talmud under the name of Tekoa, and then reappears more than a thousand years later in the narrative of an early Sixteenth Century traveler. At Bukeia in the mountains is another ancient community of Jews who claim to be descended from Israelites living there before the Dispersion ; and the Samaritans at Sechem are known to have been there since the days of Nehemiah.

All through the Dispersion, Jews sought to return to their

homeland. They trickled in from all directions after each catastrophe in the Diaspora. Most of them succumbed to massacre, forced conversion and disease. The rest were turned into broken-spirited men whose cowed eyes became hypnotized by mere liturgical devotions.

The first practical steps for modern colonization were taken in Russia where Zionism was growing rapidly. About 1880, a group of students, mostly from the University of Odessa, formed a group called 'Bilu.'¹³ They took oath to renounce their studies and to devote their lives working at common labor for the reconstruction of the Land of Israel.

Students with soft white hands and determined wills, began to arrive in small groups. The great-hearted Englishman, Oliphant, his head full of idyllic schemes for buying the country from the Sultan, found a number of them stranded in Galilee. He helped them found what is now the prosperous colony of Zichron Jacob, near Haifa. Through him, also, the aid of the philanthropist Baron Edmund de Rothschild was enlisted for the struggling cause.

Soon at Petach Tikvah a thriving agricultural colony was established. Jewish resettlement had begun in dead earnest. By 1883, three thousand of these hardy dreamers had landed in Jaffa.

Progress continued quietly and steadily. Arabs attracted by the magnetizing vitality of the returning Jew began to drift in from impoverished Syria, from Egypt, and from the desert wastes. Palestine was making enormous strides. As far back as 1900, a British consular report recognized that "there can be no doubt that the establishment of the Jewish colonies in Palestine has brought about a great change in the aspect of that country"; and in 1904 another consular report reiterates that "the Jewish element is spreading all over Palestine and represents today the most enterprising part of the population."

Exports from the port of Jaffa had jumped to £682,000 in 1911, from £264,000 in 1900.* A *Blue Book* issued by the British Board of Trade in 1911 acknowledges that "the chief feature

* The Palestine Pound is worth approximately the same as the English Pound Sterling — or about \$5.00 in American money.

of the economic development of Palestine in the past year was the Jewish immigration."

By 1914 the Jews had increased to over 100,000. There were now fifty-four agricultural colonies, with a total area of 110,000 acres. New land was being rapidly purchased, garden suburbs laid out. The all-Jewish city of Tel Aviv was growing out of its swaddling clothes. The pace of building was feverish. A great new wave of immigration was gaining momentum. Zionism had seemingly won its battle and was about to cash in on its investment of blood, courage, lives and money.

The official British *Peace Handbook on Zionism* thus describes the settlements: "The Jewish agricultural colonies, which have grown up during the past 25 years, show a level of agricultural and scientific development far ahead of anything else in Palestine. . . The colonies are inhabited by strong and healthy agriculturists living in clean, well-built houses and possessing a high degree of commercial and political organization as well as a distinctive social life. . . The children think and talk in Hebrew, and all the colonists possess the newly acquired national consciousness. . ."

So stood the Jewish effort at reclaiming their homeland, at the beginning of the World War, when they wholeheartedly threw their destiny into the balance with that of the Allies. They had already achieved a solid foundation for a sound national economy. Soon they were to have the solemn promise of the nations for a charter which would finally end the tragedy of Jewish homelessness.

CHAPTER V

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

PALESTINE AND THE WAR

Indirectly, the World War was fought for possession of the Near East. The natural route for expansion of the mushrooming industrial growths of Europe lay in the direction of the great sluggish masses of Asia where vast consumer needs and untapped natural riches excited the cupidity of Europe's imperialists.

All great conquerors whose interest was divided between East and West have considered the possession of the land bridge between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates essential to their security. Assyria and Egypt spilled out their life blood for it. It was pivotal to the empires of Macedon and Rome. Napoleon made a desperate bid for it when his ambitious eyes stretched longingly toward the rich mysterious East. It was the 'Near East Question' which lay at the bottom of the plotting and maneuvering that led to the Balkan and Crimean Wars.

Here Great Britain, Russia, Germany and France engaged in a sometimes open, sometimes hidden, struggle for the most important intercontinental routes of this planet, and with them, world power and influence.

Britain was aiming at complete domination of Asia. She already held fabulously rich India by the throat. Her interests in China, and in lesser countries, had grown to gigantic proportions. The only formidable competitor who developed during this period was Germany whose great commercial barons were now looking at the wealthy East with scarcely concealed appetite. The Kaiser and his entourage realized that here was the path to power. Moreover, it was here that they considered Britain to be vulnerable. The whole course of German policy centered around the *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East), whose undeclared objective was to cut the lifelines of British communications with India and the East. Berlin had already established a

clear pathway through the Balkans. The dying Turkish Empire was flooded with German generals, engineers, diplomats and agents. "The Baghdad Railway was pushing rapidly down towards Mesopotamia. When it got to the Tigris and Euphrates, it would proceed to Basra, and thence, somehow, to Karachi and Calcutta and Delhi. Everyone in Whitehall and in The City knew that, and knew what it would mean,"¹

Here was the most potent threat the British Empire had faced in generations. If the German plans were allowed to come to a head, the Reich would be in an infinitely better position to deal commercially in the East than Britain who held the paramount political position. It would mean whopping big orders for German goods of all kinds, from steel down to knickknacks. It would present the threat of a half million Teuton warriors who could be transported within a matter of days by train from Berlin to the very gates of India.

It was imperative to British strategy that the German drive to the East be halted at the gateway of the Asiatic continent. It was apparent that Great Britain must control the Near East if her Empire was to survive. Like two great patient cats England and Germany watched each other, unspoken challenge, suspicion and hate staring from their eyes. Another predatory creature, the Russian bear, as well as minor scavengers, stood by. The two feline antagonists had stalked each other for a decade, tensely awaiting *der Tag*, when the fight was unexpectedly precipitated by the explosion at Sarajevo which signaled the outbreak of the World War.

Though the primary struggle was between the rival economic ambitions of the English and Germans, the French too had their eye on this strategic sector. In March 1915, Paris made a claim for the ultimate control of all Syria including Palestine. In November 1915, M. Picot again insisted that the whole of Syria down to the Egyptian frontier must be assigned to France. Finally in May of 1916, a secret agreement was concluded known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, dividing up the spoils of the 'war for democracy' in advance. Under this agreement Palestine was to be made International, with the exception of Haifa and neighbor-

ing Acre, which were to go to England. The entire Mediterranean littoral was to go to France, whose influence was also to be paramount in Damascus, Aleppo and Mosul.

From 1788 till 1914, Great Britain had fought some twenty wars to keep the route to India open. Now for this identical reason, to put a complete end to the German *Drang nach Osten*,² she was fighting the Great War with Germany. With far-sighted suspicion she saw the friend of today as the enemy of tomorrow, and looked askance at France and the French demands. Anxiously the British Foreign Office began casting its eyes around for some plausible method to forestall the ambition of its powerful ally.

EVENTS LEADING TO LORD BALFOUR'S COMMITMENT

By the autumn of 1917, after a startling attack by the Turks on the Suez Canal, a wholly new idea had taken possession of the minds of politicians and strategists. It was obvious that a protective bastion had to be created to buttress the artery of communications with India. Such a plan made necessary absolute possession of the Palestinian coast as well as the Judean hills that command it. Now, reasoned Britain's strategists, would be an auspicious time to revive the old Palestine. In this way, instead of the proverbial two birds who were killed with one stone, a miracle could be maneuvered to make it three. First, an end would be put to French pretensions to control over this vital area. Scarcely less important, the enthusiastic support of the Jews all over the world to the Allied cause could be gained. And still a third factor, not to be overlooked, was the poverty of Judea and the surrounding desert. If the Jews would undertake to form a country here and would invest the necessary money, Britain would achieve every result it hoped for ; and this ideal fortress for the imperial lifeline, being self-supporting, would not cost the Royal Exchequer a penny.

All this sounded too good to be true, and the Government began putting out feelers to see if it could be finagled through. So

potent, in fact, did this new policy appear that already on November 22, 1915 a leading article in the *Manchester Guardian* stated that Palestine must be created as a Jewish Nation to act as a buffer state for Egypt, and concluded quite seriously that "on the realization of that condition depends the whole future of the British Empire as a sea empire."

From a purely military viewpoint, the friends of this idea in Britain urged that "the only possible colonists of Palestine were the Jews." Only they could build up in the Mediterranean a new dominion associated with Britain from the outset in Imperial work, at once a protection against the alien East and a mediator between it and England.³

Still other factors of pressing importance were at work. Lloyd George, wartime Prime Minister, was anxious to bring over the United States to the Allied side and was attempting to make good on the propaganda that the War was fought for democracy and for the righting of old wrongs. There was also the fear that Germany itself would declare for Zionism. The German Government was fully alive to the importance of rallying Jewish opinion to her side. It was suspected that the Kaiser was thinking of following Napoleon's example in his Eastern campaign. The German ruler had once declared to Herzl, when the two met in Palestine, that he was willing to undertake the 'mandate' for the Zionist settlement in Palestine if Turkey would agree.⁴ News reached the British Foreign Office that Baron Rosen, German Ambassador to the Hague, had been in conference with leading Dutch Jews.

Aside from specifically British questions of policy, the hard-pressed Allied spokesmen were poignantly aware of the instability of their ally Russia, in whose army six hundred thousand Jews were serving, men who were fighting for a government they hated, and whose success could mean nothing but degradation for them and their families. The Allies were aware that the propaganda bureau of the Central Powers was exploiting this fact for all it was worth. Daily, proclamations were scattered over the Eastern battlefield informing Jews that German victory

meant liberty for them ; ⁵ and in all neutral countries adroit advantage was being taken of the propaganda story which set the Kaiser's legions up as crusaders in a war of liberation.

Thus in a large sense the alliance of the Western Powers with Russia was a direct liability, souring any sympathy either Jews or Liberals might have had for their cause. This the declaration for a Jewish commonwealth was designed to correct. Said the British Foreign Office at the time : "The persecuting Governments became our friends, and Palestine was a most important factor in the war policy of the Allies." ⁶

Among the details is a significant *aide-memoire* by the British Embassy in Petrograd to Sazanov, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on March 13, 1916, reading :

" . . . Although as is known, many Jews are indifferent to the idea of Zionism, yet a numerous, and the most influential, part of Jewry in all the countries would very much appreciate an offer of agreement concerning Palestine *which would completely satisfy the aspiration of the Jews.*

"If the above view is correct, *then it is clear that by utilizing the Zionist idea important political results can be achieved.* Among them will be the conversion, in favour of the Allies, of Jewish elements in the Orient, in the United States, and in other places, elements whose attitude at the present time is to a considerable extent opposed to the Allies' cause.

" . . . *The only purpose of H. M. Government is to find some arrangement, sufficiently attractive to the majority of the Jews, which might facilitate the conclusion of an agreement ensuring the Jewish support.*"

The rumors that Germany was attempting to get Turkey's consent to some sort of pro-Zionist declaration crackled along the grapevine route. President Wilson, raised on Bible Prophecy, allowed it to be known in London that he would welcome a British pronouncement in favor of the Zionists.

When the inevitable happened and the great Russian bear began to collapse, the question of an alliance with Jewry took on even greater importance. Jewish influence in Russia was supposed to be considerable. Jews were playing a prominent part

in the revolution — but they were greatly divided. “Some were for peace at any price, some for the maintenance of the alliance with the Western Powers ; many were utterly uninterested in Zionism and had found a messiah in Karl Marx. . .”⁷ But the great bulk of the Russian Jews were known to be Zionists ; and with calculating eye the British computed that the alliance with Jewry might have permanent value. Zionism became an important political issue.

Negotiations were instituted with the Jewish leaders to sound them out on this pressing subject and to determine their demands. By February 1917 the way had been prepared for a formal meeting with Sir Mark Sykes of the British Foreign Office. Soon after, Mr. Nahum Sokolow, representative of the Zionist Organization, opened discussion with the French and Italian Governments. In July the Zionists submitted a memorandum to the British Cabinet suggesting the formula to be used in an official pronouncement of sympathy for their cause.

STRUGGLE WITH THE NON-ZIONISTS

If the purposes and aims of the Zionist movement needed clarification in anyone's mind, a circumstance at once occurred supplying that deficiency. The intentions of the Government were no sooner manifest than a loud and violent protest was set up by certain classes of Jews in England, France and America. Among them were the ‘new thinkers’ who, enveloped in a cloud of Marxist pharisaism, saw the projected return to Zion as a reactionary movement which violated their ‘deep Socialist convictions.’ Others were the great capitalists, who were afraid that any declaration in favor of a Jewish State might place their hard-won social position in jeopardy. Included in this strange gathering of the clans were the ultra orthodox fanatics who were awaiting the divine Messiah ; and the Reform Rabbis whose tissue-paper houses this new movement seemed destined to destroy.

The Conjoint Committee, the most influential of all Jewish bodies in England, issued a public attack on the ‘political char-

acter' of the Zionist demands, asserting that the Jews were only a religious community and not a nation. "The granting of a charter for Palestine to the Jews," it declared heatedly, "would be a disaster for all Jewry, since the equal status of the Jews with the other citizens of different States would thereby be risked." Immediately the Zionists replied with vigor. The press of the day was full of the argument, with the Government and the entire gentile world solidly on the pro-Zionist side.⁸

"Under the pressure of Allied needs," says the official British historian at the subsequent Peace Conference, "the objections of the anti-Zionists were either overruled or the causes of objection removed. . . ." ⁹ At that time the Zionists could have practically written their own ticket, since there was no subject on which everyone but the Jews themselves were so unanimously agreed as the matter of a pro-Zionist declaration. The only powerful opponent of this course in the Government was the India Office, ultra-Islamic under a Jewish Secretary of State.

Although the members of the Conjoint Committee had been hopelessly buried under an avalanche of public ridicule, certain changes were made in the wording of the Declaration to placate them.

As early as October 1916, the Zionist leaders in Britain had already submitted to the Government a formal "program for a new administration of Palestine and for a Jewish resettlement in accordance with the aspirations of the Zionist movement."

On February 7, 1917, Sir Mark Sykes communicated with Weizmann and Sokolow, together with M. Georges Picot, representing the French Government.¹⁰ This was the first of a series of round-table conferences. Its full minutes, as well as those of subsequent sessions, were transmitted to the American Zionist Organization by officials of the British War Office.

Throughout the negotiations President Wilson who, as early as 1911 had made known his profound interest in the Zionist idea, was intimately consulted; and all drafts of the proposed Declaration were submitted to the White House for approval.

The formula accepted in July 1917 by the British Cabinet read: "H. M. Government, after considering the aims of the

Zionist Organization, accepts the principle of recognizing Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people, and the right of the Jewish people to build up its national life in Palestine under a protection to be established at the conclusion of peace, following upon the successful issue of the War.

"H. M. Government regards as essential for the realization of this principle, the grant of internal autonomy to Palestine, freedom of immigration for Jews, and the establishment of a Jewish National Colonizing Corporation for the resettlement and economic development of the country.

"The conditions and forms of the internal autonomy and a charter for the Jewish National Colonizing Corporation should, in the view of H. M. Government, be elaborated in detail and determined with the representatives of the Zionist Organization." ¹¹

One of the changes introduced to mollify the anti-Zionist Jews was the substitution of the phrase "the establishment of *a* Jewish National Home in Palestine" for the previous wording, "the establishment of *the* Jewish National Home in Palestine." ¹²

By November 2, 1917, after its wording had been sufficiently emasculated to suit the 'ideals' of Jews all around, Lord Balfour placed it in the form of a letter to the pro-Zionist, Lord Rothschild, reading as follows :

"I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with the Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet.

"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 achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

"I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation."

Ironically enough, the second part of the Declaration, which was since construed by Britain to make it a self-annulling docu-

ment, was inserted on the insistence of the Zionists themselves, partly to meet the objections of Sir Philip Magnus, Mr. Claude Montefiore and other powerful non-Zionist Jews; and partly as a symbol of that "nobility of social vision" with which the strangled ghetto mind was obscured.¹³

Written by Achad Ha'am, this proviso was not in any remote sense considered as a modification of the Declaration but rather as a polite sop to quiet the fears of the non-Zionist Jews, and an equally considerate makeweight assurance to the various religious communities scattered over the Holy Land.

All of these alterations and changes in the British Government's commitment, says Herbert Sidebotham, then secretary to Premier Lloyd George, "were inserted in deference to the opinion of a minority, in the hope of securing complete unanimity among Jews. . . It was certainly no British interest, either at this stage or later, that weakened the scope of the promise and infected it with ambiguity." ¹⁴

The Zionist negotiators, naïve and inexperienced, felt that the introduction of these nice, virtuous phrases in their *magna charta* was a fitting and seemly gesture with which to begin their great adventure. Herzl, who had the gift of seeing beyond his nose, would have known better.

WHAT DID THE DECLARATION MEAN?

In view of the cool disclaimers which were to come later, it is interesting to note what interpretation was placed on the British Government's Declaration to the Jews at the time. Whatever bearing it might have had on the commendable questions of humaneness and justice, it could hardly be regarded as a wholly benevolent gesture. Balfour himself, handsome, clever and icy, was no mere romantic. He who had pacified Ireland with guns and was known as 'Bloody Balfour' in consequence, could hardly be accused of suddenly developing a philanthropic complex in favor of Jews.

The benefits immediately accruing to the Allied cause need hardly be argued. Certainly the tremendous number of Jewish

soldiers fighting in the Armies of the Western Powers were fired by this warm earnest of good faith. Nor can one estimate the weight of Jewish influence in neutral countries, which dropped heavily on the Allied side of the scales. Nor the enthusiastic aid given to the Allenby invasion of Palestine. Nor the stirring effect of the Jewish Legion, fighting to right the oldest wrong in history, on the imaginations of Jewry and the world. Nor the fillip it gave the Allied claims when Palestine, the first conquered territory, was trumpeted to all humanity as newly liberated.

Not only was the effect of this superb piece of propaganda felt in all neutral countries but it was immediate in its reaction on the morale of the Central Empires, with their stew of subject races, accelerating the cleavage then taking place between the subject nationalities and their overlords. Worthy of note, too, is the boldness with which the German Zionist Conference in Berlin adopted and cabled a Resolution "greeting with satisfaction the fact that the British Government has recognized in an official declaration the right of the Jewish people to a national existence in Palestine." In fact, after the British announcement, the Central Powers did all they could to win the Zionist movement over to their side. They formulated a rival proposition, involving a chartered company with a form of self-government and the right of free immigration into Palestine ; and "by the end of 1917 it was known that the Turks were willing to accept a scheme on those lines." ¹⁵

Wholeheartedly the great and important body of fundamentalist Christian opinion, hating war for any proclaimed purpose, rose to the bait. Jannaway expresses this profound conviction in his book, *Palestine and the World*, asserting that Biblical Prophecy was being fulfilled exactly as predicted, thus placing Jehovah squarely on the side of the Western Powers.

"Indeed," says a semi-official British publication, "support of the Zionist ambitions promised much for the Allies. . . That it is in purpose a direct contract with Jewry is beyond question." ¹⁶ This was acknowledged plainly by General Smuts, member of the War Cabinet, who speaking retrospectively some years later, asserted that "the Declaration was intended to rally the powerful

Jewish influence for the Allied cause at the darkest hour of the War"; a statement which David Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and others, emphatically reiterated.

The Declaration was unreservedly endorsed by the other Powers. On June 4, 1917 the French Government, through its Minister, M. Cambon, formally committed itself to "the renaissance of the Jewish nationality in that Land from which the people of Israel were exiled so many centuries ago." Even in faraway China, Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, assured the Zionists that "the Nationalist Government is in full sympathy with the Jewish people in their desire to establish a country for themselves."¹⁷

In America, echoed by practically every official of public importance, President Wilson wrote that "the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." In gratitude the American Jewish Congress cabled H. M. Government, on November 2, 1917, its desire that Great Britain should be given the trusteeship, "acting on behalf of such League of Nations, as may be formed, to assure the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth. . ." In the United States Congress, members expressed general accord with "the British Declaration in favor of a Jewish State in the Holy Land." The minutes of its sessions show that this understanding had not altered by an iota five years later, when the American Congress was induced to put its seal of approval, by resolution, on the selection of Great Britain as the Mandatory for Palestine.

The utterances of the Cabinet ministers who framed the Declaration were no less emphatic. General Smuts asserted that "in generations to come you will see a great Jewish State rising there once more." Declared Lloyd George grandly: ". . . Great Britain extended its mighty hand in friendship to the Jewish people to help it to regain its ancient national home *and to realize its age-long aspirations.*" Said Lord Robert Cecil: "Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians and Judea for the Jews." And on another

occasion he lumped the whole matter in a nutshell, telling the excited Zionists: "We have given you national existence. In your hands lies your national future." Lord Balfour was no less clear. "The destruction of Judea 1900 years ago," he asserted, "was one of the greatest historical crimes, which the Allies now endeavor to remedy."

British newspapers were as one in their mighty paean of approval. Without exception they spoke of "the new Jewish State which is to be formed under the suzerainty of a Christian Power." Across the water, the American newspapers echoed these remarks in the same expansive detail. A representative editorial of the time explains: "The Zionists are that group of Jews who wish to found a Jewish Republic in Palestine with Jerusalem as the capital. . . The British cabinet has pronounced in favor of Zionism." ¹⁸

CHAPTER VI

BRASS BUTTONS AND STUFFED SHIRTS

MARCHING JEWS

Anti-Zionists invariably stress the part played by the Arabs during the War, inferring that the sons of Ishmael earned their patrimony, and that the Jews, who had done nothing, insolently demanded a chunk of the Arab pie when the spoils were being divided.

Actually the Jewish share in the victory was significant, well justifying in value received the solemn bargain made with world Jewry to reconstitute the Land of Israel as a living factor among the nations.

In the neutral countries the Allied cause, associated everywhere in the Jewish mind with justice and equity, was given invaluable support. Jews fought in the armies of all the Western Powers. Over a hundred thousand Jewish soldiers were killed in action. In the British Empire itself, out of a total community of 425,000 Jews, 50,000 were in uniform. In true Maccabean spirit they earned more than their share of honors and decorations on the battlefield. One of them was the heroic Sir John Monash, leader of the Australians.

Behind the lines, the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann was the genius directing the Admiralty Chemical Laboratories. According to Lloyd George, he "absolutely saved the British army at a critical moment" by devising a substitute for exhausted English supplies of acetone, used in making the basic material in gunpowder. Among others, Sir Alfred Stern invented the tank, which saved the Western Powers from annihilation during the latter part of the fighting. Solomon J. Solomon created the idea of camouflage, allowing harassed Allied shipping to run the U-boat blockade. Everywhere Jewish brains, money, valor and enthusiasm were placed wholeheartedly at the service of the Allies.

In Palestine itself, as a result of their commitment to the Western Powers, Jews were tortured, executed and deported. When the final truce came, fully half of them were dead or had fled abroad.

In 1915 Palestinian refugees in Egypt had organized the Zion Mule Corps under the leadership of dashing Captain Trumpledor, a one-armed veteran of the Russo-Japanese War. Colonel Patterson, the British officer who led these men in the ill-fated Gallipoli campaign, declared: "I have been in the army a long time, but I never saw anything like the way those Zionists picked up the art of soldiery." For the first time since Roman days, the Zion Mule Corps fought under the proudly floating Jewish ensign, the blue and white *Mogen David* (Shield of David).

In the meanwhile a brilliant young Russian writer, Vladimir Jabotinsky, had been scurrying around in an attempt to organize a legion of Jewish volunteers from the Diaspora countries to fight directly under the Jewish flag. With rare insight he pointed out that words and promises were soon forgotten and that the most enduring Jewish title to the Holy Land would come from a direct investment of Jewish blood under a Jewish flag.

The influential capitalist Jews were aghast. They put pressure on the British War Office to stop this little impassioned Zionist with the underslung jaw who they believed was jeopardizing their position in the gentile world with his lunatic nonsense. But the British needed this Jewish regiment for publicity purposes: they had made themselves the champion of the oldest betrayed nationality in existence, impressive to the Poles, Czechs, Armenians, etc., who had been listening to the noble assurances of the Western Powers with their tongues in their cheeks. The War Office consequently overrode the objections of the anti-Zionists and allowed Jabotinsky to form *The Jewish Regiment*. As the protest of the scared English Jews became louder, the regiment's name was changed to *The Judeans*, official sub-title for the 38th Royal Fusiliers. Following hard on its heels came another Jewish battalion, the 39th Fusiliers.

London was groggy with excitement. The official propagandists did not miss this glamorous opportunity to exploit the

sheer romance of the historic occasion. At a giant mass meeting seeing the Jewish warriors off, the Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P., spoke fulsomely in the name of His Majesty the King. He eulogized the Jewish soldiers as "fellow fighters for freedom," and assured his listeners that "the British Government proclaimed its policy of Zionism because it believes that Zionism is identified with the policy and aims for which good men and women are struggling everywhere."

In Palestine *The Judeans* were joined by Colonel Patterson's seasoned campaigners, the Zion Mule Corps. The Jewish national anthem rang in their ears as they marched, and over their heads waved the Jewish flag.

Wildly enthusiastic, the able-bodied Jews in the conquered territory enlisted. With an appreciation almost reverential the British *Peace Handbook No. 60* announced that "the most important event which has taken place . . . since our occupation, has been the recruiting of the Palestine Jews, whatever their national States, into the British Army. . . Practically the whole available Jewish youth of the Colonies . . . came forward for voluntary enlistment in the Jewish Battalions."

The distinguished service rendered by these Jewish regiments is indelibly written in the records. Said General Bartholomew: "For the Turks the end of the War was dependent upon maintenance of the Jordan front against Allenby, and on this decisive sector of the front not the Arab Army fought, but the Jewish Legion."¹ It was the Jews who took the fords of the Jordan, thus opening the way for the passage of the British Army and contributing in great measure to the brilliant victory at Damascus. This was amply confirmed by General Chaytor, leader of the Australian and New Zealand cavalry and Commander-in-Chief of all troops in the Jordan Valley, who emphasized publicly "the facts of the heroic struggle made by the 38th and 39th Fusilier Battalions," who had marched on to conquer Transjordan and had thus contributed heavily to the victory over the Fourth Turkish Army.²

Of fully as great importance was the voluntary intelligence service rendered by the celebrated Nili Society all over the Holy

Land. Organized by the scientist Alexander Aronson,³ its daring exploits were largely instrumental in the success of Allenby's campaign. Far from giving the invaders any help, the Palestine Arabs were, as we shall see, either apathetic or directly hostile.

Spiritedly the Palestinian volunteers addressed themselves to Colonel Patterson when he landed with his Jewish boys: "We are convinced that Britain's victory is ours and our victory Britain's. This war and Balfour's declaration have made us a sister nation of England. We hope to convince by our fighting that the soul of the Maccabees has not dried up and that we know how to countersign Balfour's declaration with our own blood." ⁴

They had every reason to feel 'convinced.' In April 1917 the British War Department had issued a statement on *War Aims in the Near East* in which it was proclaimed that "Palestine was to be recognized as the Jewish National Home. . . The Jewish population present and future throughout Palestine is to possess and enjoy full national, political and civic rights. . . The Suzerain Government shall grant full and free rights of immigration into Palestine to Jews of all countries. . . The Suzerain Government shall grant a charter to a Jewish Company for the colonization and development of Palestine, the Company to have the power to acquire and take over any concessions for works of a public character . . . and the rights of preemption of Crown lands or other lands not held in private or religious ownership, and such other powers and privileges as are usual in charters or statutes of similar colonizing bodies." These statements were simultaneously reduced by the Allied war propagandists to brief slogans and exploited to the fullest advantage everywhere.

Addressing the first Conference of Jews in the liberated area, Major W. Ormsby-Gore, later as Colonial Secretary to suffer a serious case of amnesia, orated for His Majesty's Government as follows:

"Mr. Balfour has made a historic declaration with regard to the Zionists: that he wishes to see created and built up in

Palestine a National Home for the Jewish People. What do we understand by this? We mean that those Jews who voluntarily come to live in Palestine, should live in Palestine as Jewish nationalists. . . *You are bound together in Palestine by the need of building up a Jewish nation in all its various aspects, a national center for Jewry all over the world to look at.*"⁵

The marching Jews listened. The great dream which had inspired the Jewish mind for so many long centuries, seemed about to be realized. They believed Britain's word implicitly.

REVOLTING TRIBESMEN

Part of Lloyd George's technique during the War was connected with the old art of inciting dissatisfaction within the enemy camp. This practice had proven especially effective with the moribund Austro-Hungarian Empire, and several capable agents, including the famous Lawrence, were sent to Arabia to foment an insurrection there if possible.

The English started with little in their favor. To speak of Turkish oppression of the Arab was actually an absurdity, unless one referred to the Levantine Christian on the coast. The constitution of the Ottoman Empire was the Arab's *Koran* from which the Turk derived his law, religion and culture. Even the Turkish language became half Arabic; and it was only with the later revolution under Kemal Pasha that the decadent Arab cultural pattern which ruled the life of the Ottoman nation was eliminated.

Under Turkish suzerainty the Arab areas were virtually independent, ruled by local chiefs whose authority was recognized by the Sultan. Arabs held high position all over the Empire. The Sultan's Guards were almost completely Arab. The schools and army were dominated by them. Even the Prime Minister, Mahmoud Chawkat Pasha, was an Arab.

The whole system of Moslemism itself practically precluded any idea of national sentiment, until it began to arise under the stimulus of British agitators. In Baghdad some Arabs of vaulting ambition had formed Nationalist Committees, but the

mass of townsmen and fellahs were utterly apathetic to any nationalist feeling. Regional sectarianism was everywhere the rule. The Shiah did not desire a Sunni government; nor would the Sunnis tolerate a Shiah rule, while the mass of tribesmen did not desire any government at all.

As matters rested, the British were compelled to create a completely synthetic situation if they were to have the great Arab revolt come off. They decided to rely on private rivalries and ambitions; and here they made a shrewd guess: the desert was a hotbed of rapacity, hatreds and feuds.

Sitting immobile in the Hejaz was the Sherif Hussein, descendant of the Prophet and unbending hater of Christians and all their works. Almost alone among the Arabian princes he was the nominee of the Turks. His measure may be gained from the fact that he even prohibited talking-machines in his kingdom, believing them to be the invention of the devil.

On the other side of Hussein was his mortal enemy, the gigantic Ibn Saud of Nejd. Saud, a good hater who believed in the old Mohammedan tenets of conversion by disemboweling, was also in conflict with the powerful Emir of Hail, who was being supported by the Turks.

The British wanted Hussein for the moral effect they presumed his name would have on the Faithful, and made overtures to him early. Part of these 'negotiations' lay in the bland threat to feed him outright to the ferocious Saud, to whom they were handing a subsidy of £5000 a month to insure his neutrality. To make the argument more pointed, Britain politely withheld the annual donation from Egypt to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, threatening the Hejaz with bankruptcy, since this pilgrimage provided the barren land with its chief source of revenue. The Sherif had still other and more urgent considerations to hasten his decision. One of these was the British naval blockade of the Arabian coast, "inevitably aggravating the internal distress caused by the lack of pilgrims."⁶

That Hussein's overlordship of the Holy Places would make him an acceptable leader to all the Arabs of the Peninsula turned out to be an error. Even at that time, his mortal enemy, Saud,

was the principal power in South Central Arabia as was another mutual opponent, Ibn Rashid of Hayil, in the North Central part. Nor would the great sheikhs, such as those of the Huwallah, the Shammar, or the Mutair accept Hussein's overlordship, or even permit him to speak for them.⁷

The whole business degenerated into a confused medley of intrigue, directed by a multitude of British agencies acting under conflicting instructions and authority; the powerful India Office, for example, bucked the traces completely and gave encouragement to Ibn Saud as the logical leader of the rebellion.⁸

Just what kind of 'Arab patriot' Hussein was, may be learned from the fact that he allowed a contingent of volunteers to be recruited in his territory for the abortive Turkish expedition to the Suez Canal in February 1915, and used his influence to assist the crew of the German cruiser *Emden* which had been harassing British communications off the Red Sea Coast.⁹ Thus he negotiated with Turks and British alike until he could make sure he was backing the right horse. Actually all he wanted or hoped to secure was complete independence in his own corner of southwestern Arabia, military support against his rival, Ibn Saud, and unfettered control of the lucrative pilgrim revenue.

Finally, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, tried his hand. He found Hussein a good horse-trader, non-committal and holding out for the highest bidder.

In order to force the 'Arab patriot' to move, the British had to submit to as fine a mulcting as they have ever experienced. The Agreement entered into early in 1916, reads that "The Government of Great Britain agrees to furnish this Arab Government with all its needs of arms and ammunition and money during the War." What this transaction was like is more than explained in the wireless received by McMahon's confidential assistant, Sir Ronald Storrs, just before the 'rebellion' broke out. It read: "*Foreign Office has approved payment of £10,000 to Abdullah and £50,000 to Sherif of Mecca. But this latter payment only in return for definite action and if a reliable rising takes place.*"¹⁰ All told, the English handed over to the Sherif

a cool £11,000,000 in materials and money, and stimulated his patriotism with grandiose promises of personal power.¹¹ Nothing else than this flood of gold, writes Lawrence cynically, "would have performed the miracle of keeping a tribal army in the field for five months on end." And C. S. Jarvis, English Governor of Sinai Peninsula, comments that Arab actions from start to finish "proved that they were only interested in the revolution for three objects in the following order of importance — gold, loot, and the satisfactory clearing up of their own *daraks* or areas."¹² Indeed, the only time a full muster of the 'patriots' could be counted on was payday.

The whole 'campaign of the desert' was a strangely inept piece of business, vastly enlarged on by British publicists for outside consumption. A good account of it is given by the French General, Edouard Brémont, in his book *Le Hedjaz dans la Guerre Mondiale*. Hussein himself is described as "an obstinate, narrow-minded, suspicious character," so insanely jealous of his son Feisal that he was forever issuing from his throne in Mecca, out of sheer pique, "orders that from time to time jeopardized the cause."¹³

Observers, neutral and friendly, have described the character of these purchased levies. They were not, by our standards, good soldiers. Bloodless victories were the kind that they appreciated, and Lawrence's understanding of this preference dictated his whole strategy of irregular warfare. Colonel Wilson, the English representative at Hussein's court, contemptuously refers to them as "a cowardly and undisciplined rabble"; and Lawrence makes no bones about their cowardice under Turkish fire.¹⁴ "Lawrence knew," says Jarvis, "that if his Arabs suffered heavy casualties in a direct attack they would never recover from the effect and would disseminate into thin air."¹⁵

Lawrence states, moreover, that "it was impossible to mix or combine tribes, since they disliked or distrusted one another. Likewise, we could not use the men of one tribe in the territory of another."¹⁶ With sardonic resignation he observes: "My men were blood enemies of thirty tribes, and only for my hand

over them would have murdered in the ranks every day. Their feuds prevented them combining against me; while their unlikeness gave me sponsors and spies wherever I went or sent. . .”¹⁷

Often the Arabs refused to fight at all because they were not satisfied with the amount of loot they were receiving. Lawrence himself was once abandoned with two companions in the middle of an engagement, his Arab allies having gone raving mad with the lust of plunder. In their frenzy they fought among themselves, and soon were all ‘missing,’ “having dispersed with their spoil.” Even in victory they did not hesitate to leave their own wounded lying helpless on the ground while they looted. Under these circumstances, says Lawrence, they lost their wits completely and “were as ready to assault friend as foe.”¹⁸ Without exception, every observer comments that they invariably broke off in the middle of an engagement to disappear into the desert with their captured gains. There is actually no recorded instance of an Arab accomplishment in the way of a spectacular battle or the capture of a large town with its garrison.

The British, in fact, had their hands full with their wild allies. Aviators had to fly at a considerable height to avoid being shot at by the Bedouins, who had “an irresistible desire to shoot anything that was moving fast.”¹⁹ They found the Arab chiefs volcanic and suspicious and ever ready to resent the presence of infidels. “Many of them,” writes Captain Hart, “behaved as if the British officers were their servants, and set an example of rudeness that was imitated by their followers, as well as by their slaves.” Lawrence cautioned his men frankly before an excursion into the desert “that there was no need to worry about the Turks, but every need to worry about our allies, the Bedouins.”²⁰ Nor would he instruct his tribesmen in the handling of the high explosives used to cripple the Turkish transportation system, afraid that they “would keep on playfully blowing up trains even after the termination of the war.”²¹

The whole Lawrence legend in itself has been sadly exaggerated. He was a brave and clever man, but the truth of the

matter is that he never penetrated into Arabia at all, and merely went down the western coastal fringe from Mecca northward along the Pilgrim railway.²² Most of the inhabitants of Arabia could hardly have known of his existence, "while the suggestion implied of Arabian unification under a foreigner and a non-Moslem is, of course, a myth."²³

His entire 'army' of purchased irregulars did not amount to a row of peanuts when compared with the Arabs fighting on the Turkish side against the detested infidel. Simultaneous with the Sherif's commitment to the Allies, his powerful neighbor Hussein Mabeirig, chief of the Rabegh Harb, joined the Turks; and facing the invaders was at least one entire Ottoman division made up entirely of Arab men and officers.

The number who participated in the 'revolt' were an uncertain and fluctuating quantity, "simply gathering," says Bertram Thomas, "for some particular expedition in numbers that sometimes reached a few thousand, but were more often only a few hundred." Lloyd George estimated their total number to aggregate "but a few thousand horsemen," remarking that "the vast majority of their race in the Great War were fighting for their Turkish conquerors."²⁴

There have been few peoples in history who have gotten so much for giving so little. In Iraq the Arabs took almost no part whatsoever in the fighting, and always were to be found on the winning side. Now with the Turks, now with the British, loot was their principal object. Blood-curdling eyewitness accounts tell how Turks and Englishmen alike were murdered for their small possessions. Unfortunate prisoners had their bellies ripped open in search of the gold liras which the Arabs thought the soldiers had swallowed. Graves containing Turkish and English dead were despoiled for any articles which might have been buried with them. Throughout the Turkish Empire the phrase *Khayin Arab* (treacherous Arab) became an ugly proverb.²⁵

As shown by the records, as far as Palestine is concerned, the Arab contribution to its conquest was indirect and trifling. Not a single Arab was employed in the conquest of Cis-Jordan. In

Trans-Jordan it was the Jewish Legions who, having assisted the English to take the passages of the Jordan River, marched on to capture Es Salt, then considered its principal town. Lawrence's Arabs were far away in the desert engaged in butchering and looting fleeing men, fellow-Arabs of the Turkish army, who had been routed by British guns and airplanes. The soldier, Duff, his blood turned cold by these activities, describes their "strange, twisted mentality. . ." ²⁸

At this time the dazzling fiction of a Palestinian Arab struggle against the Turks had not yet been invented. The British themselves, roiled by the disinclination of Palestine Arabs to assist in any way, described them as "sunk in almost animal brutishness, moved by no spirit of personal liberty or freedom for their native land." A study of Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* reveals that his levies were all desert tribesmen except for ten Syrians, of whom six 'ratted' and four deserted. No Palestinian Arab is mentioned by Lawrence. The British, who were later to speak pompously of Arab nationalism in Palestine, were of quite a different sentiment in 1918. British *Peace Handbook No. 60* declares briskly that "they have little if any national sentiment. . . The Moslem Effendi class . . . evince a feeling somewhat akin to hostility towards the Arab movement. . . This class, while regretting the opportunities for illegitimate gain offered by Turkish rule, has no real political cohesion, and, above all, no power of organization." There was in fact not a single Arab personality in Palestine with whom the British could negotiate. With their experiences still fresh in English minds, the *Peace Handbook* repeats Burton's jibe that these Levantines "hide their weapons at the call of patriotism."

Despite the ado subsequently made over the vaunted promises to Hussein, all the evidence indicates that until British policy shifted after the War, the idea that Palestine should become Arabic had not even been contemplated. It is certain that during Lawrence's campaign Feisal and his principal henchmen had their eye upon Syria, not upon Palestine, and that the rank and file were interested in money and loot and nothing else. McMahon himself vigorously denied that any pledge had been

given to Hussein which could be construed to mean that Palestine was to be included in the Arab area ; and in Commons on July 11, 1922, Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, declared : "No pledges were made to the Palestine Arabs in 1915. So far as I am aware, the first suggestion that Palestine was included in the area within which His Majesty's Government promised to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs, was made . . . more than five years after the conclusion of the correspondence on which the claim was based." The promise to Hussein was in any case crazy ; for, as Sidebotham points out, he was not in a position to pledge the Arabs outside the Hejaz to anything.

When Hussein finally proclaimed himself Commander of the Faithful, it proved a fatal step, hardening against him the Wahabis and other fanatic Moslem groups in whose eyes the Sherif was an infidel backslider. London, too, was tiring of his incessant demands and arrogance ; and burned with rage when the new King of the Hejaz refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles and wriggled out of joining the League of Nations under British tutelage. Quietly they withdrew their support from the recalcitrant Hussein and let it be known that he was now on his own.²⁷ Saud, who had been waiting for this moment, needed no further invitation. He promptly occupied Mecca, chased Hussein off to exile in Cyprus, and henceforth styled himself King of the Hejaz and Sultan of Nejd.

While the Sherif was engaged in this death struggle with his ancient enemy, Britain stepped in and demanded that he place Maan and the Red Sea port of Aqaba under British Mandate. On May 27, 1925, the British Government regretfully informed the Commander of the Faithful that if he would not accede to this demand, it "would have to take Aqaba and Maan by force." On June 18, both towns became part of Transjordan. Here was created the need for a fresh departure in British Arabic policy since their new protégé, Saud, would not accept the fact of British possession gracefully ; he continued to roar with aggrieved self-righteousness that he had been robbed. This friction, which persists until today, resulted in still another of

Whitehall's famous zigzags, this time back in the direction of Abdullah of the House of Hussein.

THE ARAB VIEW OF ZIONISM

During all the period that the Zionists had been without benefit of Balfour Declaration or Mandatory 'assistance,' the attitude of the Arabs toward the Jewish National Movement had been one of almost unanimous approval. In 1906, Farid Kassab, famous Syrian author, had expressed the view uniformly held by Arabs: "The Jews of the Orient are at home. This land is their only fatherland. They don't know any other." ²⁸ A year later Dr. Gaster reported that he had "held conversations with some of the leading sheikhs, and they all expressed themselves as very pleased with the advent of the Jews, for they considered that with them had come *barakat*, i.e., blessing, since the rain came in due season." ²⁹

The Moslem religious leader, the Mufti, was openly friendly, even taking a prominent part in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone for the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus. Throughout Arabia the chiefs were for the most part distinctly pro-Zionist; and in Palestine the peasantry were delighted at every prospect of Jewish settlement near their villages. They let few opportunities slip to proclaim in flowery oriental rhetoric the benefits that Jewish colonization was bringing them. Land acquisition was easy. Commercial intercourse between Arab and Jew was constant and steady. In the face of the practical regard with which the impoverished natives viewed these queer *Moskubs* ³⁰ who brought with them manna from heaven, the anti-Zionist elements, if they existed, kept silent. Remarkably enough, the incoming Zionists, vigorous, modern, and capable, were treated with high respect, while the native Jew still remained despised.

The Arab National Movement itself, puny, inexperienced, and hated by the huge Levantine population who continued to regard themselves simply as Ottoman subjects, looked to the

strong, influential Zionist Organization for sympathy and assistance.

Hussein of the Hejaz who had been booted upstairs by the British into a position of recognized authority in the Arab Nationalist Movement after the War, distrusted European nations and their statesmen to the very marrow of his bones. He looked to the Zionists, as a kindred folk, for the financial and scientific experience of which the projected Arab state would stand badly in need. When the Balfour Declaration was communicated to him in January 1918, he had replied "with an expression of good will towards a kindred Semitic race."³¹

In May of the same year, at Aqaba where he held court and made camp, Hussein was visited by Dr. Weizmann, head of the Zionist Commission. At this desert conference the British Government and the Arab Bureau in Cairo were well represented. Feisal, dark, majestic son of the Sherif, spoke as the Arab representative. Intimate mutual cooperation between the two Movements was pledged. The Zionists were to provide political, technical and financial advisers to the Arabs; and it was agreed that Palestine was to be the Jewish sphere of influence and development. This alliance fitted perfectly with Hussein's ideas. Basic hostility to all Christian powers characterized father and son, who felt that the Jews were the indispensable allies, and indeed the instruments, of a new Arab renaissance. They regarded a dominantly Jewish Palestine as the necessary foundation to a greater Arabia; and were anxious for a rapid development of the Peninsula if it were to become capable of resisting the attacks which their weakness must sooner or later invite.

When Feisal came to Europe in 1919 representing the Arab cause, the Zionists submitted their plans to him. Both Feisal and Lawrence approved of them, and early in 1919 these conversations culminated in a Treaty of Friendship. Solemnly signed, this convention provided for the "closest possible collaboration" in the development of the Arab State and the coming Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine. National boundaries were

considered ; ³² Mohammedan Holy Places were to be under Mohammedan control ; the Zionist Organization undertook to provide economic experts to the new Arab State ; and the Arabs agreed to facilitate the carrying into effect of the Balfour Declaration and to "encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale." ³³

On March 3, 1919, Feisal acting officially for the Arab movement, wrote : "We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, insofar as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

The Arab leaders placed themselves on record everywhere in an obvious effort to attain Zionist support for their own aspirations, then under the cloud of European Imperialist ambitions. A representative example is Feisal's public communication to Sir Herbert Samuel, pleading the need to "maintain between us that harmony so necessary for the success of our common cause."

On meticulous English records, carefully buried in the Government vaults, the entire story is written in comprehensive detail. At all discussions British representatives were present. Lawrence was the official translator at almost all of them. Officially, Major Ormsby-Gore was liaison officer on the ground. It was he who pulled the strings between Arab and Jew, at a time when Zionism was still *persona grata* to the gentlemen who rule Whitehall.

THE MILITARY JUNTA

Whatever the mighty deeds and feats of derring-do by English arms elsewhere in the Great War, it is not a fact that they alone conquered Palestine. It is only a fact that an English general led the attacking forces, much as Marshal Foch commanded the Allies on the Western Front.

When with pennants flying, Sir Edmund Allenby made his historic entry into Jerusalem on December 9, 1917, the Hebrew battalions were also there. Sir John Monash's Australians were the bulk of his effectives. Under his command, among others, was a contingent of French Colonials and a force of Italian Bersaglieri from Lybia. As he victoriously entered, Allenby was flanked on one side by M. François Georges-Picot and on the other by Major d'Augustino, the French and Italian representatives respectively.

It was understood all around that the expressed Jewish wish was to have the British in control during the early period when the foundations of the Jewish National Home were to be laid. The Zionists were at the time much afraid of the practical results which might follow from the International control favored by the French and Italians; and they looked on the English as their friends and sponsors. Under this Jewish insistence the Latins generously allowed their interests to lapse, and the English military was left in complete authority.

The surrender of Jerusalem coincided exactly with the Feast of Chanukah, which commemorates the recapture of the Temple from the heathen Seleucids by Judas Maccabeus in the year 165 B.C. Lending color to this coincidence, General Allenby said on entering: "We have come not as conquerors but as deliverers."

But hardly had the Turks been driven out when it became apparent to Jew and Arab alike that the entire Administration was uncompromisingly opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the Declaration. In his solemn proclamation after taking the Capital, Allenby spoke as if the Declaration had never been issued. In fact no mention was made of the Jewish National Home in any official announcement in Palestine until May 1, 1920. Even all references to the Jewish Legion, unstintingly praised in the military dispatches for its gallantry in action, were suppressed by G.H.Q. from the dispatches as published in the Palestine and Egyptian papers. The amazed Zionists suddenly discovered that "the Military Administration . . . was anti-Zionist and perhaps anti-Jewish."³⁴

Weizmann and his cohorts had been used to dealing with suave statesmen whose assurances were still ringing in their ears. Balfour had just reiterated that "no one is now opposed to Zionism. The success of Zionism is secure."³⁵ Ormsby-Gore had even gone so far as to urge the immediate creation of a Jewish passport. In Jerusalem the consuls of almost every country were, out of courtesy, newly appointed Jews. The official British *Peace Handbook on Zionism*, giving on the highest possible authority the Government's conception of what it had agreed to, read: "Jewish opinion would prefer Palestine to be controlled for the present as a part, or at least a dependency, of the British Empire; but its administration should be largely entrusted to Jews of the Colonist type. . . Zionists of this way of thinking believe that, under such conditions, the Jewish population would rapidly increase until the Jew became the predominant partner of the combination."

The Zionists were under the impression that they had "gained the adhesion of the Powers to practically the exact terminology of the Basle program adopted in 1897" under the direction of Herzl.³⁶ They were totally unprepared for the unexpected attitude of the Military, and stood around rubbing their hands in consternation.

The Generals, looking on the pro-Zionist commitment of the Foreign Office as little less than criminal lunacy, virtually refused to carry out London's orders. In this they were obviously abetted by headquarters in Cairo which, in addition to holding the direction of military operations, contained a staff of political observers. For reasons which will be discussed later, the Military considered the Jews to be dangerous Bolsheviks who were conspiring to upset the Empire. Moreover, the rivalry with the French was now going on full blast and the Generals hoped to exclude them from Syria altogether. Sir Arthur Money, who took over the administration for Allenby, in high elation reported that he had interviewed a number of 'Syrians' and that "their idea of Government for Palestine was that we should govern it; the idea was pure bliss to them." In

his mind's eye he already considered Palestine a British colony from which Jews were to be excluded.

The Zionists were put in their place with a bang. Despite the Jewish majority in Jerusalem, "the Army . . . appointed two-thirds of the Jerusalem Corporation Arab and only one-third Jewish." ³⁷ General Money decided that all tax forms and receipts should be printed in English and Arabic only ; and the Military Governor of Jaffa declared insolently that he was going to address Jewish delegations in Arabic.

The attitude of the Generals toward the Jews was contemptuous and hostile ; and subordinates were swiftly responsive to the cue supplied by their superior officers. General Money asserted with cool complacency : "I have asked many people in position — in England and elsewhere — why England has capitulated to the Zionists, but none of them has been able to give me a straight answer." He came to the amusing conclusion that the Holy Land had been handed over to Weizmann who had demanded it as his pound of flesh for having invented "in the nick of time . . . some ultra-Teutonic deadliness of gas and bombs." ³⁸

Not uninstrusive of the whole tone of this administration is the case given by Horace Samuel, late Judicial Officer in Palestine, of a medical official "who quite frankly and with barely concealed relish announced that Jew-baiting had been the sport of kings for centuries and centuries." ³⁹ All told, the British officers, quite apart from any question of higher politics, "regarded the Balfour Declaration as damn nonsense, the Jews as a damn nuisance, and natives into the bargain ; and the Arabs as damn good fellows." ⁴⁰

HANDRUBBING STATESMEN

It was tragic for the hopes of Zion that the spirit of the Ghetto still stared from the brooding eyes of Jewish leaders. With a few notable exceptions, they carried with them into the new movement the spirit of philosophic resignation, the unworldly

dreaming and weakness under attack which had characterized life in the Russian Pale. Wise politicians would have known that the Balfour Declaration was only the beginning of their troubles; that from this time onward, the Jewish estate would have to be protected by every artifice that stubborn determination and vigilance could invent. But the inexperienced Zionists considered their provisional charter to be the solution to all problems. Learnedly they mapped and blueprinted the perfect society which was gradually to unfold its petals like a lovely orchid in the new Land of Israel.

Shocked by these pedantic vagaries, the shrewd Nordau urged that a half million Jews be thrown into Palestine at once. The Bolshevik horror alone could have supplied such a number of weary refugees who would have been eager to migrate to the Holy Land under any conditions. The practical difficulties to such a project were by no means insuperable, and, fully as important, Arab resistance to the policy of the Jewish National Home was at this time scarcely visible. Arab landowners, holders of great vacant stretches, were under the impression that radical land legislation was impending and were anxious to sell at any price. It was a golden opportunity, never to come again.

But Zionist spokesmen at that time were opposed to what they considered 'premature' immigration, and wanted to build on 'sound' lines. With cautious logic they demanded to know: "How will these people live? We have no houses for them — they will starve!"⁴¹

"Let them live in tents — let them starve!" replied Nordau. "But you had better bring them in at once while the opportunity lasts. Gentlemen, you have the Balfour Declaration: *but you don't know England!*"

The Hierarchy, condemning Nordau and his followers as 'impractical, unidealistic and headstrong,' was content to wait. Its initiative had been immobilized by the collapse of Russia which had been the great center of Zionism. The Bolsheviks, coming into power, had outlawed the movement on the grounds that it was a tool of the Imperialists and a betrayal of the Jewish masses. Quoting the master, Marx, to show that Jews were

only a social class and not a nation, they declared Jewish nationalism a counter-revolutionary activity.

Completely upset by this volcanic withdrawal of their principal source of support, the bewildered Zionists did nothing. Their complete reliance on the good faith of British assurances caused them to neglect the most logical and prudent step, that of consolidating their position quickly, before opposition forces had had time to collect themselves.

The British could hardly believe their eyes when the Jewish leaders, obsessed with vague schemes for national ownership of the land, actually welcomed the drastic legislation ordered by Allenby prohibiting land sales as well as immigration. They did not even protest when the Jewish Legion was cavalierly disbanded and told to leave the Holy Land for their points of origin, though the balance of Allenby's force remained under arms.

In London a Jewish Commission had been arranged for, ostensibly to take over the business of developing the country under the protecting arm of the Military. Headed by Dr. Weizmann, it arrived July 24, 1918, equipped, with the authority of the British Government, to advise the Palestine Administration on Jewish affairs. As head of this essentially political body, Weizmann's first act was to warn his hearers to beware of treacherous insinuations that Zionists were seeking political power.⁴²

The Generals, who had been treating the Jewish population as if it were non-existent, did not even bother with blandishments; they simply ignored the Commission altogether. Not even a pretense of friendship with the Government could be maintained.

With a pointed demonstration of contempt, when the Jewish National Anthem was played at a concert in a Jewish school, General Money and his staff deliberately kept their seats. Putty-souled Zionist leaders, who might have used the incident for a complete show-down fight in a world where the advantage of sympathy and legality was all theirs, remembered the knout of the Czars, sweated and kept silent.

Incident multiplied itself on incident, and for twenty months the *status quo* of the country remained unchanged. The only time the Zionist leaders opened their mouths was when "the notorious anti-Semite Colonel Scott (acting head of the Judiciary) publicly insulted the Jews and the Jewish religion in the corridor of the Law Courts."⁴³ The howl that went up, forced by Orthodox institutions, compelled him to resign.

The Zionists were badly rattled. Wanting the hardihood necessary to handle this admittedly difficult situation, they could only sit helplessly by, hoping for the best. They watched apathetically while a civil agent of the Government, an apostate Jew named Gabriel, busied himself in promoting British commercial interests while the Jews, treated as social, commercial and political outcasts, were kept at a distance. With equal meekness they stood by while the Government sabotaged Jewish efforts to come to an understanding with the Arabs.

With conscious design the Administration fostered hostility between Arab and Jew. It directly advised the amazed Arabs of Palestine and Egypt to abstain from any concessions to the Jews. It formed the Moslem-Christian Association and used it as a weapon against the Zionists on the slightest pretext. It instructed astonished Arab young-bloods in the technique and tenets of modern nationalism, in order to resist Jewish 'pretenses.' And in London it contacted reliable anti-Jewish elements, to form a liaison which has endured to this day.

The Arabs were not only instigated and advised, but supplied with funds, and their arguments ghost-written by Englishmen in high places. They proved a tolerably good investment. Their ready compliance may be seen in the very convenient demands put forward in the Third Arab Palestine Congress (timed to coincide with the British plot to force the French out of the Near East altogether) that the Holy Land be not separated from Syria.

During all this time the Military had been playing a high game of politics on its own, maneuvering carefully to present the forthcoming Peace Conference with a *fait accompli* which would set the lily-livered civilian officials in London back on

their heels. Tension was strong between British and French as to who should control the Eastern Mediterranean. The French, traditional protectors of Syria, had a long-hooked finger in the pie. On Bastille Day, during the sessions of the Peace Conference, when the Tri-color flag was run up at Sidon, a chill went down the spines of the military gentlemen in Jerusalem.

The Generals aimed at one big Arab state or federation of states, to include the Hejaz, Iraq, Syria and Palestine, which was to lie, as Egypt had lain, in the political and economic pocket-book of Britain. For this consummation to be realized it was essential that the population of Palestine should be so anti-Zionist and the population of Syria so anti-French that with the best will in the world, *bien entendu*, it would be impossible to put into force a French control of the Levant or a Zionist policy in Palestine.

Now began a technique of instigation and incitement from which the Anglo-Saxon rulers of the Holy Land have never varied wherever they had a point to be gained. Tension between France and England over this continuous stream of intrigue finally reached a point where a breath would have precipitated it into armed conflict. The French statesman M. Barthou sharply protested. With its tongue in its cheek, London blandly forwarded the protest to Palestine, abjuring the Generals to behave themselves.

Matters came to a head in 1920 when Feisal staged a revolt against the French in Damascus, with money and ammunition supplied by the British General Headquarters.⁴⁴ He had been proclaimed King by a 'Syrian Congress' which included Palestinians, and which asserted the principle that Palestine was a part of Syria and could not be cut off from it. Almost simultaneously, in order to show how impossible it was to implement the Balfour Declaration in the face of native hostility, the Generals arranged a pogrom in Jerusalem. They hoped it would mean the end of Zionism, that the League of Nations, which had not yet officially named a mandatory, would be forced to 'recognize the rights' of the native population and cancel out the Zionist adventure.

POGROM AND WORLD HORROR

The Governor of Jerusalem was General Louis Bols. Chief of Staff to Bols was Colonel Waters Taylor, whose ideal polity was a military government in perpetuity, and who later became an anti-Zionist organizer in London.

When Colonel Patterson, staunch Zionist friend, heard that Bols had been appointed, he was shocked. He writes: "I knew Bols well, having worked with him for two years. I knew him as an out and out anti-Semite, who would leave no stone unturned to destroy the Jewish National Home root and branch." So moved was this honest English soldier that he boarded a train for Cairo that very day in order to warn Weizmann of the danger, urging him to oppose Bols' appointment with might and main. In reply Weizmann informed Patterson that his fears "were really exaggerated, as he had just had a two-hour conversation with Bols and had found him a very nice man." Despite Weizmann's optimistic appraisal, the result of Bols' appointment was soon to be written in Jewish blood.

Ominous incidents crowding fast on the heels of the intensive propaganda which followed the crowning of Feisal in Syria, had caused a number of saner Zionists to warn the Government. It responded by ordering the disarming of the population, enforcing the order only insofar as the Jews were concerned.

The riots of April 1920 broke on the heads of the astonished Jews like a clap of thunder. Misled by the naïveté of their responsible leaders, they awoke from their dreams of a Jewish Commonwealth to scenes no different than those from which they had fled in Russia.

The action was perfectly timed. Moslem crowds had gathered for the *Nebi Moussa* festival in Jerusalem. The usual frenzy of chants and wild dances was driving them into a dangerous emotional delirium. Propaganda of the wildest sort was being circulated; and whispers went through the crowd, which was going rapidly berserk.

Now agitators were addressing this churning mass, urging

them forward against the Jews. Hesitant for a moment, the reassuring cry arose: "The Government is with us!"

The stage had been ably set. All Jewish policemen had been relieved from duty in the 'Old City,' a walled section of Jerusalem where the bulk of the Jews resided. Totally unopposed and making a directed attack from three different parts of the town at the same moment, the mob rushed into the Jewish Quarter, brandishing knives and clubs.

Shrieking madness covered the Old City. The most horrible and repugnant scenes took place. Amongst other manifestations of patriotism, some elderly Jews were locked in a house which was set on fire, while a number of women were subjected to rape.

Shivering with the emotion of an unhappy, betrayed man, Weizmann, supreme Jewish leader, wept bitterly. In another part of the city, Jabotinsky, the little Russian writer with the prognathous jaw, was raging. Cursing the wordy timidity of his Zionist confreres he swiftly gathered together a group of ex-Legionnaires. Heartened, other young Jews joined the "Self-Defense." Where they appeared the rioters ran for their lives.

Meanwhile the Government surrounded the Old City with a cordon of police and troops, preventing Jabotinsky's boys from going to the assistance of the defenseless Jews, giving them over for three days to murder, loot and rape before the authorities raised a hand to interfere.⁴⁵

Jabotinsky and his Legionnaires were arrested as fast as they could be apprehended. It was symptomatic of the general tone of the Administration that Howes, the Commandant of Police, caused Jabotinsky to be held in the common lockup, while Arab agitators who had also been arrested were accommodated in a pleasant room in the Governate itself. Zionist stock slumped still lower when Jewish notables were refused an audience, while motor cars were placed at the disposal of Arab leaders for the purpose of granting them an interview with the Chief Administrator.⁴⁶

With ghoulish thoroughness the Government both during and

after the riots searched the Jews for arms, deliberately rendering them defenseless, and causing numerous arrests of those guilty of protecting their homes and loved ones. Cynically Sir Louis Bols complained in a dispatch to Cairo: "They [the Jews] are very difficult to deal with. . . They are not satisfied with military protection, but demand to take the law in their own hands."

So devilishly inhuman a course would hardly seem credible if it were not supported by the word of many witnesses, some of them distinguished Englishmen, revolted by this sickening parade of events. The tone of the Administration was so hostile that a celebrated American archaeologist, a non-Jew, told Horace Samuel "quite specifically" that because of his sympathy for the riot victims "he found himself deliberately cold-shouldered by the British officials."⁴⁷ A thoroughly upset British lady felt compelled to write that "for the first time yesterday I felt ashamed of being born an Englishwoman."⁴⁸

Jerusalem had undergone an orgy of slaughter, rape, torture and sack. Everywhere homes and stores were wrecked. Sixty innocents lay dead, and innumerable victims were injured, the memory of unspeakable horror engraved on their consciousness, never to fade. Far away in the little Galilee village of Tel Hai the knightly Captain Trumpledor was killed with nine of his men, murmuring as he fell, "It is good to die for one's country."

In a vermin-infested jail, awaiting trial, was Jabotinsky — Jewish patriot and ex-officer of His Majesty's Army — now stripped of his honors and treated like a dangerous felon. With scant ceremony he was tried, and with his Legionnaires sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor.

Shocked by this savage order, the Jews shut their shops in protest. The Government replied with a *ukase* ordering the shops reopened under penalty of a fine of £50; an action more than interesting in view of the way subsequent Arab strikes were handled.

Suddenly, like a typhoon which had gathered from nowhere, a tremendous wave of protest swept the world. England with her hands full in Ireland and India, smarting under the con-

demnation she was receiving in all civilized quarters, was aghast. The Generals' plan had become a boomerang.

The League had not yet granted an official mandate ; and the French, irritated to the boiling point, took action to throw Feisal out. Angling for Jewish support, they let it be known that they would not refuse if the mandate for Palestine were offered to them.

The English were in a tight spot. They stood morally condemned before the world. The precious life line to India was in danger.

Here was another shining opportunity laid right in the Zionists' laps. The functionaries in Whitehall were in rapid retreat. To show their good faith they severed the heads of the top administrator of Palestine together with his Chief of Staff, and served them up on a platter for the edification of the French and the Zionists. The Jews at this moment could have named their own price. They were now top-dog in a situation that had reversed itself. But Zionist leaders continued to temporize and placate. With no conception of the moment for swift, decisive action, they settled down to ponder their old vaporous ideas.

CHAPTER VII

THE MANDATE BY THE LEAGUE

WEIZMANN OBLIGES

At the Peace Conference, held at Versailles in February 1919, the historic opportunity for which Herzl had built and struggled had suddenly come to a head. The Allies were tired and in a generous mood. The hysteria founded on the claim that the 'War was fought for democracy' was still much in evidence. Jewry was, moreover, reckoned as a world force whose good will could count powerfully in the reconstruction period which was following. At this psychological moment, had Zionist leaders possessed the political shrewdness which induced the other nations to scramble eagerly for the biggest hunk of spoil they could get, the Jewish problem would have found its solution, and would not today be a plague spot in the life of Europe.

Poland was being handed whole sections of Germany and the Ukraine to satisfy its 'economic needs' as well as the ideals of democracy. Other nations similarly were fighting for and securing their share. The Jews could have demanded and received not only the present boundaries of Palestine, but a large part of the rich Lebanon Valley, the fertile Hauran, and the vast uninhabited territory to the east. This area was practically vacant; and the signs were already written on the heavens that Israel must soon evacuate Europe or perish. The Arabs, undeterred by the restraining 'principles' of the Zionists, had demanded, and received, more than they had ever envisioned in their wildest dreams. At a moment when public opinion would have completely approved of the Zionists taking immediate possession, they demurred on 'democratic' and 'social' grounds. An example of their attitude is contained in the assertion by Sir Herbert Samuel that "the immediate establishment of a complete and purely Jewish State in Palestine would mean placing a majority under the rule of a minority; it would therefore be contrary to the first principles of democracy. . ."

Both at Versailles and later, the chief Jewish negotiator, Weizmann, maintained the mild demeanor of humanist and philosopher. Asked what the Zionists wanted, he contented himself with the remark: "Ultimately, such conditions that Palestine should be just as Jewish as England is English."¹ Lloyd George commented that "Weizmann was the only modest man at the Peace Conference . . . who was decent in his demands": a bitterly questionable compliment to the oppressed Jews who survey it in retrospect.

Throughout the Versailles Conference the view taken by the British delegation, and supported by the Plenipotentiaries, "was that if there was to be a Jewish nationality, it could only be by giving the Jews a local habitation and enabling them to found in Palestine a Jewish State."²

Powerful America, holding the economic future of Europe in her pocket, was heart and soul for a Zionist solution. The official American recommendation at the Peace Conference was for the establishment of a Jewish State. A commission of prominent Americans had been sent by President Wilson to investigate, and their recommendations, adopted by the President and other American delegates without dissent, were direct and forthright, stating bluntly that "it is right that Palestine should become a Jewish State."³

The frank of America on this proposal was tantamount to its acceptance by the Conference. With the exception of some demurrage from the Catholic Church, which wanted to make doubly sure that its own interests in the Holy Land were protected, opposition virtually did not exist. The Arabs themselves were more than friendly and in fact were looking to the obviously influential Zionists for support of their own program. Again, as in the case of the Balfour Declaration, the only oppositionists were Jews — capitalists or Marxists — who considered Zionism a move of gravely dangerous import. In England a "League of British Jews" led by the important Claude G. Montefiore was formed to lobby against the proposition. In America three hundred representatives of Jewish moneybags, led by the Reform Rabbis, forwarded a protest to the Peace Conference

"against the program of political Zionism." But the only effect of these hysterical renunciations was to cause the Plenipotentiaries to scratch their heads in wonder and dismiss the authors as a bunch of well-meaning crackpots.

Heavily in the Zionists' favor was the biting rivalry between the British and French, each determined to shut the other out of the Near East if it could. Sticking in the craw of the British was the Sykes-Picot Treaty, which all but handed the Levant over to France. The British realized that they had made a bad bargain, and now this Treaty came back to haunt them. They had allowed oil, trade, potential rail-heads, and with them a *de facto* control of the route to India, to slip through their fingers. Able tacticians, they pointed out that the Balfour Declaration to which Paris had agreed, invalidated the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

The French, secure in the largest military establishment on earth, already almost at war with England over Lloyd George's support of the ill-fated Greek invasion of Asiatic Turkey, countered by claiming Palestine as an integral part of Syria, over which they held traditional rights of protection.

Though the Kaiser was chopping wood somewhere in Holland, and Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff were now just two harmless old boys out on probation, the old German dream was still very much alive. The English had quietly taken it over as part of their profit in the war they had just fought for humanity. If it was to be put into operation they needed Palestine desperately.

The French stood pat. They wanted Palestine, but were willing to accept a condominium. The British were aghast. They relied on the Jews and on President Wilson to provide the necessary brake to French ambitions.

As it became evident that the Zionists held the decision in their hands they were courted by both sides. Sir Mark Sykes and M. Georges-Picot, authors of the earlier agreement, both declared themselves as favoring the Zionist solution.

What the French had not figured on was the almost pathological pro-Anglicism of the Jews, enduring product of an earlier generation of English friendship. It must be noted that

there was nothing either in the Balfour promise or in the negotiations at Versailles which assured Great Britain of the Mandate. It was still very much open to the Powers to appoint anyone they pleased. The only positive commitment was that Palestine was to be a National Home for the Jews.

The Zionists, prompted by London, now went into action. In the name of the Jewish people the American Jewish Congress solemnly pleaded with the Powers for the appointment of Great Britain as Mandatory because of her "peculiar relationship to the return of the Jews to Zion." Similar action was taken at congresses representing the millions of Jews in Poland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Now at the Versailles Conference the Zionist Organization formally asked that the Mandate should be entrusted to Great Britain under the sovereignty of the League of Nations. This request was made in an elaborate statement on the future of Palestine, in which the word 'Commonwealth' reappears as a synonym for the Jewish 'National Home.' This determined demand for English stewardship left nothing for France to do but gallantly withdraw her claim. She had been checkmated by a master tactician, and she took her licking gracefully.

Condensing a volume of duplicity and ingratitude in a few words, De Haas remarks that "the British at once commenced a process of whittling the phraseology before the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference."⁴

So matters stood when in April of 1920 the League Council met at San Remo to go through the motions of ratifying the Mandate. World indignation over the pogrom inspired by the Generals was blazing at white heat. The French, smiling delightedly, were confident that the Zionists had had enough of English patronage. Despite the recommendations of the Peace Conference, technically the Sykes-Picot Agreement was the document which governed the future status of Palestine. It was still possible for Herzl's followers, enjoying the powerful French and American support, to upset the British appletart by demanding another mandatory. Weizmann, however, still believed implicitly in English honesty and good faith. He again

reiterated the demand that England be confirmed as the trustee for the Jewish estate.

The reaction of the Arabs to the San Remo decision was extremely friendly. Representatives of the Arab territories welcomed the idea of the Jewish State which was soon to rise up in their midst. King Feisal of Iraq wrote a cordial letter congratulating the Zionists on their triumph.

London's delight knew no bounds. At a public demonstration to celebrate the grant and its inclusion in the peace treaty with Turkey, Lord Balfour, reminding the Arabs that they had been handed vast areas on a gold platter, hoped that "remembering all that, they will not begrudge that small niche — for it is no more than that geographically . . . being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it — and who surely have a title to develop on their own lines in the land of their forefathers."

A few months later the matter was clinched for England. The Treaty of Sèvres was signed between Turkey and the Western Powers. It reiterated the decisions of the Nations, ceding Palestine with the proviso that the "Mandatory will be responsible for putting into effect the Declaration originally made on November 2, 1917 by the British Government and adopted by the other Allied Powers in favor of the establishment in Palestine of the National Home of the Jewish People."

Secure in the knowledge that the overlordship of this coveted territory was now theirs, London sprang a series of new surprises on the Zionists. It quibbled on words, seeking to reduce the content of the Mandate by a wearing down process before producing it in its final form.

The Zionists made plea after plea, realizing that they had put their feet in quicksand. They appealed to the League as if the procrastination lay there. On February 27, 1922, representatives of the Zionist Organization went through the play-acting of informing the League Council in Paris that the Jews of Palestine, at a conference in Jaffa, appealed to the Allied and Associated Powers "to nominate Great Britain as their trustee, and to confer on her the government of Palestine with a view to aiding

the Jewish People in building up their Commonwealth.”⁵ A confirmed Zionist, President Harding made his interest known unofficially ; and in April of 1922 the United States Congress stated by resolution its profound satisfaction that “owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein, the Jewish people, under definite and adequate international guarantee, are to be enabled . . . to recreate and reorganize a National Home in the land of their fathers,” commending “this act of historic justice about to be consummated” as “an undertaking which will do honor to Christendom.”

Still the British continued to hem and haw, utilizing every trifling technicality to spar for time. It was not until the revised convention with Turkey, the Treaty of Lausanne, was signed in 1923, that the Mandate, adroitly mutilated, was accepted in its final form.* The Jewish Agency, originally conceived to be a chartered colonizing body like the Hudson Bay Company, was given the right to act in an advisory capacity, its powers limited by language ambiguous enough to be interpreted in any direction the ruling power of Palestine wanted. Also inserted in its phraseology at the last moment was an innocuous little paragraph which the Zionists paid but scant attention to. It provided that in the territory east of Jordan, the Mandatory could postpone such provisions of the Mandate as might be inapplicable to local conditions. It was understood that this related only to the unsettled condition of this area and the possibilities of policing it properly. What this innocent appearing clause meant in far-sighted English minds the Jews were presently to discover.

In view of later English contentions that under the Mandate they were forced to consult the Arabs in implementing their actions, it is interesting to note that the Arabs were not approached when that responsibility was handed to Britain — only the Jews were consulted. It is also remarkable that the word ‘Arab’ never once occurs in the whole document as apart from the recognition of Arabic as one of the official languages of the country. A most casual reading makes it plain that the League had

* See *Appendix ‘A,’* p. 571.

engaged itself to a definite and positive policy of Jewish development, not only permitted, but fostered and subsidized by the Government of Palestine. The Balfour Declaration and its consequence, the Mandate for Palestine, ushered in a new concept of international law, widening the scope of the law itself. While in all other cases it is the actual inhabitants of the countries in question who are dealt with, as being too backward to govern themselves, under the Palestine Mandate it is *the Jewish people as a whole* who are the beneficiaries. The Mandate is clearly for an absent people who are not yet there on the ground, with the existing populations secondarily guaranteed full liberty and civil rights.⁶ This alteration of basic law came under discussion at the twelfth meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Mandates Commission (June 1931) in connection with a British observation to the effect that "in international law there was no such thing as a Jew from the standpoint of nationality." To this the Vice-Chairman of the Commission replied that the remark would be correct except for the existence of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, which had introduced a new element into this law in favor of the Jewish People.

Included in the Preamble was the Balfour Declaration and its ratification by the Powers at San Remo. The Preamble concludes that "recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country," certainly implying that the future Palestine should be as Jewish as the Palestine of the Bible.

Of the direct commitments the most important was Article II which stated that "the Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home as laid down in the Preamble. . ." While Article VI ordered the Mandatory to "facilitate Jewish immigration" and to "encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency . . . the close settlement of Jews on the land including State lands and wastelands not required for public purposes."

On December 3, 1924, the United States became one of

the contracting parties to this international arrangement. This treaty, known as the American-British Mandate Convention on Palestine, recites verbatim all the terms of the Mandate worked out by the League of Nations. In the correspondence relating to the several draft treaties submitted, it is plainly evident that the American Government considered England only as the temporary custodian for what was soon to be a Jewish State and, for this reason only, allowed herself to relinquish the special capitulation rights she had enjoyed under the old Turkish régime. The final draft of this agreement guarantees that "the United States and its nationals shall have and enjoy all the rights and benefits secured under the terms of the Mandate to members of the League of Nations and their nationals, notwithstanding the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations."

The determination of America to safeguard this arrangement from the conniving hand of European political vandalism is stated in Article VII. It reads: "Nothing contained in the present Convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the Mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States." ⁷

For once the Nations were attempting to solve their problems in a consciously intelligent manner. They had tackled the question of Jewish homelessness vigorously, and rested from their labors sincerely believing that they had rid the world of one of its oldest problems.

THE FIRST PARTITION

At the time of the Peace Conference there was no haggling over the size of the Jewish territory. The American Commission took it for granted that "the new State would control its own source of water power and irrigation, from Mount Hermon in the east to the Jordan." ⁸ As conceived at the time by the Plenipotentiaries, Palestine was to comprise a minimum of some sixty thousand square miles, bounded on the north by Syria, on

the southwest by Egypt, on the east by Iraq and Saudi and on the south by Saudi and the Hejaz. The English viewpoint, embodied in British *Peace Handbook No. 60 on Syria and Palestine*, even contended that Damascus itself could very well be included, asserting that the whole "portion of the center of Syria that lies to the east of Jebel esh-Sharki may easily be separated from northern Syria and associated with Palestine." To the east it was understood that the Zionists could have any part of the great desert they wanted ; and that the southern boundary was to be established at the historic line, the "River of Egypt."⁹

With the San Remo decision tucked comfortably away in its waistcoat, Downing Street, suddenly showing a neighborly spirit, began to make territorial concessions to the French at the expense of the Jewish National Home. Satisfied with those elements relating purely to the safety of their Empire, English negotiators were completely indifferent to proper Palestinian boundaries from any other point of view. The Zionists were in consternation when London serenely yielded, without the slightest objection, every area on which the future economy of the country was to be based.

Since the coming Hebrew Commonwealth had no visible fuel supplies of its own, it appeared to be vitally dependent upon water power for industrial expansion. Of essential significance to its future industrial growth was the River Litany in the north and the watershed lying directly south of Mount Hermon. This strategic sector, as well as the lands of Naphthali, Dan and Manasseh, was lopped off and uselessly handed to Syria. Also trimmed away was the Hauran, ancient granary of Israel, and most of fertile, well-watered Galilee whence came the chief Zealots and patriots of the Roman wars.

Mincing no words, Colonel Wedgwood wrote that this first jettison of the patrimony of Israel had been actuated by a fit of sheer pique to annoy the Jews.¹⁰

Outraged by what he also considered an act of unpardonable vandalism, President Wilson rose from his sick bed and cabled the following protest to the British Cabinet : "The Zionist cause depends upon rational northern and eastern boundaries for a

self-sustaining, economic development of the country. This means on the north, Palestine must include the Litany River and the watersheds of the Hermon, and on the east it must include the plains of the Jaulon and the Hauran. Narrower than this is a mutilation. . . I need not remind you that neither in this country nor in Paris has there been any opposition to the Zionist program, and to its realization the boundaries I have named are indispensable."

This was in the Spring of 1920. Procrastinating, sugaring the Zionists with promises, London finally amended the Franco-British Convention to recover a few square miles of the headwaters of the Jordan and ignored further protest. The area of the Jewish National Home had now been shrunk to some 44,000 square miles : approximately 10,000 square miles west of the Jordan and 34,000 to the east.

The logic of this inexplicable indifference to British interests became clear later when the Zionists began to get a glimpse of what was in the back of the bureaucratic mind. Even at the sacrifice of desired territory, they wanted to make certain that Zionism could not succeed. A Zionist Palestine they regarded as a new Ireland in embryo, a development even more fraught with trouble for the Empire.

They proceeded cautiously. Time was in their favor.

Bols and the Generals had been dumped overboard. To show good faith a hand-picked Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel, had been appointed first High Commissioner under the coming Civil Administration. Of this change, Colonel Patterson commented grimly : "Bols went, but the system he implanted remained. The anti-Semitic officials that he brought with him into the country remained. . ." ¹¹

CHAPTER VIII

A MAN NAMED SAMUEL

UNDER THE COLONIAL OFFICE

The Military Administration was over. Anxious, but still unprotesting, the Zionists discovered that the Palestine Mandate had been incomprehensibly shifted to the Colonial Office for implementation. There were some among them who knew what this move meant, but the Zionist leadership as a whole was far too inexperienced and trusting to do anything about it.

The country was now being directly governed by the Crown Colony Code and by a bureau which by the very nature of its experiences and interests could not fail to be opposed to the Mandate. This type of administration is maintained almost solely for the control of uncivilized tropical or sub-tropical races. The English themselves were later to admit that it "is not a suitable form of government for a numerous, self-reliant, progressive people, European for the most part in outlook and equipment, if not in race."¹ The evolution of self-rule even in backward India left this stage behind in 1909.

The worst of its features is the unwritten law of the Colonial that the Colony exists chiefly to supply cheap raw material to, and to buy manufactured goods from, the mother country. It is his business to discourage industrial development, which might eventually offer substantial competition to the factories at Glasgow or the mills of Lancashire. The perfect example of desirable condition was that offered by Indian and Egyptian cotton, which after being hauled over half the globe to England, was retransported to Egypt and India and sold at a handsome profit in the shape of cotton goods.

The Colonial Office, caring nothing about developing a body of officials acquainted with the needs of the country, actually does the reverse. It wants no functionaries even remotely identified with the territory they rule; hence it rotates these officials

from one colony to the other. Typical of the men who were to interpret the needs of Zionism were Police Chief R. B. G. Spicer, late Police Chief in Kenya Colony ; Chief Secretary Mark Aitchison Young, previously Colonial Secretary for Sierra Leone ; Michael Francis Joseph McDonnell, Chief Justice of the Palestine Supreme Court, formerly Assistant District Commissioner of the Gold Coast ; and Sir John Chancellor, High Commissioner of unlamented memory, who came from Southern Rhodesia where he had kept the peace with rifles.

These were all career men, suffering invariably from an ingrown sense of superiority ; some of them educated and clever, others recruited from the backwash of the English slums. They were taught an attitude of cold reserve, a system of playing native factions off expertly against each other, a technique of incitement, and a calloused disregard for everything not connected with the spirit of the Crown Colony Code.

Under this set of regulations, created to serve settlements of Englishmen marooned among easily subdued or barbarian natives, the Zionists found that even the slightest trivialities had to be referred to some bureaucrat in London for decision. The plans for a hotel in Jerusalem not only had to be submitted to the Department of Public Works but that department had to refer the plans and specifications to London. De Haas and Wise give some details on the bizarre workings of this Code in Palestine. Native-born Jews and immigrants holding public office could not cooperate financially or as a matter of formal association in the development of the country. The Crown Colony Code forbade it. A judge was denied the right to participate in what was hoped to be an important financial institution for issuing mortgages and bonds on Jewish property. The reason given was the Crown Colony Code. Another official was refused permission to aid in the development of so unprofitable a venture as the Hebrew Opera Company. The reason ? The Crown Colony Code.² Even though there is only a scant handful of English school-children in the area, under the Code, Palestine must pay for special British School Inspectors.

Just what rights the Crown Agents had in a mandated area

was never made clear. But the Zionists were not to be bothered by formalities. They had a colossal disrespect for politics. They declared that what they wanted was to 'build up the country' and let politics take care of itself.

A JEWISH RULER AFTER TWO THOUSAND YEARS

Sir Herbert Samuel arrived in due course, dressed for the occasion in gold braid and a resplendent white uniform. Throughout the Jewish world he had been trumpeted as the new Moses, the man of destiny. When he at last arrived in Jerusalem, the whole majestic symbolism of the event fairly staggered the imagination of Jewry everywhere. Jews went hysterically wild with joy.

Samuel was an impressive man, handsome and soldierly looking as he clicked his heels before the welcoming cameras; though closer inspection was not so reassuring, revealing a moody face whose whole expression was searching and suspicious. He had been Home Secretary in the British Government during the War and "had a reputation for treating Jews in a way that would not redound to the credit of a liberal gentile administrator."³ The famous 'Tay Pay' O'Connor had briefly described him as having an "utter disregard for all the occupations and prizes of life except those to be found in politics."⁴ His inability to understand even the most obvious conditions under which the masses of Jewry lived is shown by an incident occurring in the Fall of 1919 when Samuel was functioning as leader of a British Committee of Investigation in Poland. Failing to reach an agreement after eight days of negotiations with the Warsaw Zionists, he asked in order to obtain a result: "Do you then accept the paragraphs of the Peace Treaty aiming at the protection of minorities?" When this had been affirmed he inquired conclusively: "So you consequently do not want to be a nationality but a religious group?" Whereupon the Zionists broke up the negotiations as hopeless and stalked out of the room.⁵

The heavens were almost covered with omens in reference to

the mettle of Mr. Samuel ; but nevertheless the Zionists allowed themselves to be hoaxed into accepting him. Acting on a polite hint from high British quarters, they actually sponsored him ; and officially his appointment was the result of their direct demand. Ruefully, Weizmann was later to admit : "Perhaps I am responsible for this chapter 'Samuel.' " ⁶

History will undoubtedly look on the man Samuel with wonder, as a striking commentary on his times. His first official act was to throw the brave Jews, jailed for their part in the self-defense during the riots, into the same class with Arab rapists by magnanimously pardoning both, all in the same breath and the same document. ⁷

Shortly after his arrival he held a reception for the members of his staff. The reaction, blurted out of the mouth of one of them was : "And there I was at Government House, and there was the Union Jack flying as large as life, and a bloody Jew sitting under it." ⁸

Sir Herbert was surrounded from the first by anti-Zionist subordinates, whom he was afraid to offend by appearing to favor the Jews. Horace Samuel declares that throughout his whole tenure of office Sir Herbert suffered acutely from the consciousness of being a Jew, causing him to pivot right around to an actual pro-Arab attitude.

The important Political Department of the Secretariat was assigned to an officer who labored under an intensive and fanatical hostility to the declared policy of His Majesty's Government in Palestine, one E. T. Richmond. Richmond who had referred in a signed article in the *Nineteenth Century* to "that iniquitous document known as the Mandate for Palestine," ⁹ was fairly representative of the body of officialdom. These men made no secret of their antipathy to the policy of the Balfour Declaration, which they had been appointed to carry out, contributing the most violent anti-Jewish articles to such journals as the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Fortnightly Review*. ¹⁰ There was only one officer in Samuel's entire retinue who could even remotely be described as pro-Zionist. That was the gentle-mannered Sir Wyndham Deeds

whose influence was reduced to little. In the subordinate jobs, particularly on the Police Force and Intelligence Department, nearly all the key non-British positions were filled by Arabs, who were quick to respond to the cue given them by their superiors. The situation became so obvious that a number of Jewish officers of the Administration threw up their jobs "with the statement that they were doing so because there did not seem to be room for Jewish officials in the National Home."¹¹

It is no exaggeration to say that every subterfuge used to obstruct Zionist advance in future years, originated with Samuel. Characteristic of the man was this statement attributed to him: "If the Jews really want Palestine they will pay more for it than it is worth." At the Fifth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission he stated that it was "the fundamental intention of the Government" to deal with the Arabs "as if there had never been a Balfour Declaration."¹² Samuel's interference almost lost the important Dead Sea concession for the Jews. He had deliberately held it up, not considering it seemly that Jews should get such a valuable concession.¹³

Incongruously enough, Sir Herbert was so religious that he believed it a sin for Jews and non-Jews to intermarry. He deliberately snubbed a senior Christian official who had married a Jewish girl, remaining stiffly rude to both man and wife, even on those occasions when the duties of His Majesty's service made it impossible to avoid him.

THE POGROM OF 1921

The result of Samuel's policies was a pogrom. Only a scant year had passed since the previous massacre of Jews in Jerusalem. Once again the lust for blood asserted itself in the narrow streets. As usual, the riots were timed with a major change in British policy, soon after to be announced.

It was the end of April. The Moslems were celebrating their annual festival of the Prophet Moses. This fiesta at which howling creatures with quivering eyes and distorted features worked themselves into a lather, had been the starting point for

trouble the year before. Each year, as the Moslems carried on their wild dances in the streets, anxiety spoke from the faces of the Jews until the *Nebi Moussa* festival was over. Notwithstanding this, the British Commandant of Police was conveniently away. The few Jews on the police force had been mysteriously taken off duty for the day.

"Bolsheviki! Bolsheviki! The Zionists are flooding the country with Bolsheviki!" This ugly cry had reverberated from many throats, Christian and Moslem alike, for a long period of months. With tacit consent the Authorities had given sullen approval to the accusation that "every Jew is a Bolshevik." This malignant propaganda had been carried on openly under the eye of the Administration until the saturated minds of every section of Palestine's population literally dripped with the poison.¹⁴

Suddenly during the Festival the mad shout arose that "the Mosques were being attacked by the Bolsheviks" (Jews). At Jaffa, starting point of trouble, the Arabs went on an orgy of murder and pillage "under the official protection and assistance of a substantial number of Jaffa police."¹⁵ In many cases the observance of a benevolent neutrality was insufficient, and the police gave full vent to their patriotism by shooting at Jews, directing the mob and plundering Jewish shops.

A howling horde led by uniformed policemen armed with rifles, bombs and ammunition stormed the Zionist Immigration Depot. Thirteen newly arrived immigrants were butchered amid horrible scenes of rape and looting. The water-front workmen, huge ruffians armed with long boat-hooks, ran through the streets impaling Jews on their weapons. Respectable looking Arabs with well-ironed fezzes, polished shoes, well-creased pants and starched collars, rushed into stores and helped themselves to all kinds of merchandise.¹⁶

The conflagration immediately spread beyond the Jaffa district. In Tel Aviv the disarmed Jews courageously formed a self-defense, holding the 'patriots' at bay with hastily mustered sticks and stones. On May 5, the settlement of Petach Tikvah was attacked by thousands of armed fellaheen from nearby vil-

lages. The assault was delivered in military formation, "directed by a gentleman with binoculars."¹⁷ Hopelessly outnumbered the colonists fought with desperate courage for their lives. The colony Kfar Saba was destroyed and Rehovoth and Hedera badly damaged. Everywhere Arabs ruined beautiful fruit orchards, the work of a lifetime, burned homes and carried off movable property and cattle. Only the circumstance that almost all Jewish workers were former soldiers prevented the Jewish National Home from being consumed in one grand conflagration.¹⁸

The most revolting spectacles had taken place. Defenseless old people and little children alike had been cut to ribbons and mutilated beyond recognition. Women were dragged out into the open street and outraged before being murdered. Bedlam shrieked all over the land of Moses, Isaiah and Jesus. Forty Jews had been killed and countless others injured on the first day alone, before the iron hand of official censorship made all other casualty figures a pure matter of conjecture. Horace Samuel observes bitterly that the Government "refrained from publishing the number of the Arabs who had been killed in the attack on Petach Tikvah, for fear presumably of unduly depressing and discouraging Arab susceptibilities."¹⁹ The property damage was incalculable.

All Palestine believed that British officials had prepared the disturbances behind the scenes.²⁰ Returning to England after her visit to the Holy Land, the wife of the Labor leader Philip Snowden fixed the responsibility on "the activity of certain British subjects in Palestine and certain English politicians in England."²¹ Arab politicians openly boasted of their alliance with the British 'Black Hundreds.' The visiting American clergyman, Dr. Dushaw, speaking to an English soldier in the infested area, asked him what his orders were and received the reply: "I must not shoot."²² The policy of the police can be judged from the case of Shakeer Ali Kishek, one of the Bedouin chieftains who had led the attack on Petach Tikvah. Subsequently arrested, he "was immediately released on bail as a

graceful gesture ; while . . . the chief notable of the colony, one of the most respected Jewish colonists in the whole of Palestine, Abraham Shapiro, was arrested by order of the same officers, not on any charge, but administratively, and carted off to Jerusalem in a motor lorry." ²³

As a token of its displeasure the Government plastered a punitive fine on the villages that had attacked Hedera, which the Arabs never bothered about paying. Warrants were issued against some individuals living in the notorious Tulkarm district who were identified as having been involved in the murderous assaults, but "no efforts were made to execute the warrants." ²⁴

The Authorities refused pointblank to make any investigation, so the Zionist Commission together with Judge Horace Samuel and Mr. Sacher engaged the services of a British enquiry agent, "who, immediately after he had gotten on the track, was promptly ordered by the military authorities to leave the Jaffa district." ²⁵

According to the principal Medical Officer the total number of casualties in the pogrom were 95 killed and 290 wounded.²⁶ Lending a ghoulisish touch to the after-performance, while the Jews were bowed in mourning for their dead, General Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, arranged gay parades and interesting literary lectures as if celebrating some festival occasion.²⁷

The insurrection of 1921 marked a variation of Administration technique. It constituted a precedent for the principle — observed by all ensuing Administrations with almost religious scrupulousness — that every outbreak of armed Arab violence was *ipso facto* to be rewarded with political concessions and to be followed by a Commission of Inquiry whose importance was to be in proportion to the scale of the revolt.

The Haycraft Commission was appointed to investigate and fix responsibility for the terrible events which had just passed. One of its three members was Harry Luke, the man whom Palestine Jewry was to hold responsible for the terrible excesses of 1929, when Jewish Palestine almost went up in smoke. This

body finally ended by finding guilty the 'Bolshevik' Jews who had been coming into the country and who had aroused the patriotic Arabs by their May Day demonstrations.

Within forty-eight hours of the Jaffa massacre, Samuel, shivering in his pants, phoned the Governor of Jaffa, instructing him to announce to the Arabs that in accordance with their request, immigration had been suspended.²⁸ Though this prohibition was a general one in its official terms, it was interpreted to apply only to Jews. Immigrants who were non-Jews were not affected by it. The most ludicrous stories are told of the way this ordinance was applied, Arab officials often compelling incoming immigrants to expose themselves physically in order to prove that they were not Jews, before they would allow them to land.²⁹

Samuel went so far as to offer the Arabs complete control over immigration, a tender they foolhardily refused. Reduced to simple terms, what they demanded was the enforced return of the Jews to their pre-war status as a tolerated minority without political rights.

This was the same Samuel who had asserted in 1917 that Jewish immigration must be regulated by the responsible Jewish body in Palestine, and not by the Government; and who had declared on the second anniversary of the Balfour Declaration that Palestine must become "a purely self-governing community under the auspices of an established Jewish majority."³⁰ Sir Herbert was now thoroughly scared. Sir Wyndham Deeds, the only pro-Zionist in his Cabinet, was shunted off, to be superseded by one Sir Gilbert Clayton. Like a disturbed crustacean Samuel retreated backward as far as he could go.

THE GRAND MUFTI

Implicated in the disturbances of 1920 was a political adventurer named Haj Amin al Husseini.³¹ Haj Amin, a leering ruffian with misshapen ears and close-cropped scanty beard, was descended from an Egyptian family known for its turbulence and penchant for intrigue. In a general housecleaning under-

taken to appease the Jews at the San Remo Conference, he had been sentenced by a British court to fifteen years at hard labor, as a dangerous gang leader and agitator. Conveniently allowed to escape by the police, Haj Amin was hiding out in neighboring Syria, a fugitive from justice. This was the gentleman whom Samuel now recalled from exile and appointed to one of the most important positions the Government had to offer. Just as London controls the Eastern Moslems through the acquiescent Agha Khan, so it was now planned to harness the Western Moslems by setting up a counterpart to the defunct Western Caliphate, in Jerusalem.

Haj Amin was not in the literal sense an Arab patriot. He considered Western Nationalism a work of the devil. His ideal was the old Moslem particularism functioning in an area without boundaries, where none but the Faithful would be allowed to remain with bowels. Beyond that, he was somewhat stupid, honest in his way, ambitious, and a fanatical hater of Jews. During the war he had been an officer in the Turkish Army.

With a pardon from Sir Herbert tucked up his flowing black sleeve, this man who had fled Palestine as a common felon, now returned to find himself one of the key figures in the Administration. Despite the opposition of the then Moslem High Council, which regarded him as a parvenu hoodlum of the most unsavory stripe, Haj Amin was appointed by the High Commissioner as Grand Mufti of Jerusalem for life. Meeting in secret conclave the Moslem bigwigs rejected his nomination by an overwhelming vote. Stiffly Sir Herbert acquainted the discomfited Moslem notables with his displeasure and ordered them to accept the reprieved convict as their religious leader.

This was only the beginning. Samuel was determined to go whole hog in anchoring this son of the Husseini in the seat of power. He created the 'Supreme Moslem Council,' which was presumably authorized to elect its own leadership by democratic vote. In the balloting the Government candidate, Haj Amin al Husseini, polled only nine electoral votes against nineteen, eighteen and twelve for his three rivals. This fact, however, weighed little with the High Commissioner, who forced the

chosen candidate, Sheikh Hussam ed Din Effendi Jarallah, to step aside, and made Haj Amin President. Soon after, the Mufti was created *Reis al Ulema*, president of the religious (Sharia) courts, thus concentrating in his hands the highest posts of distinction and power Palestine had to offer a Moslem.

Few men have had such benefactors as Haj Amin discovered in Sir Herbert Samuel. In his person he now combined the headship of the Church and the Law, so closely connected in the Islamic religion. Under the Turks the *Wakf*, or religious bequests, were under rigid State supervision from Istanbul. These were now handed over to the Mufti free of all control by the State. He was given complete authority over all *Wakf* or other charitable endowments, as well as the Mohammedan courts and educational institutions, including even the Industrial School in Jerusalem. In addition he was provided with a handsome salary out of the public funds; and a staff of two hundred and fifty paid assistants was allowed the Supreme Moslem Council to superintend the six hundred men employed in the various *Wakf* departments.

As if to make the anti-Jewish lineup airtight, Sir Herbert took the pet scheme of the Generals, the Moslem-Christian Union, under his wing. Although a large number of Arabs objected, he gave it semi-official standing. Under his generous patronage it soon developed strong roots.

THE CHURCHILL WHITE PAPER

In June 1922, Samuel drew up a long document, deadly in its import to the Jews, which when signed by Winston Churchill became known as the Churchill White Paper. The Papal Secretary, Cardinal Gaspari, annoyed by the procrastination in formulating Article XIV of the Mandate, regulating the Holy Places, had put up an outright demand that this Article be clarified and acted upon. Whitehall chose this occasion for another of its flank attacks on the Zionist position in Palestine.

London's principal objective now was covertly to cut off the Zionist Organization from any share in the Administration. The

document it issued to accomplish this purpose constituted a bold reinterpretation of the Balfour Declaration. With carefully chosen words it smashes at the legal base for Zionist repatriation, arriving at the remarkable conclusion that the terms of Balfour's Declaration "*do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine.*"

In phrases unctuous with sophistry the White Paper attempts to explain away Britain's pledged word and the commitments on which the Jewish National Home was based. The purpose of the Declaration, it now discovers, "is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality . . . but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish national home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection."

Thus in two short years Samuel had changed from an impassioned advocate of the reborn Jewish State, to a pleader for "a national Jewish home in Palestine." As a trial balloon for the Colonial Office he had already reinterpreted the Declaration to mean that "these words [National Home] mean that the Jews . . . should be enabled to found here their home, and that some amongst them, within the limits fixed by numbers and the interests of the present population, should come to Palestine in order to help by their resources and efforts to develop the country to the advantage of all its inhabitants." Thus, in a sentence, the 2000-year old Jewish dream, the unbroken hope for which countless generations of martyrs fought and prayed, is reduced to a philanthropic scheme for improving the eco-

conomic position of the Palestine Arabs by bringing in a leavening of able, enterprising Jews.

Buried in the Churchill-Samuel White Paper was a neat little paragraph holding that while Jews had every right to return to their homeland freely, this immigration must not be so great in volume "as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals." This sounded very nice and sensible ; but it was to prove the formula which future anti-Semitic administrations utilized to justify their depredations by principle.

Included also was a scheme for an elective Legislative Assembly to be composed of a trinity of Arabs, Jews and British officials, who would presumably spend their time in the subtleties of reciprocal intrigue. Samuel had originated this as bait for the Arabs, who were mortifying His Excellency by referring to the Administration as 'that Jewish Government.'

Able the White Paper juggled words, hemmed and hawed, to make it clear that Palestine was in future to be considered like any other non-Jewish country, under certain conditions willing to accept a given number of Jews and even to grant them a certain specious autonomy — but no more. Herzl's dream had been permanently laid in moth balls.

The Zionists were in an uproar. The White Paper had been sprung on them out of the clear sky, a few days before the terms of the Mandate were to be published in their final form. Fuming with indignation, the Zionist Executive balked. At this, Churchill called in the ever reliable Weizmann and pointed out to him that the tenor of the Memorandum was a reflection of British needs in the Near East. Britain had to go slow. Her situation in Egypt and India was critical in the extreme. Churchill, the friend of Zionism, pleaded with Weizmann and his colleagues, the friends of Great Britain, to accept the Memorandum and to trust that Britain, realizing why they had accepted it, would make ample amends at some future date.³² Having reminded Weizmann of the obligations of British patriots, the clever English statesman drove his arguments home by

threatening to cancel the entire Mandate if the Executive did not agree in twenty-four hours.³³

Weizmann hurriedly called a meeting of his colleagues, most of whom wanted desperately to call Churchill's bluff. The fact was that the only method by which the projected revision of Jewish status in Palestine could be accomplished legally, was with the consent of the Jewish leaders. But Weizmann wheedled and cajoled, and his associates finally agreed, signing the death warrant of their own movement in one of the most astonishing capitulations to high pressure salesmanship on record.

There can be no doubt that the largest share of the Zionist acquiescence to this move rested on an exaggerated loyalty to the interests of their friend and patron, Britain. They were told that this was merely a temporary makeshift to pull British administrators through a bad spot in the Levant. Had they stood their ground, any coercive tactics used against them would have reacted infallibly against the schemers in London and Jerusalem. The French still wanted Palestine, and the only title Britain had there was vested in her Jewish wards.

Acceptance of the White Paper at the same time placed the Zionist stamp of approval on another outrage even more deadly to their hopes.

SEVERANCE OF TRANSJORDAN

On the second anniversary of the Balfour Declaration Samuel had quite rationally declaimed that "you cannot have numbers without area and territory. Every expert knows that for a prosperous Palestine an adequate territory beyond the Jordan is indispensable." Yet it was Samuel who cut off Trans-Jordan from the Jewish National Home and handed it to some foreign Arabs for a private pasturage.

Palestine east of the Jordan comprised some two-thirds of the entire mandated area — by far the best part of it, well-watered, fertile, and as empty as the American West when Daniel Boone crossed over from Carolina. The history of Israel is written

indelibly over every part of its hills and plains. It was the permanent home of two of the Twelve Tribes, as well as the half tribe of Manasseh. The five cities of the plain were Trans-Jordanic. Two of them, Nebo and Pisgah, are like household words.

Between 1918 and 1921, when the creation of a Jewish National Home was being negotiated with the Zionists by the British Government, there was no question of a Palestine West of the Jordan River or East of the Jordan River. The Balfour Declaration embraced both sides of the Jordan. When one of the Zionist spokesmen mentioned the eastern boundary of Palestine he was informed that there was no eastern boundary because in the east Palestine bordered on the desert.³⁴ It is important also to recall that in the Zionist proposals presented to the Peace Conference in February 1919 (the text of which, like that of all Zionist political documents of the time, had first been seen and approved by the British Government) Trans-Jordan was as a matter of course included in the boundaries of Palestine.

This whole area was embraced in the British Mandate largely because of London's insistence on "a good eastern frontier for the Jewish Government in Palestine." Argument had arisen as to whether Syria or Palestine should get the territory. Unanimously the British papers pounded the drums for its inclusion lest Palestine be unforgivably mutilated by letting the French have it. The London *Times* insisted that Palestine without Trans-Jordan was a travesty on good sense; ³⁵ the *Manchester Guardian* alleged that both from a historical and economic viewpoint Trans-Jordan was an organic part of the Holy Land.

Downing Street had demanded Trans-Jordan in the name of "the forthcoming Zionist Government," ³⁶ and the French finally conceded the issue. Under the Leygues-Harding Agreement, signed December 23, 1920, in Paris, this territory was relinquished by the French in favor of the Palestine Mandate Agreement. Britain now had a solid land bridge to Iraq and the East, but the military clique was not satisfied as long as there was a Gallic foot on that part of the globe.

Feisal, puppet of the British generals, had just been driven out of Syria by French rifles. His brother, Abdullah, a plump, bearded little man, strikingly like a dark edition of Lenin in appearance, was approached by the Military, who were still looking for a tool with which to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. In March of 1921 the so-called Churchill Conference took place in Cairo, where it was decided that Feisal, rejected by the French, would get the throne of Iraq and that his brother Abdullah who had been crowned King of Iraq during Feisal's 'reign' in Damascus, should be quietly supported in one last attempt at ousting the French.³⁷

Abdullah, gathering an army of his wild nomads, marched out of the Hejaz and headed north for Syria. He got as far as Amman in Trans-Jordan, when the French quietly let it be known that they had had just about their belly full of English intrigue.

Samuel again grew jittery. He had to curb the Military or face the possibility of the French attacking Abdullah in Trans-Jordan and remaining there. But Abdullah refused to budge. It seemed necessary to placate him in some fashion — and Sir Herbert had a brilliant idea: he invited the little Arab to a conference to 'talk things over,' and suggested that he park a while in the territory of the Jewish National Home. Abdullah, gaping at this unexpected chance for power, thought that this would be very nice. He took over the administration of Eastern Palestine "for a period of six months," ostensibly to restore order³⁸ — a rather comic provision since the only disorder in the territory was that created by Abdullah and his Sherifian Army itself.

Stroking his chin quizzically at Samuel's droll move, Churchill waited for the Zionists to blow the roof off. For once Winston Churchill, master of bluff and stratagem, was nonplussed. The Zionists had been gagged by Samuel's threat of still further restrictions, and their silence was token of acquiescence.

Secure in the knowledge that Jewish spokesmen would not prove troublesome, London began searching for a basis to further separate Eastern Palestine from the rest of the country.

The earlier drafts of the Mandate all contained twenty-seven paragraphs, none of which mentioned a separate *Transjordan*. The final text, sprung with the quickness of legerdemain, consisted of twenty-eight paragraphs. The new one, number twenty-five, empowered the Mandatory with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, "to withhold or set aside, in the territories between the Jordan River and the eastern boundaries of Palestine, the employment of such mandate agreements which are found to be inapplicable because of local conditions," certainly an innocent enough appearing proviso. It was explained on the basis of Britain's anxiety lest Jewish life be sacrificed if colonization were attempted before this turbulent, lawless area was pacified and made suitable for European settlement. It must be pointed out that this article, though it stipulates for the first time a difference between East and West Palestine, nevertheless considers the former an integral part of the Jewish National Home and in no sense even infers its right to separation; its carefully chosen words merely 'entitling' the Mandatory to meet temporary emergency conditions, as they might arise, in a special manner — that is by "postponing and withholding" the application of the Mandatory provisions for the Jewish National Home.³⁹

Great Britain had no rights in this territory which enabled her to dispose of it. Article V of the Mandate stipulates that "the Mandatory shall be responsible that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of the Government of any foreign power." Certainly the act of handing it over to these invaders from the Hejaz was a clear violation of both the spirit and letter of this provision.

Right after the Zionists, cringing under Churchill's empty threat, ratified the White Paper, Abdullah and his invaders were installed as masters of Eastern Palestine. In July the terms of the Mandate for Palestine were approved by the League of Nations, and in the same month Abdullah was formally instated as Emir of Transjordan. Adding insult to injury, the Palestine exchequer handed him £180,000 to cover his initial expenses — the beginning of a long list of generous subsidies paid out of the

treasury of the Jewish National Home. Sonorously Sir Herbert declared "in the name of the British Government . . . that Great Britain is willing to recognize the independence of Transjordan under Emir Abdullah." This was a polite euphemism since Transjordan was ruled directly through a British *Resident* acting on behalf of the High Commissioner.

The second brutal rape of the territory of the Jewish National Home was now all but accomplished. Transjordan henceforward became *the only territory in the world to all intents and purposes JUDENREIN* (free of Jews). It was the first country to prohibit Jews from even practicing a profession or owning land. Its ban on them was complete.

Beyond whimpering a little, the Zionist Executive kept its peace, and actually covered up this gigantic theft of the Jewish patrimony by a new festival campaign "for the Jewish National Fund." As late as October 1934, Dr. Weizmann was with gentle self-abnegation declaring that "we do not wish to change the status of Trans-Jordan by applying the Balfour Declaration there. . ." ⁴⁰

SAMUEL IS REPLACED

Probably no man was so cordially detested by his own people as this latter-day Herod called Herbert Samuel. In any other community this deep-seated resentment would have flared up in periodic attempts at violence. Jews, who have an instinctive abhorrence of lawlessness as a method of settling their problems, kept their peace but hardly hated him the less.

Among his public acts was the matter of the allotment of the Crown lands, which under the Mandate were to have been placed at the disposal of the Zionists. The story of their distribution is amazing.

The cream of these Government lands were in the Beisan area, in the fertile region known as the Ghôr Valley. When the British first took over they found this territory, according to the subsequent report of Lewis French, inhabited by a degraded, sickly population who lived in mud hovels, "and of too

low intelligence to be receptive to any suggestions for improvement of their housing, water supply or education. . . There were no trees, no vegetables. The fellaheen, if not themselves cattle thieves, were always ready to harbour these and other criminals. . . The Bedu, wild and lawless by nature, were constantly at feud with their neighbors on both sides of the Jordan, and raids and highway robberies formed their staple industry." His Excellency had visited Beisan, chief marketing town of this section, and had been "received with hostility and contumely" by the ruffian population, a Transjordan tribe of nomads who had pitched camp there for the winter.

Nettled, Samuel returned to his earlier technique of placating the tribesmen with gifts. He immediately announced that he was giving the Beisan lands to the same truculent nomads who had insulted him. All told, the Government gave these Arabs almost four hundred thousand dunams (a dunam is about a quarter of an acre)⁴¹ of the best land in Palestine, while the Jews received not so much as a square yard.⁴² At the most conservative estimate the land was worth at least £6 per dunam, even at that time. It was disposed of to the Bedouins for £1 per dunam, to be paid in yearly installments of two shillings each.

Immediately these lands became the subject of the most cynical speculation. Tribesmen were not interested in the hard work cultivation requires and most of them were given far more acreage than they could handle by themselves. The net result was that the major part of the soil was immediately offered to the Zionists at fancy prices. Even more sardonic, much of the land given to these Bedouins was resold later to the Government at a profit of some 500 percent, to be used for the resettlement of so-called displaced Arabs.⁴³ Everywhere Arab speculators entered, scenting a middleman's profit. Many of the tribesmen sold at inflated prices and disappeared into Transjordan and Iraq, rich beyond their fondest dreams of avarice. The Government was now in fact compelled to tackle a new problem: that of preventing the Beisan lands from subsequently falling into the hands of land-hungry Jews, who were willing to offer almost any price.

It was during Sir Herbert's régime that Arab opposition to the Jews took definite form and grooved itself. The entire Administration was honey-combed with anti-Semitic officials who made the Executive Offices a nest of pro-Arab activity. Samuel, masking himself behind a screen of 'liberalism,' made not the slightest move to interfere.

When in 1925 Sir Herbert was relieved by Lord Plumer, Jewish Palestine woke as from a nightmare and breathed free again. He had done about as much damage as it was possible for one man to do to the Jewish cause; but the Zionist Organization thought it politic to go through the mummery of giving him a testimonial banquet.⁴⁴

FIELD MARSHAL LORD PLUMER

When the hated Samuel finally packed his duffle and left for England, the Zionists experienced another of those swift surprises that were so continually being prepared for them. Article IV of the Mandate makes it clear that the Jewish Agency has certain powers, that it should be consulted concerning the appointment of any High Commissioner. The Bureaucrats destroyed the vestigial remnant of this section of England's pledge when they made a test case of it and appointed Field Marshal Lord Plumer out of the clear sky. The Zionists, living up to precedent, simply looked startled and went about their business of 'non-political' activities.

Compared to Samuel, Plumer was a vision of fair delight. By any other reasonable criterion he was a total loss. The Field Marshal was a hard man, iron-willed, who ruled with a clenched fist. He was the only High Commissioner who held his Jew-baiting subordinates within reasonable check. The best that can be said for him is that under his rule there were no pogroms. When the Arabs, persisting naïvely in the same tactics which were so successful under Samuel, approached him in delegation, warning that if a planned procession of Jewish war veterans were held, they "would not be responsible for the peace of Jerusalem," Plumer withered them by replying, "No one asked

you to be responsible. I am the High Commissioner and I will be responsible." The Arabs never tried that trick again as long as the Field Marshal remained in Palestine.

However, the old policies continued unchanged. Typical of his régime is the loan of £20,000 to the Beersheba Bedouins in 1928 to quiet their grumbling against the indirect Governmental refusal to allow land sales to Jews.⁴⁵ It was also under Plumer that Jews were practically banned from participation in the defense forces of the country. A whole succession of carefully developed ordinances directed against Zionist penetration marked his régime. Despite this, the Zionists, with good reason fearful of his unknown successor, were sorry to see him go.

When he resigned, a sudden outburst of Jewish energy brought General Smuts, Zionist friend and incorruptible executive, under consideration for the post. Smuts declined, obviously not caring to accept the burden of reconciling his conscience with the policies of the Colonial Office.

CHAPTER IX

THE WHITE PAPER BARRAGE

THE THIRD HIGH COMMISSIONER

The soldier Plumer was succeeded in 1928 by Sir John Chancellor. Chancellor was an unfortunate choice for the Jews. He had the general appearance of the Shakespearean actor who, with a certain forgivable pompousness, loves to play the great man. His graying hair and regular features were imposing ; but his countenance was too complacent and unwrinkled for a man his age, giving an impression of appalling smugness. His contempt for Jews was so deliberate as to appear ostentatious.

It was under this man that the bloody outbreak of 1929 took place. When these excesses brought on an unlooked-for wave of world indignation that threatened to swamp his régime, he issued an hysterical statement condemning the Arabs in terms of unbridled virulence. When he saw the Zionists disinclined to press their advantage and yielding to British blandishments, he maneuvered the placing of political responsibility onto Jewish shoulders.

Chancellor was hardly equal to the standards of shrewd manipulation set by the Colonial Office. When he retired in July 1931, he became an anti-Zionist spokesman in London. No tears were shed when he left the country, to be succeeded by Lieutenant-General Arthur Grenfell Wauchope.

THE POGROM OF 1929

There are few chapters in civilized history that can match for sheer inhumanity and outrage the record of the British Government in Palestine. Now was to be written in letters dripping red with blood one of the crowning achievements of that record.

With characteristic blind-optimism the Zionist leaders were running around like fussy ants, unconscious that a heavy heel was about to crush down on their hill. With fine disregard for ac-

tual conditions, they were making ready to repair to Europe for a Congress which was announced as "a turning point in the history of Zionism — the close of an illustrious epoch and the beginning of a new and still greater period." Ignored were the desperate appeals of Palestine Jewry, who knew better how to evaluate the signs and portents written on sky and fencepost than the mighty orators who held the fort in Europe.

For a period of six years the Zionist Executive had been negotiating with powerful Jewish bodies with a view to forming a vastly enlarged Jewish Agency. Such financial giants as Felix Warburg of New York, and a galaxy of non-Zionist Jews, experienced, shrewd and capable, were now lined up. In high exultation Weizmann announced the forthcoming creation of an enlarged Jewish Agency in fact, to include an equal proportion of non-Zionists along with the Zionists.

Alarmed, the Palestine Administration watched developments like a cat at a rat-hole. Article IV of the Mandate, long ignored, gave the Jewish Agency considerable power. The Bureaucrats in Jerusalem, over-estimating the financial assistance, the fierce energy and political shrewdness which they feared would now be supplemented for the easy-going incompetence of conventional Zionist spellbinders, had been setting the stage for a discouraging blow. With an unctuous play at unknowing innocence, they built an imposing heap of the most inflammable tinder to be found in the country, and waited patiently for just the right moment before setting a match to it.

Carefully the story was built and circulated that the Jews planned to tear down the Mosque of Omar, which Moslems believe marks the exact center of the earth, and to rebuild the Temple on its site.

Immediately adjoining the Mosque is located the most sacred of all Jewish devotional objects, the Wailing Wall, last remnant of Solomon's Temple. To the practical-minded Zionists these few ancient stones did not assume any absolute significance. But it was the sanctuary of the religious Jews; and a symbol of Jewish right in the land of their fathers. Thus any

attack on it became identified with an attack on the rights of all Jewry. Four centuries of Turkish rule had protected Jewish title to this holy place without disturbance. Neither the Wall itself nor the immediate patch of Temple area at the top had any particular interest to Islam. For as long as the memory of man, no Moslem had been known to concern himself with the spectacle of these few bearded Jews weeping over the ancient stones. Now suddenly they discovered a deep interest in the vicinity of the Wall and ended by claiming ownership for themselves. A whole series of petty persecutions, abetted by the authorities in Jerusalem, followed. Stones were thrown at the worshipers, who were jeered at and insulted. The pavement in front was systematically covered with offal from donkeys on the day of the Sabbath services. A rest room was erected abutting the Wall itself, and a hospice was established adjacent to it, with a Home for the Aged in another adjoining house. Dervishes were put in a nearby garden, who synchronized their dancing, drumming and noisemaking with the Jewish worship. Finally a *Muezzin* popped up on the roof of an abutting house, coming out five times daily to scream out his incitement to the Faithful.

The Wall had been a *cul de sac*, and when the Government allowed, or instigated, the Moslems to erect a mosque on the right side of it, and to break through the Wall proper to open a new avenue to the Mosque of Omar, all Jewish Palestine rose in indignant protest. Donkeys and their Moslem masters now passed in droves through the sacred precincts which had been undisturbed for centuries except for the soft prayers of the worshipers.

On the Day of Atonement, holiest day of the Jewish calendar, Keith-Roach, Governor of Jerusalem, learned that the worshipers had placed a portable screen at the Wall to protect themselves from Arab abuse. The *Neilah*, or closing services, were being recited when an English officer, under the Governor's instruction, violently broke into the midst of the worship, with no more regard than if he were invading a den of thieves, and removed the screen.

Incident now followed incident, with the Arabs growing daily more pugnacious and the Administration openly abetting them. Matters had been allowed to develop to such a point of high tension that it seemed as if taut nerves must burst if even a fire-cracker popped. In the Arab press an intensive anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish campaign was going full blast. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were being widely circulated. The Communists, too, like great carrion birds sensing disaster from afar, had joined in the campaign of incitement, urging "an Arab fight to the finish against Zionism."¹ Just before the actual bloodshed started, they took advantage of the growing excitement to issue a manifesto urging a general strike against the policy of the Jewish National Home.

The Zionist hierarchy had treated this pernicious propaganda with aloof disdain as small-time matters of a passing character, and airily dismissed as 'alarmists' those friends who warned them that blue fury was about to blaze in the Land of Israel. Like happy children they went traipsing off to their Congress in Switzerland. The only Zionist official left in Palestine was an accountant, who when warned that the outbreaks were impending, "merely shrugged his shoulders indifferently."² The High Commissioner had arranged to be absent from his post for the first time, and was on visit to London. In charge as Acting High Commissioner was Harry Luke, polished, suave, and known to be unfriendly to Jews.³ Ruling Jerusalem was Ronald Storrs, a somewhat bald man with fine patrician features and a definite flair for the arts.⁴ Storrs was a cousin of Archer Cust, secretary to Chancellor and an outspoken anti-Zionist, and was said to be a political protégé of Brigadier General Blakeney, a violent anti-Semite who suffered from the delusion that the Zionists "were trying to poison him."

On August 16 a fanatical Moslem demonstration was held in Jerusalem. The mob yelling, "For Mohammed with the sword!" roared on to the Wailing Wall where they tore up Jewish prayerbooks and burned liturgical documents. This violence had been permitted by the Government and no arrests were made. Arab agitators began touring the country, bringing word from

the Mufti that Friday the twenty-third was to be *der Tag*, instructing the villagers to await orders on that day.

In this atmosphere of threat and uncertainty the Government once more deliberately disarmed the Jews, leaving the colonies defenseless.⁵

The riots were precipitated by the police themselves, who with extraordinary savagery attacked a procession of mourners who were carrying the casket of a seventeen-year-old Sephardic⁶ boy who had been stabbed to death by Arabs. Old men, women and children were beaten up indiscriminately.⁷ The city was swarming with fellaheen and Bedouins armed with clubs, knives and guns and they needed no further invitation. Like a flood of death they broke loose over the city with the old cry: "*Al daula Maana!*" (The Government is with us.)

In Jerusalem the police watched the riots start with several hundred screaming cutthroats brandishing their weapons and shouting for Jewish blood, without making the slightest effort to stop them. One mob proceeded from the Mosque to the Nablus Gate for an attack on the Jewish Quarter of Meah Shearim. Six mounted policemen went with them, watching the proceedings with interest. In the Georgian Quarter of Jerusalem whole families were slaughtered by these howling 'patriots.' Violation, murder and pillage took place while British officials stood on the balcony of the nearby Government House — heard the screaming and the shots — and did nothing.

For eight days the country was given over to an orgy of violence. Far from declaring martial law the moment these outbreaks occurred, no attempt was made to disarm the invaders. Even after the massacres began the police did not use their firearms, under "orders from headquarters."⁸ The Acting High Commissioner, Luke, cynically informed an anxious Jewish delegation begging for help, that he had "given orders not to shoot."

Jewish youths responded with hidden arms and clubs in the desperate work of self-defense. A group of visiting Oxford students did what they could to redeem the good name of England by ranging themselves on the side of the defenders and

fighting with chivalric courage. On August 24, Luke decided to disarm all Jewish special constables in response to a request of the Mufti.⁹ The possession of arms by the Jews was everywhere and at all times illegal. Jews were sentenced to long prison terms for even owning a dagger, standard Bedouin equipment. Those defending themselves were arrested and charged with murder.

A typical incident took place in the village of Jabniel where troops were finally dispatched in response to the frantic appeals of the villagers for help. Their first act on arrival was to arrest ten men in the village found in possession of arms. To what lengths the Administration was willing to go in immobilizing the Jewish self-defense is shown in the case of the Jewish police constable, Hinkis, sentenced to death for 'murdering' one of the attacking hoodlums. No wonder the Hebrew newspaper *Davar* asked in despair: "Is there a law which compels our men to deliver their lives and the lives of their children to massacre, their daughters to rape, their property to plunder? What theory and what kind of régime is it that demands such things from men?"

Horrible days of nightmare followed for the Jewish colonies, who found themselves beleaguered by veritable armies of screaming savages. The colony at Ekron sent a delegation to the British officer stationed at Naaneh. He received them brutally and refused to offer any advice as to how the Jews were to defend their lives and property. Asked what was to be done with the cattle, he said, "put them in the synagogue." And when the Jewish physician of Ekron pressed him for a sensible answer, he boxed his ears. Shaken by this ruffian attitude the colonists decided to evacuate their homes, and went down to the railroad station. At four in the afternoon, the same officer appeared with a guard and demanded all the weapons in the place.¹⁰

It was at Hebron and Safed that the worst slaughters took place. At the former town the British officer in charge was a man named Cafferata. To understand the type of men the Mandatory placed in charge of the Jewish National Home, it is

merely necessary to know that Cafferata was an intimate of the Princess Kerachi, one of the moving spirits in the anti-Semitic Internationale then taking form in Europe. Openly warned, the Jews at Hebron had appealed day by day to the Government for protection, and had been 'eased' away. During the horrible massacre that finally took place, Cafferata stood calmly by, eying the awful scene as if it were some kind of theatrical tableau. Witnesses were unanimous in reporting that even a warning, or a few shots in the air, would have dispersed the mob. The attackers stormed the houses, and sliced their occupants to ribbons. Everything worth stealing was carried off. The rest was soaked in stolen gasoline and set on fire. If it had not been for some friendly Arab families, not a single Jewish soul in Hebron would have remained alive. After this bestial orgy had gone on for some hours, the mob was commanded to scatter. The police, says an eye-witness, then "shot into the air, and at once the street was empty." ¹¹

Hebron was only a carbon copy of terrible events taking place all over this stricken land. At Safed, after the same looting and slaughter, the Jewish quarter was set on fire. A sickened onlooker described its appearance as ghastly — as if guns had shot it to pieces.¹² It was not until the burning petroleum was turning it into a crackling furnace, that the Chief of Police finally gave orders to his men to shoot with blank cartridges. This "stopped the massacre immediately, but not the pillage."¹³

Refugees from Hebron and other places filled the schools and hospitals. The Government did not even deem it necessary to furnish mattresses and foodstuffs, and the Jewish relief organizations were not adequate to the misery.¹⁴ At Hebron the wounded were herded under horrible conditions at the police stations, without medical aid or water. According to a survivor, Zwi Greenberg, "the Governor only wanted us to wire 'Hebron all right.'"

Whatever interpretation one might place on the role of the Government in this crazy mélange of revenge, its actions following the riots can hardly be described as anything less than contemptible. Its press releases set a new high in official men-

dacity and ill-concealed dislike for the stricken victims themselves. In its reports the attacker is classed with the attacked, the criminal with the innocent, even though not a single case existed of Jewish assault on an Arab quarter or of Jewish looting. Following its usual technique, all Jewish newspapers were suppressed; while Arab publications with open brazenness proclaimed Arab guilt and aggression, as if victors in some medieval holy war. Some picture of the utter depths this bias reached can be gained from the notice issued by the Administration that it "deprecatcd any mention of the Arabs having mutilated their victims." To this Duff exclaims: "They had not mutilated them — they had merely hacked them to pieces."¹⁵

Since the days of the Crusaders no such massacre of Jews in Palestine had occurred. Six colonies had been totally destroyed. The property loss was incalculable. In the blackened rooms of what were once their homes lay the mangled bodies of hundreds of innocent creatures who had come, eager-eyed, to this country to build a new life for themselves. The wounded and maimed were everywhere. Were it not for the miracle that the Arabs attacked in broad daylight instead of night, giving the Jewish self-defense an opportunity to organize, the Jewish *Yishub* * would have been wiped off the map of the Near East.

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE ?

All witnesses agree that the uprising was neither spontaneous nor unforeseen. As in the previous pogroms, evidence of careful preparation was plainly written. Setting the general tone of comment, the correspondent for *Alif Beh*, great Arab newspaper of Damascus, wrote "that the uprising was the result of British intrigue. . . The English were looking for an excuse to reject the demands of the Jewish Agency to participate in the administration of the country, and encouraged the Arabs to teach the Jews a lesson." Lawrence, supposed to know the Arab better than any living Englishman, stated that "if you had *four hundred decent British policemen* in Palestine there would

* Hebrew name for the Jewish Community.

have been no trouble for the Jews there.”¹⁶ The venerable Hindu poet, Rabindranath Tagore, urging a united fight on England by all the oppressed races, charged her with “seeking to perpetuate a state of war between the Arabs and the Jews.”¹⁷ The *Frankfurter Zeitung* accused London of seeking to “prove through recurrent struggles between Jews and Arabs that England must stay forever in Palestine.”¹⁸ Adding its voice to the uproar, the League’s Mandates Commission lashed out at the British Government, virtually accusing it of sabotaging the Jewish National Home.¹⁹

Everywhere it was admitted that the mob, justified or not, had acquired the belief that the Administration was on their side. Among other incidents, when some Arabs were placed in custody for their part in the Hebron massacre, they exclaimed in righteous indignation: “How is this? Weren’t we told that the English are with us against the Jews; and now the soldiers take us prisoners!”²⁰

In a paroxysm of revulsion Palestine Jewry spit out the gag that had smothered its voice and directly fastened responsibility on the Administration for the riots. In a grim Protest Memorandum to the High Commissioner signed by the whole Jewish community, no words were minced in calling blunt attention to “officers of the Government whose responsibility for these events is beyond doubt. . .”²¹ *The Memorial of the Jews of Hebron* submitted to the High Commissioner “in the name of sixty-five slaughtered, eighty-five wounded, and many orphans and widows, and in the name of the remnants of the plundered and the tortured,” pathetically “accuses the Government, which did not fulfill its duty . . . the Commander Cafferata, *who deprived us of the means of appealing for help and defense*, betrayed us with empty promises, and gave the murderers and robbers their opportunity; the Police, which . . . behaved with contemptible baseness; and the Emissaries of the Mufti and the Moslem Council . . . who proclaimed the massacre.”

The drums of horrified protest now rolled with increasing tempo all over the world. The Administration had overplayed its hand again. Realizing its error it was doing its best to cover

up, and once again the Zionists were presented with a brilliant opportunity for reversing the tables.

Chancellor himself, noting which way the wind blew, repudiated the entire affair in these blasting words: "I have just learned with horror of the atrocious acts committed by bodies of ruthless and bloodthirsty evil-doers, savage murders perpetrated on defenseless members of the Jewish population regardless of sex, accompanied . . . by acts of unspeakable savagery, of the burning of farms and houses in town and country and of the looting and destruction of property. These crimes have brought upon their authors the execration of all civilized people throughout the world." The Government was in full retreat all along the line, casting anxious glances at the effect on America where vital economic interests were involved, and at Egypt, Ireland and India, where local patriots were utilizing the occasion to justify their own hatred for the foreign usurper.

The Zionists, however, were hardly political-minded enough to understand their opportunity. They considered that the Jews had no strength and that their strategy must continue to be one of wheedling for slight gains. Catching its breath, the Government placated them with soft words, condemned its minions in Palestine and promised redress. The Zionists sat down to wait while various 'Commissions' were sent down from London to investigate.

Having held the business-end of a live wire so long the Zionists should have been prepared for shocks. But when the 'Commissions' after long delays brought in pro-Arab reports, they stared in bewildered amazement. They looked on still more unbelievably when practically everyone accused of having a hand in the riots was promoted. Cafferata, the evil genius of Hebron, was decorated for 'heroism.' Luke was rewarded for his efforts by being made Governor of Malta, a caustic commentator remarking that his appointment could do no harm since trouble had already started there.

Chancellor's "bloodthirsty evil-doers" all got off with nominal sentences. The highest term any of the Hebron murderers received was eighteen months. At no time were more than the

most farcical efforts made at conviction. Characteristic of the style in which this business was handled was the case of a fellah who had killed the two young sons of a woman named Fruma Charkel by dashing their brains out. He had known the family for years, and had only laughed at the mother's plea for mercy while the little boys were being battered to death. With her surviving son she appeared against him, as did the invalid father and several other eye-witnesses to the attack, including the revered Rabbi Epstein. Despite this weight of testimony the court finally freed the Arab, finding "insufficient evidence."²²

Even more ribald were the 'awards and amends' which the Government had contritely promised the riot victims, and which were finally doled out after an interminable wait. Here are some of the 'compensation awards,' selected at random: Rabbi Hassoun, whose house at Hebron had been destroyed and plundered, with a claimed damage of £3000, received £11.10s. The Jewish Community of Hebron, with a loss of £2000 including the destruction of its synagogue, asylum and other communal institutions, was paid £54. Asher Karlinsky, whose house at Hebron was completely gutted, received 14s. M. Klenger of Safed, with a loss estimated at £11,000, came off somewhat better with an award of £140; while a sister of Rabbi Dvoretz of Hebron, who had her hand cut off and her home reduced to a shambles, was given the sum of £2.10s. In nice contrast, Hassan Albudeiri, an Arab lawyer of Jerusalem, who had some "personal belongings" burned, was awarded £348.

Beyond muttering at length on "the shameful attitude of the Government," the Jews took it like a dose of castor oil, which having once been poured down their throats, admitted of no further argument. But a still more fantastic occurrence, which even this patient people could not stomach, arose when the Arabs at Hebron, claiming 'prescription rights,' commenced to plough and plant the land abandoned by the Hebron Jews in their flight. They, moreover, declined to pay debts owing to Jewish creditors, asserting them to be non-existent under the Palestine law which provides that the lender must appear in per-

son to swear that the borrower received the money. The lenders had, however, all been massacred by the borrowers. There seemed to be nothing in the law which provided for such a situation, leading the newspaper *Doar Hayom* to ask in outraged fury whether it was the policy of the Government "to have the Hebron murderers inherit the money of their victims."²³

However, like all abominations, these things began to lose their edge as time went on and were soon half-buried in the past. In many of the villages eternal peace was declared between Arab and Jew, to the accompaniment of colorful oriental festivities and the usual slaughter of a sheep to wipe out the blood feud.

But it was only a matter of a few months before the British-Moslem combination was up to its old tricks of provocation. A fair illustration is the case of technical school student Zilbaski, who was arrested in April 1930 for chasing Arab hoodlums who had been stoning worshipers at the Wailing Wall. Fined seven shillings he was warned, in essence, not to interfere with the pleasures of Arabs.

COMMISSIONS AND WHITE PAPERS

Headed by men whose 'broad Socialist principles' had more than once declared themselves flatly in favor of the Jewish Homeland, the Labour Party sat firmly entrenched in power in England. Lord Passfield, né Sidney Webb, Marxist radical, was Colonial Secretary. Arthur Henderson, who had drawn up a handsome resolution in 1917 approving the Zionists' right "to form a Free State under International Agreement, where the Jewish people may return and work out their own salvation without interference by those of alien race or religion," was the power behind the throne. Perched directly in the saddle was J. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister and a self-announced Zionist who had asserted after visiting the Near East in 1922: "The Arab population do not and cannot use or develop the resources of Palestine. . . The country is undeveloped and underpopulated."

During pre-war days the Socialist Internationale had been openly hostile to Zionism of any brand, recognizing in fine that a Zionist proletariat was a contradiction in terms, a force devoted incongruously both to separatist and merging principles. Shifting its position after the War, Labor Zionism was adopted as part of the international politics of the Socialist world. A Socialist Pro-Palestine Committee was created to place the mighty strength of the movement behind Zionism. Among the most wordy in their enthusiasm for this fabulous commission were the English members, MacDonald, Landsbury, and others, who were later to disembowel their little Jewish brother with their left hand while they embraced him with their right.²⁴

These were the men, self-announced exponents of the coming brotherhood, who held the destinies of the Jewish experiment in their fingers. Confident of the outcome the Zionists settled back complacently to await the result of London's 'investigations.' First to report was the Shaw Commission, releasing its findings in the Spring of 1930. The Zionists were stunned. It was evident that the 'Comrades' in Downing Street had let them down pretty sadly. The Shaw report was outspokenly anti-Jewish. Charged only with investigating responsibility for the riots, it had gone far afield, conducting a probe altogether outside its sphere of reference; creating a most clever confusion of issues, and engagingly shunting off the main purpose of the investigation to the background.

It included among the immediate causes of the outbreak, the enlargement of the Jewish Agency, though it is doubtful whether any of the murderers at Hebron and Safed, where half of the Jewish victims were killed, ever heard of the Jewish Agency or its enlargement. It touched deftly on the cupidity of the Jews, and blamed the Zionists for bringing in too many potential Bolsheviks into the country. It held the primary cause of the riots to be, in essence, the crafty way in which the Zionists had taken advantage of the innocent Arabs, who were being deprived of soil and sustenance. Thus was created the 'landless Arab' fiction which was to serve the Government of Palestine as a convenient symbol for many years. In a statement, bizarre

even in this land of extravaganza, it found an extenuating circumstance for the outbreak in that it was "not premeditated." The Grand Mufti, a self-convicted perjurer whose guiltlessness was best proven when he referred the Commission to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*,* was given an adept whitewashing. The Commission made no mention of the source or prevalence of arms in Palestine, and failed to investigate the extent of the looting by Arabs with which the riots were accompanied and the importance of this looting as an incentive for the disturbances. It endorsed Luke's action in disarming the Jews and refusing to fire on the mobs. It omitted to report that all the special Jewish constables had been *publicly paraded* and disarmed at the demand of the Arabs. While stating that all the special constables were of British nationality, it is nowhere mentioned that a large proportion of those disarmed because they were Jews *were ex-servicemen of the British Army, many of whom had held the King's Commission*.

Only two short years before, the Government of Palestine had published the fact that "the country suffers from a lack of population — it is under-cultivated and needs capital."²⁵ But the Commission now found that Palestine was overcrowded; there were too many people and not enough land to go around.

Recommended in solution was the curtailment of Jewish immigration and land purchase, and a Government subsidy to buy up acreage which was to be handed scot-free to the 'landless Arabs' wherever these worthies could be found. Completely challenging Jewish position in Palestine, the Arabs were to be given 'proportionate equality,' a phrase which Hopkin Morris, one of the Commissioners, defined to mean that "not another Jewish immigrant can be admitted to Palestine." Just how uncorrupted these recommendations might be can be easily estimated from Hopkin Morris' acknowledgment in Commons, not more than six months later, that "the Jews are perfectly right — what was promised to them meant a Jewish State." (November 17, 1930.)

Another member of the Commission, Lord Snell, turned in a

* See note 6, page 542.

minority report fairly bristling with contempt for the findings of his colleagues. He accuses the Administration of encouraging the Arabs "to believe that they have suffered a great wrong and that the immigrant Jew constitutes a permanent menace to their livelihood and future," despite the plain fact that "Jewish activities have increased the prosperity of Palestine and raised the standard of life of the Arab worker." Far from finding the country overcrowded, he notes that "wide tracts are lying waste" which should be made available to the Jews.

Time has shown conclusively that the findings of the Shaw Commission, as well as those of the bodies which followed in its train, were so wrong as to seem wilfully ridiculous. Each one of these Commissions proved itself more hostile than its predecessor, making recommendations so opposed to the self-evident facts as to lead one to believe that the substance of their findings must have been dictated in advance. This presumption is at least indicated, since each of these bodies appeared to operate on a preconceived plan aimed at erecting a structure of precedent which was to serve as authority for future commissions, thus creating a new body of apparent facts to substitute for the actual facts.

The Zionists had been mercilessly jobbed. They choked and spluttered in amazed exasperation. The incredible posing of 'landless Arabs' in a country suffering from a drastic shortage of workers, was past understanding. So, too, was the Commission's demand that Jewish capitalists be forced to put all Arab unemployed to work before another Jew could come in, which meant literally the employment of all the natives of Northeast Africa and Arabia (since these outsiders were already flowing into the country in a steady stream).

Lloyd George, coming to the point where the Shaw Report declared that there was "no more room" in Palestine, termed the learned labors of Britain's Commissioners "mischievous nonsense." He roared: "The report made for the Government, of which I was the head in 1919, by competent and experienced engineers, stated that by well-planned schemes of irrigation one million acres could be added to the cultivable area of Palestine,

and that by this plan sixteen persons could be maintained for every one there now." ²⁶

THE REPORT OF HOPE-SIMPSON

Whitehall had made provision for the howl that went up from distracted Jewry. They had another rabbit ready to be pulled out of the hat, in the shape of a new Commission which was to investigate the investigations of the previous Commission. The trick was something like that of the catch-penny auctioneer, who glibly makes good to his spluttering victim by selling him another object more worthless than the first, accepting the parcel complained of in part payment. This is the kind of business that experienced British dealers in international legerdemain were now practicing on the naïve, frightened Zionists.

The new Commission, headed by Sir John Hope-Simpson,²⁷ was replete with a staff of 'experts.' Sir John had had a good deal of experience in the mass movement of emigré populations. He had gained his knowledge of the refugee problem as Vice-president of the Refugee Settlements Commission (which had conducted the mass transplantation of 1,300,000 Asiatic Greeks) in Athens from 1926 to 1930. He therefore seemed to be an ideal man by both understanding and experience for this job.

On November 20, 1930, Hope-Simpson's report was published by the Government simultaneously with a Cabinet decision acting upon it.²⁸ With the lightning stroke of an expert matador the Zionist development in Palestine had now been handed the *coup de grâce*. The great Jewish experiment was now all but officially dead.

In releasing both the Cabinet's White Paper and Hope-Simpson's report so precipitously, both precedent and practice were coolly ignored. Under time-sanctioned Colonial usage, the Zionists would normally, as party to the matter, have been allowed to study the Report and make the usual observations and criticisms before it was actually put into effect.

Hope-Simpson's Report consisted of a symposium of oblique

attacks against the Jews. It embodied all the anti-Semitic conceptions of its day : the professed inability of native races to compete with superior Jewish ability and cunning, the omnivorous greed of the 'rich' Jew for further gain. It carried a *de facto* recommendation for *numerus clausus* in all directions, as the only method of keeping these objectionable Jewish attributes within reasonable bounds. As Sir John puts it, "it is the Government's duty under the Mandate to see to it that the Arab position is not prejudiced by Jewish immigration." The Commissioner decries the purchase of land by Jews and suggests that they be prohibited by law from buying more. The unfortunate Arab had to be protected against the Hebrew who was crawling over his land like a plague. This, clothed in the niceties of diplomatic language, was the substance of Hope-Simpson's findings. To support them he brought up an array of figures and facts, which had they been accurate, would have been imposing.

Hope-Simpson went so far as to compute (with a figure inferring mathematical precision) that 29.4% of the Arab rural population was landless, leaving in the reader's mind a vague impression that it was owing to Jewish settlement activities that landlessness had reached such alarming proportions. With nice precision, leading to the patent inference that it is the result of an exact survey, he gives the area of cultivable land as 6,544,000⁺ dunams. He makes no effort to explain the astounding difference between this estimate and the figure of 11,000,000 dunams supplied by the Director of Lands of the Palestine Government to the Shaw Commission ; or the figure of 12,233,000 dunams given by the Johnson-Crosbie Report on the position of agriculturists in Palestine, which had appeared shortly before. Later it was discovered that the method investigator Hope-Simpson used to arrive at this precise computation was to send up a man in an airplane, who decided what land was or was not cultivable. This original system, wholly unique in the history of agronomy, was able to establish in a few weeks that the official Government figures, accepted as correct for years, were 100% off.

Operating on figures which events were also to show unsup-

ported by factual evidence, Hope-Simpson discovered that a fellah family needs 130 dunams of land,^{28a} whereas the 61,408 fellah families actually had only 90 dunams per family; leading *ipso facto* to the only possible conclusion, that the land was already overcrowded and immediately faced with a pressing problem of Arab landlessness.²⁹ Everywhere he uses the words 'landless' and 'tenant' indiscriminately and interchangeably, leading one to wonder whether the great tenant-farmer class of England itself should not, on the same score, also be considered 'landless.'

Bespeaking the common distaste and distrust for Jews, Hope-Simpson states with ominous reserve: "The Federation of Jewish Labour continues to carry out, at the expense of World Jewry, a social and economic experiment of great interest but of questionable value. The Jewish Agency either approves of this experiment or is impotent to suppress it." (Even more explicit in its left-handed charge that the Jews were introducing Bolshevism into Palestine, was the White Paper based on Hope-Simpson's Report, issued at the same time.) With a queer, new-found type of ethics, Sir John proclaims in regard to the settlements which were being subsidized by the Jewish National Fund, that "it is undesirable from the point of view of ordinary morality that colonists should be allowed to benefit by the large expenditure which has been made for their settlement, and yet to escape payment of the amount spent upon them. . ."

In addition to these generalities, several practical measures are included in the Hope-Simpson Report. One was the demand that irrigation work of any kind be virtually prohibited³⁰ (which would put an absolute stop to Jewish irrigation development); and another that the Government buy land out of the public funds, i.e., with Jewish money, to hand over to all Arabs who could prove they were landless. Jews were to be virtually restricted to the cities. Not even in Czarist Russia had anyone ever suggested a scheme as cruel and unfair as this.

Hope-Simpson, who had been sent to the Holy Land under instructions to investigate the slaughter, looting and rapine perpetrated on Jewish colonists, like his predecessors and successors,

had left his field of reference far behind and nowhere now to be seen. In the meanwhile, to leave a convenient retreat in case anything went wrong, still another 'Commission,' headed by Lewis French, retired officer of the Indian Service, was puttering away in Jerusalem.

THE PASSFIELD WHITE PAPER

Lord Passfield, smug dean of English social reform theoreticians, was not long in assimilating the technique of the Colonial Office when he took over the portfolio of Colonial Minister in the Labour Cabinet. A radical whose expressed admiration of Soviet method and theory remained constant, he also observed the Bolshevik inconsistency toward the Jew: he did not concede that they had the right to be Zionists. He frankly admitted that he was opposed to the *Histadruth* (The Jewish Federation of Labor). He did not approve of the type the *Histadruth* was bringing into the country, stating openly that he preferred the old type of Palestinian immigrant of before the War, the 'pious' Jew who went there to die. He emphasized that since he was a Socialist, he was not opposed to the new immigrants because they were Socialists and trade unionists, "but because they were Zionists."³¹

He was nasty to Jews wherever a convenient opportunity arose, and pursued the Zionists with all the hatred a zealot holds for infidels. Asked in 1930 by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency for a New Year's message to Jewry, he curtly refused. Before he took the bull by the horns to issue his 'White Paper,' he had attempted to push through an ordinance ghettoizing Palestine Jewry in the cities, frustrated only by an energetic fight on the part of the Jewish Agency.

Despite all this, the Jewish Socialists continued to vocalize their undying 'solidarity' with Comrade Webb, the fellow-Marxist. Commenting on a perfectly venal statement Passfield had just issued, the influential Socialist *New York Jewish Forward* stated editorially on July 9, 1930 that "the whole document breathes a warm desire to convince the Jewish world of

the full friendship toward Jews and toward the Jewish work in Palestine felt by the Labor-Government. . . Comrade Webb seeks to throw a new light upon certain happenings and show that these have been misinterpreted by the Jews." The wiser conservative daily *Ha'aretz* points out that the Labour Government of England has lent itself whole hog "to the Colonial office's conspiracy to liquidate Zionism." The 'conspiracy' to which *Ha'aretz* alludes had been in preparation so long that nothing short of a miracle could head it off. On November 20, 1930, Officialdom deemed that the sapping operation had been completed. Comrade Webb himself, with pious words of explanation, touched off the fuse.

The Zionists abruptly awoke to the realization that they had built on sand ; that it was the end of them and their dreams of salvation, their fund collecting, their stereotyped statement that "our relations with the Mandatory are satisfactory."

All the distortions, the veiled anti-Jewish hostility of the Hope-Simpson Report, were in the White Paper. Benignly it asserts that since there are only 6,500,000 dunams available, there is not enough for the Arabs, who require 8,000,000 ; therefore land purchases in future would be permitted "only if they do not interfere with the Government's plans for development," an artful method of saying that Jews could no longer settle on the soil. To make the matter air-tight it sets up the principle that land with tenants on it cannot in future be sold — in effect freezing the vast stretches held by great Levantine landlords, mostly emigrés living with their retinues in Cairo and Paris.

The outcome of this reasoning was the recommendation for complete stoppage of immigration "*in view of the responsibility under the Mandate*" and of the "close relationship of immigration and the land development policy." In keeping with the same argument it holds that the older type of Jewish immigration benefited the Arabs, whereas "The Zionists' contentions regarding the benefits which their colonization work has bestowed upon the Arabs has been proven . . . fallacious."

Massing a frontal attack on the stupefied Jewish Agency, Socialist Passfield cries that a "*modus vivendi*" must "be established

between the Government and the Jewish Agency regarding their respective functions, *and full account must be taken of the influence in policy exerted by the General Federation of Jewish Labor over the Jewish Agency. . . It is necessary to take into account the part played by the General Federation of Jewish Labor . . . [which has] adopted a policy implying the introduction of a new social order.*" Here we have an astonishing though not unusual spectacle: the pot calls the kettle black; the British Labour Party, speaking as the Government of Great Britain, sanctimoniously expresses dissatisfaction with its Jewish comrades for following a line of policy in Palestine identical to that which the Labour Party itself is committed to in England.

Loading its guns for bear, the Government released at the same time a statement of policy announcing the realization of Samuel's pet scheme, the Legislative Council. This maneuver, which would have handed the country over irrevocably to Arab politicians, was issued with the remarkable explanation that it "should be of special benefit to the Arab section of the population."

As a sop to the Jews the White Paper included the usual verbiage in reference to the Government's good intentions, and the droll "hope that the White Paper will restore the confidence of the Jews in the British Government." This gratuitous bit of buffoonery was too much for even the compliant Zionist leadership. With cries of stung anguish it bolted the traces and started to run amuck.

THE MACDONALD LETTER

Once again the Bureaucrats were to find to their amazement that they had fallen into a pit of their own digging. The Labourites, newer to Imperial sleight-of-hand, had been too incautious — far too obvious in their tactics.

For a few days it appeared to the Jews that this was the end — that Zionism had been terminated. Jewish idealists who had fought all their lives for this cause, walked down the streets of the principal metropolises of Europe, openly weeping.

Then a sudden revulsion struck the body of Jewry. A cry of 'shameful betrayal' arose, and rapidly gathered volume. Vitriolically the late Lord Melchett challenged the White Paper as "an act of almost unparalleled ingratitude and treachery . . . towards a credulous and harassed people who believed they had found a haven under the broad aegis of the British flag and the guaranteed word of British statesmen." The venerable Menachem Ussishkin, stolid and unimaginative but one of the few men with common sense in the Zionist leadership, was allowed to speak his mind. "For thirteen years," he declared, "there had been falsification. Lord Passfield . . . has spoken the truth. England does not want us to build up Palestine. All other statements are diplomacy, or simply lies." Cut to the quick, the usually moribund Jewish Agency lambasted Passfield's document as a crude piece of dishonest writing whose purpose was "to discredit the Jewish Agency, disparage Jewish achievements in Palestine, and encourage the ill-disposed elements of the Arab population."

In America, in France and in Germany, leaders of public opinion were vying with each other in condemning the unprecedented treachery of the Labour Government. In America, Congressman Hamilton Fish Jr. threatened a Government inquiry into occurrences in Palestine, pointing to the treaty which had made the United States a legal party to the Mandate. From South Africa, General Smuts thundered that the promise to the Jews had "become world law" which "cannot now be varied unilaterally by the British Government." David Lloyd George drily challenged the good faith of the Government by declaring in Commons: "They dare not try to kill Zionism directly, but they try to put it in a refrigerator." The Jews themselves were now aroused everywhere. In Warsaw fifty thousand paraded, shouting imprecations against Britain. There was fierce talk of treating the British to the same retaliation they had suffered at the hands of the Sinn Fein movement. Far and wide the hue and cry rose from indignant throats.

In England itself the government of the day was a minority government and definitely unpopular. All the elder statesmen,

says Sidebotham, were on the Jews' side.³² The leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties gleefully seized on the affair as a mighty club to beat the Labourites over the head with. Loudly they voiced their incensed feelings and clamored for the repeal of this disgraceful pronouncement. Mr. Baldwin, Sir Austen Chamberlain, with Mr. Amery, in a joint letter complained that the White Paper "would create in America and elsewhere a feeling of distrust in British good faith." Such world-famous luminaries as Lord Hailsham and Sir John Simon announced that the Passfield document was a flagrant breach of International Conventions, fouling the honest name of England. Gathering strength from all quarters, the storm on the Passfield White Paper rose to whirlwind proportions.

At this point a shrewd, courageous Jewish leadership could have made an expeditious end to Colonial Office plotting. Fate had laid in their laps another rare gift of chance — a situation they could not have improved on if they had artficed it themselves, with the Bureaucrats caught flat-footed in a position they could neither defend at home nor abroad.

Until this time in their relations with London the Zionists had been suppliants. They occasionally remonstrated, complained and criticized, but never demanded. Whatever they asked, it was always in the tone of the poor relation asking alms of his rich kinsman. Now for the first time in London's experience the exasperated Zionists approached the point of open rebellion. Weizmann himself, always so submissive to blandishment or threat, was miraculously transmuted from rabbit to lion. In unmistakable terms he swore that the Jewish people would never swallow this outrage, that neither he nor his colleagues would negotiate with the British Government so long as this infamous document continued to adorn its archives. He demanded its unconditional removal before the Zionists would consent to resume any relations whatsoever with the Mandatory Power. His words were dynamite. They meant a showdown fight with quarter neither given nor asked. To top it all he resigned as President of the World Zionist Organization and announced that he was calling an immediate session of the Zionist

Congress, which alone could decide what steps were to be taken.

The air fairly crackled when two days later Felix Warburg, head of the Jewish Agency, also resigned, charging that Passfield had deliberately tricked him in the behind-the-scenes negotiations, making him "the innocent vehicle of misstatements to his colleagues of the Jewish Agency." In a rousing attack in which the roiled banker stepped completely out of character, he smote the British hip and thigh, making it plain that no reliance whatsoever could be placed on the word of Passfield or the Government he represented, and that further relations with them were therefore hopeless.

Painfully alive to the situation, the Labour Government saw in consternation that the affair was assuming the proportions of a *cause célèbre*; and that its political opponents were hoping it would prove the pole to tumble it from power. Prominent Englishmen, convinced that Britain's good name had been tarnished, were mercilessly criticizing the reports of the 'Commissions' as only meant to whitewash the criminal culpability of Palestine officials. Lloyd George, still a powerful figure, had stentoriously warned his nation: "We shall not reconcile the Arabs, but we shall alienate an even more powerful race, and, what is worse, British honour will be sullied." The influential *London Times* asserted flatly that the nation could not afford to disregard the foul odor this matter had raised in all civilized quarters, which could end in "a disagreeable political result and financial consequences that might be even more unpleasant." The *London Sunday Times*, recapitulating in a fiery editorial, wrote: "First the Jews are massacred in their National Home. The Inquiry Commission instead of fixing the immediate responsibilities, strays outside its terms of reference and blames the Mandate, the Jews and everyone but the murderers. Then the Government instead of throwing the slovenly and biased report into the waste paper basket, proceeds to act on two of its recommendations about immigration and land and finally proceeds to hang up the Mandate altogether until someone else has reported." And the *Manchester Guardian* solemnly declared: "No sooner have we cured the cancer of Ireland in our interna-

tional relations than the indecision of MacDonald makes a worse one of Jewry."

Completely taken aback by the force of the storm that had gathered, MacDonald offered to do the noble thing. As an earnest of good intentions he held out the bait of fifteen hundred immigration certificates.

A circumstance of grave importance now threw its shadow over the entire proceedings. This was the emergence of the Socialist labor organizations as a strong factor in Zionist politics. Although definitely in the minority, they were an important portion of the support which kept Weizmann in power. Pressure now began quietly operating on Weizmann from the Comrades in the Labor groups, who in turn were being high-pressured by the Second Internationale which had finally admitted them to membership only a few months before. Leon Blum of France and George Lansbury of England, among others, members of the Internationale's Pro-Palestine Committee, appealed to the Comrades in Palestine in the name of the common solidarity. They asked them to prevent the attempt to discredit the new Labour Government in Britain, by keeping the White Paper from coming up for a test vote in Commons. MacDonald promised, if allowed to save his face, that the situation would be quietly righted. Completely softened up by these assurances, the Jewish Comrades yielded. Weizmann, relieved of the torturing conflict with his prior British patriotism, hastily agreed.³³

Friends of Zionism, and bitter opponents of the Labour régime, waiting eagerly to crush the MacDonald Government by bringing the affair to a test vote, gulped unbelievably when they were informed that Weizmann had given over his golden opportunity in exchange for a few suave promises and fifteen hundred immigration certificates. The Zionist Actions Committee was informed that the scheduled congress, feared by Whitehall because it was sure to be stormy and wildly anti-British, must be postponed. Weizmann had reversed himself completely, and now held out that it was necessary to 'negotiate' with the English Government. His major premise for this recommendation

was little less than astonishing : Zionist finances were not in good shape — therefore it were better to eschew ‘politics’ and concentrate on ‘practical’ matters.

On the Actions Committee sat the Revisionists (right-wing Zionists) and the Mizrachi (religious Zionists). The Revisionists raged ; the Mizrachi resigned in protest ; but the Labourites and Weizmann’s personal followers were in the majority, and they held fast.

In return MacDonald issued a letter to the Zionists, which later turned out to be meaningless. Known as the MacDonald Letter, this communication promised a redefinition of the term ‘landless Arabs,’ now explained to refer only to such Arabs as could be shown to have been actually displaced from lands they formerly occupied ; to investigate what State lands could be made available for close settlement in accordance with Article VI of the Mandate ; to reestablish the principle of immigration “according to economic absorptive capacity” and to allow the Jewish Agency the right to employ all-Jewish labor on works or undertakings of its own. It also concedes the White Paper’s error in attempting to substitute the words “Jewish inhabitants of Palestine” for “the Jewish People” as the beneficiaries of the Mandate, declaring “that the undertaking of the Mandate *is an undertaking to the Jewish People, and not only to the Jewish population of Palestine.*” “In order to remove certain misconceptions and misunderstandings” about the Passfield document, MacDonald agrees that the Mandatory’s “obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage close settlement by the Jews on the land, remains a positive obligation of the Mandate.”

On February 13, 1931, the MacDonald Letter, approved by Weizmann for the Zionists, was laid before Parliament, thus becoming a State paper. Weizmann greeted this Pyrrhic victory in the manner of a man who was distributing largesse all around. He said : “. . . Our work will benefit the whole of Palestine, including the Arabs, who have suffered from the general economic crisis, as well as the Palestine Administration which for the first time in many years now suffers from a serious deficit in its budget.”

The Government showed its bad faith immediately. The Letter was released on Saturday, by tradition a hint to newspapers not to editorialize. MacDonald had ably retreated out of an ugly situation — and had conceded little. The London politicians breathed free again. Among others, their old rivals the French, planning to make capital out of the incident, now had to drop it.³⁴

But the fire had been fanned so violently that it still smoldered. At the following sessions of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Mandatory was unmercifully cross-examined. Hastily, Dr. Drummond Shiels, the English representative, replied that though there had been a great deal of Jewish bad feeling before, that had all been happily settled, and a love-feast had subsequently taken place between the Zionists and the British Government. The now discredited Hope-Simpson Report would be ignored and a new set of facts and figures, "ascertained by a development authority on the spot, will be the basis of the recommendations regarding the £2,500,000 Palestine development scheme which the British Government is now framing."³⁵ Eying his interlocutors with a bland smile, Dr. Shiels asked the Commission whether, in view of the manner in which the Premier's Letter was received by Weizmann, he (Shiels) needed to make any further comments on the controversy which had proceeded.³⁶

The Zionists were not long in finding out that official Britain had not lost one shade of its determination to crush their movement. Whitehall had, however, been taught its lesson and had learned not to be too obviously precipitate. Afterwards, Officialdom was always outwardly correct in its sympathy for Jewish aspirations; but it continued relentless, in a determined pyramiding of more or less cautious artifice, seeking to break the back of an enterprise it now cordially detested.

THE KID GLOVE HIGH COMMISSIONER

In July 1931, Lieutenant-General Arthur Grenfell Wauchope became His Majesty's legate in Palestine, succeeding Chancellor.

A slight man with a delicately chiseled face, Wauchope had been the General Officer in command of North Ireland. With him came the Black and Tans who had wreaked so much havoc in the Emerald Isle. He was unique in not being a product of the inflexible system of the Colonial Office.

He proved polite, shrewd, aesthetically inclined, even something of an artist. He was the first High Commissioner whom the Jews could even remotely understand. Sir Arthur visited their colonies — and even expressed some interest in what was going on. He has been known to give substantial personal gifts to various Jewish institutions which caught his fancy.

The Jews tended to like him. The regulations passed under his rule, clearly ear-marked as anti-Semitic measures, were usually excused by them as proceeding from 'Mohammedan pressure,' or from the sheer inability of a gentile administrator to get to the bottom of Jewish problems. Even when things grew inexcusably vexatious, they still refused to credit Wauchope with a deliberate anti-Jewish policy, and compromised by calling him vacillating and irresolute. Yet from a practical viewpoint, Wauchope was hardly an improvement over his predecessors. During his régime the baleful French Report was released. Under Sir Arthur the disastrous rebellion of 1936-38 took place; followed by the inevitable epilogue, a new investigating 'Commission.' This latest body finally recommended a plan for further partitioning the country, which if it were placed into effect, would have produced much of the same result intended by the abortive White Paper of Lord Passfield.

It is undoubtedly true that Wauchope would infinitely have preferred not to be a party to this epidemic of Jew-baiting had circumstances allowed. He is, however, a loyal servant of a system which has come to regard Zionism as dangerous to the most precious possession of Englishmen, the Empire.

THE REPORT OF MR. FRENCH

The 'expert' Dr. Shiels referred to before the Mandates Commission, whose findings were to supersede the Hope-Simpson

Report, not only used that report for his precedent, but went it one better in every acrimonious reference to Jews. A retired official of the Indian Civil Service, Lewis French had been sent ostensibly on a great Zionist development scheme, one of the concessions agreed to by the Labour Government in its private conversations with Dr. Weizmann.

With the astuteness of long practice, French stalled for time until the agitation over the Passfield White Paper was well over. After a year and a half of ostentatious preparation his report was submitted to the Arab Executive, and to the Zionists, sitting in camera. The Zionists hit the ceiling — they had been beautifully jobbed once more.

The report of Mr. French consisted in the main of a compendium of generalities against the Jews. He recommended, in brief, the adoption of a drastic Land Transfer Ordinance completely prohibiting land purchase by Jews. As if to show French's comparative reasonableness, his collaborator T. C. Kipching, more draconian still, appended an auxiliary report asserting that it was necessary for Jews to give up what land they had already acquired and migrate from Palestine.

Poor Wauchope, desperately trying to remain something of a gentleman in this whirlpool of Crown politics, found the crude dissimulations of this 'Report' even more than he could stomach. He objected. French, fuming at this 'traitorous' conduct, threatened to resign.

In London, the Jewish leaders, realizing how completely they had been duped, were now hysterically raising the roof. Under instructions from Downing Street the 'expert,' French, grudgingly agreed to modify his report, and finally resigned, his place being taken by a subordinate, L. Y. Andrews.³⁷ Baffling months of parleying took place in which the worried Zionists were placated with the usual assurances. These were inevitably passed on to the rank and file of the movement in Weizmann's conventional words: "The situation is satisfactory. The Government desires faithfully to discharge its obligations in the spirit of the Mandate."

On July 16, 1933 the French Report was finally issued. It

placed land transfers completely under Government control. It stated bluntly that the hill Arabs required special protection against Jews. It elaborated tiresomely on the 'landless Arab' question. It found the Jews rich and predatory, and piously referred to the 'displaced' Arab as "a son of the soil to be replaced on the land of his country."

The huge 'development scheme' now turned out to be a plan to purchase citrus land for Arab settlement. Arabs were not only to be given the land without charge, but the cost of buildings, livestock, etc., was to be supplied by a paternal Government. No recognition whatever was made of the fact that Zionism was and remained a poor and struggling movement, largely the product of the distress of the Jewish masses, of the economic pressure forcing their migration and resettlement. At that very moment there were over seven thousand agricultural workers in the Holy Land employed on private plantations who had waited from five to ten years for the chance to get a parcel of land ; and abroad there were more than forty thousand young men and women trained on the Zionist agricultural farms who were waiting anxiously for the chance to locate on a bit of Palestine's brown earth. Landless Jews, if the Government generously permitted, would have to buy their acres at prohibitive prices and depend on Jewish philanthropy for the rest.

Frankly interested in perpetuating the country in its undeveloped state, French considers as 'cultivated land,' areas "on which a few score of half-starved Bedu families are at present grazing goats and cutting reed-grass," to use his own description. The returns of the latter 'industry' have been estimated at three to five pence per dunam per year. In regard to the marshy Huleh area, a malarial swamp which the Jews were seeking official permission to drain, French agreed that "settled as Government tenants, a leavening of Jewish colonists in this tract would tend to an acceleration of the desired development after the marshes have been drained." The brazenness of this observation is probably unparalleled : the Jews are to buy the swamp, pay for draining it, and will then be permitted to supply 'a leavening' of Government tenants in its precincts. The Arabs are

to get the balance without cost. Jewish settlement on the land no longer appears as one of the primary purposes of the Mandate, let alone a positive obligation of the Government. It is now merely to serve as a device, to be applied in small doses only, for the stimulation and enlightenment of Arab agriculturists.

The French Report proposed legislation of an advanced type scarcely conceivable outside of Russia. It sought to create a body of peasants permanently attached to the soil and denied freedom of movement, a scheme which the indignant Jewish Agency describes as "an attempt to reestablish the medieval institution of *Glebae Adscriptae*." ³⁸ The directness of this subterfuge is shown in French's recommendation that occupancy rights be dated as of two years back, "notwithstanding that the holding may have been since that date let to some other persons, or may have been left unlet." The new owner or lessee is left without remedy or compensation, though he may have incurred great expense in moving on the land and in improving it. This provision, granting prescriptive rights to people who may have left the soil, disregarding the rights of others who may have purchased or obtained leases meanwhile, is only understandable in light of the fact that the new holders were invariably Jews.

Another clause of this document practically fixes maximum rentals in perpetuity, so that more attractive tenant offers to landlords could not be made. Incensed, the Jewish Agency screwed up its courage to declare that the purpose "of the proposed clause is to perpetuate uneconomic use of the land and obstruct development."

In practice, acceptance of this Report would make the establishment of new Jewish colonies a complete impossibility. The Jews were to be put in a straight-jacket as they were in the Russian Pale, forever condemned to be city dwellers and petty traders.

Thus turned out the great 'Palestine Development Scheme' with which Shiels had cajoled the League's Mandates Commission almost two years before.

BOOK TWO

CHAPTER I

JEWS HAVE A REPUTATION FOR INTELLIGENCE

THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

An important differentiation must be made between the Jewish community in Palestine and the World Zionist Group which officially has the business of repatriation in hand. The community in Palestine is a nation in embryo, pulsating with new life. In striking contrast, the Zionist Organization of the World consists of a loosely knit group of autonomous federations, one for each country. Any Jew may become a voting member by the simple procedure of purchasing a *shekel* (at a cost of about 50¢), which constitutes his token of membership. The very circumstances which separate Zionism from the everyday affairs of life in the various countries of the Diaspora, lend an air of unreality and philanthropy to the movement. This nebulousness is amply reflected in the deliberations of its various branches, and in the vitiated case presented by its spokesmen in Geneva and London.

Jews have a reputation for expert organizing ability and for shrewd reasoning, but none of these qualities are evident in the structure of the Zionist federations. Their business is handled in the main by magnificent orators whose political conceptions are limited to the viewpoint of platform lecturers; and their sessions are apt to result in mere acrimonious debates between men who are more scholarly than practical. The fervent support of many millions of Jews whose only hope lies in Zion has given this organization infinite possibilities for potency and strength; but this latent power has been almost completely wasted by a group of pedantic spokesmen who obstinately regard all creation

as if it could be cut to the pattern of a book. The principal concern of the American Zionist Organization, for example, is to raise money for the upkeep of its considerable staff of officeholders, plus the question of whether a Rabbi Goldman is to be president or a Rabbi Goldstein is to be president. At a four day convention held in Providence, in July 1936, during the worst crisis that Jewry has experienced in five hundred years, the sum total of its labors was the announcement of a campaign to plant 100,000 trees in the Holy Land, and a resolution voicing confidence in the Zionist President, Weizmann.

The Zionists maintain a London Executive and a Palestine Executive who mainly specialize in sending learned memoranda to the British Government and the League of Nations. With these executive bodies is affiliated still another politically impotent appendage, the Jewish Agency. Article IV of the Mandate solemnly provides that the Jewish Agency "shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home." On paper it has all the prerogatives of a chartered colonizing body, instructed to "take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the National Home." The British have, however, reduced its powers to a collective zero. Caught in the same web of strange infatuation which has ruled Zionism's dominant leaders, the Agency, too, relegates politics to the background as unimportant child's-play. The present Jewish Agency is the result of long negotiations conducted by Weizmann with certain wealthy non-Zionists, in the hope of inducting the moneybags of the latter into an enlarged circuit of operations.¹ The inclusion of non-Zionists in this vitally important body was the outcome of the ruinous conception that economic and cultural interests were the sole levers capable of raising the Jewish edifice in Palestine. The moneybags, like moneybags the world over, proved obstinate and hard-headed. They were willing to offer plenty of sage advice but kept their checkbooks under lock and key. Outside of their

accustomed spheres these men proved so inept as to practically paralyze the Jewish Agency as a political instrument.

From a non-political viewpoint the Jewish Agency has been extremely successful. It is conscientious, thorough and efficient, maintains fine statistical and research units, and is usually better informed regarding economic trends and possibilities than are the corresponding agencies of the British Administration.

The identical differences of opinion and conflicts of ideology which are shaking the foundations of society everywhere, are also evident throughout Zionist ranks. The differences between Zionist factions are sharp, accentuated by the unhealthy position the Jew occupies in relation to his environment in Europe. The same pressures which are creating social conflicts in all countries, are seen by this doubly harassed people through a magnifying glass.

These irreconcilable groups fall into the usual two camps. The first, interpreting history in terms of applied Marxian economics, considers that the course of action lies solely in a Socialist settlement scheme. What reason, its proponents argue, to carve out a new unit on the earth's surface if not for the realization of Socialism. This group, necessarily dualistic, regards all nationalism with suspicion, and wants a bi-national cooperative State to include the Arabs. Here are to be found the Zionist Labor parties, of various degrees of red and pink, known as the Poale Zion and the Left Poale Zion. They have surrounded themselves with the same Marxist slogans which proved so hopelessly inadequate in Germany and Austria. Their literature talks provocatively of the struggling Palestine industrialists as "an aggressive capitalist class which strives . . . to create profits out of the sweat and blood of the 'lower classes.'"

They make a considerable effort to instruct their 'Arab comrades' in the mechanics of class-struggle. It is they who have taught the Arabs the catch-phrases and strike technique which has been used so successfully against the Jewish National Home; and invariably it was these same favored Arabs who led in the attacks against the Jews themselves.^{1a} The kind of irresponsible demagoguery frightened British imperialists were greeted with can be seen in the deliberations of the First Workers World

Congress. Here the radical leader, Joseph Sprinzak, stated that participation of Jewish Labor in the Zionist Organization did not mean a coalition with the bourgeoisie, but "only with the Jewish workers," a declaration bettered by the Left Poale Zion who asserted that any cooperation with the Zionist bourgeoisie was "treason."²

All the leftist groups possess the traditional Marxist contempt for religion in any form, and as a result suffer the ineradicable animosity of the religious elements, who accuse them of trying to "substitute the religion of Marx" for the fundamental principles of Judaism.

The opposing camp of Zionist theoreticians suspects what Herzl also suspected—that if Zionism did not early attain political control under an assured Jewish majority, all economic and cultural efforts would finally end in the same ruin which overwhelmed the Jewish cultural centers in Spain and Lithuania. They point out that the Laborites tend to be 'separatists' in everything, with their own schools, special theaters, sports-organizations, and even their own hymn instead of the Jewish national song, the *Hatikvah*, thus splitting the weak and dispersed nation throughout the world as well as its minority in the Holy Land.

The Nationalists insist on a monist course of action aimed solely at recreating the Jewish State, emphasizing that in a modern world the old distinctions between economics and politics have largely disappeared. They fear that the system of compromising politics followed by the Labor camp must end in the doubtful ideal of a Jewish community in an Arab land, satisfactory to the Marxist mind as long as that ideal is Socialistic. They assert that during the period of national colonization, class-struggle is a double misfortune—that it is logically impossible to call the nation "to unite for the purpose of building a Fatherland, and simultaneously split and crumble it into hating and babbling classes. . ." They demand compulsory arbitration in all labor disputes. In their ranks may be found all shades of right-wing opinion. Their chief strength lies in Eastern Europe where they represent the strongest and most

vital hope among the younger Jews. Giving these stifled youngsters an outlet to their emotions and creative energies, Jewish nationalism has unquestionably saved them from the calamity of Communism.

Consisting mainly of Mr. Jabotinsky's Revisionists, the right-wingers demand an emphasis on state diplomacy which recognizes the extent and pressure of the existing Jewish problem, "perceiving the aim of Zionism to be a complete and final solution of the Jewish world-problem in all its aspects." It demands an orderly mass migration to relieve the intense pressure which is crushing the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. This, it asserts vigorously, is a State function requiring the active intervention of the State Power, as contrasted to the present desultory efforts provided by private enterprise and charity. Revisionism also holds uncompromisingly to a demand for restoration of the stolen area of Trans-Jordan.

Jabotinsky's external policy is founded on the belief that Zionism is providential for the solution of British problems in the East, making the Jewish State London's natural ally. He points out that all British strongholds from India to the Nile are inhabited by a solid Mohammedan bloc, intrinsically unstable and hostile to European penetration. Should Palestine remain Arab the British must at some future date be thrown bodily out of the Near East. A Jewish Palestine, on the other hand, located as an island in this grinding Mohammedan sea, would, notwithstanding the uncertainties of future politics, be forced to rely on permanent alliance with Great Britain.

Suffering like the other Zionist leaders from an incurable Anglophilia, Jabotinsky has offered Jewish Legions from Poland and elsewhere to police Palestine, or the whole near East if required. In return the Bureaucrats treat both him and his movement with surly dislike. Jabotinsky himself is prohibited from setting foot in Palestine.

The Revisionists, however, do not hesitate at times to damn British policy with refreshing directness. Whitehall, now knowing how to evaluate their future strength, unquestionably fears them.

Also moderately right-wing are the orthodox religious Zionists, the Mizrachi. Its members may be identified by their long black coats, curly side-locks, and general inoffensive demeanor. Mizrachi is capable, when aroused, of common sense and unbending courage, but it is not aroused often. Among the right-wingers also is the Jewish State Party, a small group to all intents and purposes identical with Jabotinsky's group in policy.

In the Center, between all these violently contending factions, lies the General Zionist group, itself split into factions 'A' and 'B,' dependent on whether they lean to the right or the left, respectively. The General Zionists allege to be Liberals and pure followers of Herzl. From their ranks are drawn Weizmann, Wise, Ussishkin, Lipsky and most of the other recognized leaders of the Zionist world movement. In actual practice they invariably tend toward simple opportunism, leaning toward the policies of the party holding the deciding vote at Zionist conventions. Their political philosophy has been marked by continuous compromise, retreat and hope.

Tied to the fortunes of these struggling factions in Palestine are two labor organizations who manage to hate each other with a bitter detestation not surpassed anywhere.

The required sums for running the somewhat complicated Zionist machinery are raised by a unique method of self-taxation, and a system of unctuous levying on the rich, called by the Jews '*schnorring*.' So dependent have the mechanics of Zionist activity become on these necessary contributions that suspicion may well be entertained that the major policy of the Zionist Organization has degenerated into a promotion scheme for the raising of these vital moneys; that in short, the tail now wags the dog. The most important of these organized endowments are the Keren Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund) and the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund). The Revisionists have their own machinery, the Keren Tel Chai.

This imperative need for money to feed a gradually gathered army of officeholders appears to dictate much that is otherwise inexplicable in Zionist policy. The basis of such a precarious system of revenue is a continuous and increasing tempo of bally-

hoo. Booklets must be issued replete with stories of amazing achievement, leading to the inference that all is going swimmingly and that these superb successes are only limited by a regrettable inadequacy of private contributions. The poignant realization that their revenue is dependent largely on an unceasing relation of 'triumphs' to hard-headed Jews who want to see value for their money, is the nightmare of Zionist existence, turning everything they undertake into an operation distinguished mostly by its ballyhoo. As a net result, the Zionists' political policy is for all practical purposes bankrupt, since they may not dare risk puncturing the beautiful bubbles which they themselves have blown over so many years.

Up to May 1935 the two biggest Zionist funds had collected a total of £9,400,000 between them. Despite self-adulatory publicity, up to that date the land settlement schemes of the two Kerens had only succeeded in placing a total of 2800 families on the soil. Effectually prevented by British-fashioned ordinances from carrying out their ambitious colonization plans, the Zionist Funds have gone in heavily for such luxuries as grants to the Hebrew University and the establishment of national libraries. They have also allowed themselves to be euchred into subsidizing public health and educational institutions, while the less obliging Arabs have these identical services paid for out of the public tax moneys. This whole collapse of healthy function is strongly intimated in the resignation of Isadore D. Morrison from the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod and The United Palestine Appeal Board in November 1937. Charging "mismanagement, waste, extravagance and misinformation to the public" in the administration of these funds, he accused the official Zionist Organizations of having degenerated into mere propaganda bodies which had long outlived their usefulness.

Not included in the official Zionist bodies is the Agudath Israel, an ultra-orthodox group who consider women's suffrage an outrage against God, and Zionism itself a heretical movement. They believe that when the Almighty is ready he will send down a messiah who will miraculously lead the way to the

Promised Land without political intervention. The unworldly, wraith-like fanaticism of Agudath Israel has to be seen to be appreciated. A typical tidbit is the *cherem* (bull of excommunication) pronounced on the all-Jewish city of Tel Aviv, forbidding the Faithful from setting foot there during the gay merry-making which marks the annual Purim festival. Agudath Israel is completely *persona grata* with the Colonial Office, who see in its zealous messianism the kind of Jew who will give them no political difficulty.

THE PALESTINE DREYFUS CASE

It was not long before the war between the Zionist factions degenerated into a wild fracas of words, slander and bricks. Like the French revolutionist, Carrier, who said "we will make a graveyard of France rather than fail to regenerate her in our own way," the leftists were determined to brook no opposition to their scheme for a cooperative commonwealth. The worst epithet they could give mouth to was the word 'Fascist,' which they applied to the Hebrew nationalists as if the latter were predatory wolves. Comically enough, when the 'Left' Poale Zion seceded from the parent body in 1931 it did not hesitate to denounce its erstwhile Socialist comrades as 'Fascist' in turn.

Bad feeling between these rival groups finally ended in wild physical attacks, in which Revisionist meetings were stormed with rocks and tear gas bombs. According to Professor Klausner of Hebrew University, there was not a hospital in the Holy Land that did not house a Revisionist wounded by leftists. When thirty Revisionists were injured in Haifa in an assault on one of their halls, it proved too much even for the Jewish Agency which on October 23, 1934 declared itself "outraged by the brutal attacks which were poisoning the atmosphere of Palestine."

Delighted at this opportunity to smash Jewish nationalism with the help of Jews, the Government took a hand in the persecutions. Revisionists, treated as common criminals, were sentenced to penal servitude, their homes raided and their papers

suspended. Its meetings suppressed as dangerous revolutionary activity, the besmirched and harassed party was for a time practically driven underground.

In the inner business of Zionist politics the Revisionists had constituted themselves the opposition to the policy of retreat initiated by Weizmann and the Zionist Executive. This brought the Executive down on their heads like a swarm of hornets, throwing it directly into the laps of the Laborites. A campaign of slander and repressions followed. Feeling against the Revisionists rose to a fever pitch, as may be seen from the assertion by the American Zionist boss, Louis Lipsky, that "a party which makes disloyalty and violation of discipline a political principle, which educates its youth to imitation of Hitler organization methods . . . cannot expect to find place or countenance within a movement like Zionism."³

Here was a unique alliance: the Jewish leftists who hated the capitalist system and British Imperialism alike; the Jewish Agency capitalists who automatically detested leftists and who could not avoid recognizing British persecution of their cause; and the Whitehall bureaucrats who looked on Zionists in general with distaste and on leftists in the Near East with dread. All of these regarded as their main enemy in the Palestine sector, the struggling Revisionist Party.

In this atmosphere of violence and incitement a prominent left-wing leader, Chaim Arlosoroff, was murdered while walking with his wife on the beach near Tel Aviv.

Arlosoroff stood for everything the Revisionists were against. He was an ardent advocate of class war. As a member of the World Zionist Executive in charge of political affairs, he established a policy of truckling to British pressure, denied that Palestine officials were anti-Zionist, and praised Wauchope in unbounded terms as a genius who really understood the needs of Palestine. A few weeks before, he had threatened in a letter to *The New Way*, Yiddish Zionist organ in Czechoslovakia, that if the Revisionists ever came into power, Labor Palestine would carry the fight to the streets and would make a bloody civil war of it (June 10, 1933).

The murder took place at night in an isolated spot. An appalling number of European women had suffered rape at Arab hands, and at first it was assumed that this was a companion piece to that stream of outrages. Arlosoroff, dying in Hadasah Hospital, stated that his assailants were unknown to him and that he was quite certain they were not Jews.

None of this deterred the Labor press from immediately setting up the charge that here was a political murder. Wildly they demanded blood revenge. In charge of the investigation was Captain Harry Rice (Deputy Inspector General of Police), who got busy at once. He promptly arrested a young Revisionist named Stavsky.

Stavsky was a stout blond youth of handsome appearance who had been in the country some three months. His whereabouts during the time of the murder was amply established by a score of creditable witnesses, but Mrs. Arlosoroff promptly identified him as the companion of the man who had fired the shots. Immediately after, a Revisionist boy named Mintz was taken into custody, as were two Arabs named Mejid and Lufti. The state's case was completed with the apprehension of Zvi Rosenblatt, a young nationalist who was also conveniently identified by Mrs. Arlosoroff as the man who committed the actual murder.

Determined to make a clean sweep of the Revisionists, the Administration ordered a mass arrest of their leaders and held them without bail, accused of 'sedition.' In the formal charges they were alleged to be part of an organization aiming "to raise discontent among the inhabitants of Palestine" and "to promote hostility between different sections of the population." One of the supposed "terroristic acts" was the removal of the swastika flag from the German Consulate Building in Jerusalem by three of the defendants. Another was an obscure reference in a confiscated letter to "a certain Jew in Jerusalem whose ideology rings true and lives within our conscience." Defense attorney Cohen protested unavailingly that there was nothing in this mention of Jesus Christ that could in good sense be construed as operating against the public peace.

Among those arrested was a prominent editor named Yevin, and Aba Achimeir, who was accused of being the intellectual author of the murder. Achimeir, idol of the extreme nationalists, was of the new type of Hebrew patriot, rigid, incorruptible, and single-minded to the point of rhapsody. Slim and courtly, with black ringlets hanging over a high, pale forehead, he looked like a figure from one of El Greco's canvases.

Palestine was in a turmoil. In an atmosphere inflamed with libel and violence, the accused were placed on trial for their lives. As the trial opened, Achimeir was cleared of complicity in the murder. Collusion between police and Government witnesses was clearly proven. Evidence was shown to have been deliberately falsified. Its case against him having collapsed so hopelessly, the Government ordered Achimeir's release. This was on May 16, 1934. On May 17, he was promptly rearrested, charged with leading a "terrorist Revisionist Organization," and held incommunicado in Acre Prison.

The boy, Yehuda Mintz, who had been identified by Mrs. Arlosoroff, was also suddenly freed, without explanation, leaving Rosenblatt and Stavsky in the dock. At the trial, Mrs. Arlosoroff, caught in a mass of self-contradictions, was accused by innumerable witnesses of lying. The Government's own witnesses, insufficiently drilled in their role, made it manifest that the accused could not have killed Arlosoroff. It was shown that at the time he was supposed to have committed the murder Rosenblatt was one of the main speakers at a mass meeting in another city. More grimly amusing still was the peculiar position of Captain Rice in refuting the confession of the Arab, Mejid, who had admitted to the murder with rape as the motive. In an action unprecedented in modern jurisprudence, Rice took the stand to swear to Mejid's innocence, and refused pointblank to call witnesses in regard to the Arab's confession.

On June 10, 1934, in one of the most amazing decisions ever rendered, Stavsky, whom a flood of testimony had placed elsewhere at the time of the murder, was sentenced to hang. In the indictment, he had been accused of holding the flashlight while Rosenblatt did the actual killing. Rosenblatt who had

been addressing a public meeting at the time of the murder, was acquitted — yet the co-accused Stavsky was convicted. Said the doomed man on hearing the sentence : "This is a conspiracy by the Jewish Labor Party and the Palestine Government against me. I am totally innocent."

An immediate censorship was put on the Jewish press restraining it under peril of confiscation from calling attention to the patent absurdity of the verdict. Three Hebrew newspapers were stopped and their owners heavily fined for commenting on the case as a miscarriage of justice.

Vindictively the Poale-Zion-Zeire-Zion (United Jewish Socialist Workers Party) issued a statement applauding the verdict, saying that "nothing could serve so well to clear the atmosphere in our political life." It asserted that "the foundations of British judicial institutions . . . leave no ground for doubt as to the impartiality and legal regularity of the trial." Despite this vote of confidence, Joseph F. Broadhurst, Assistant Inspector General of Police, was later to admit that "there was practically no evidence" against the accused.⁴

The Laborites were making all the capital they could out of this tragic situation, the first time a Jew had been on trial for the murder of a Jew in the modern history of Palestine. In their publicity they referred to the Revisionists as a party of murderers. The Eighteenth World Jewish Congress, instead of occupying itself with problems connected with British perfidy, ridiculously voted to send a commission to Palestine to investigate the alleged use of violence and terroristic methods by the Revisionist group. The Laborites, by an adroit campaign of slander only comparable to the scheming by which the German Nazis used the burning of the Reichstag to corral a huge sympathy vote, controlled the convention with almost forty-five percent of the ballots.

Weizmann, mild-mannered to Jewish enemies, had a fierce side when he faced Jews. He refused to return to the leadership or even to come to the Congress, reputedly because the Revisionists had not been expelled.

In the meanwhile the pot, which had only been simmering,

began to boil. Of the four judges who sat on the case, only one was Jewish, and he alone had voted for acquittal. Now this Jewish judge, venerable Moshe Valero, braved the wrath of the gods and issued a strongly couched statement showing the virtual impossibility of Stavsky's guilt. Chief Rabbi HaCohen Kook, beloved Palestine leader, wrote a personal appeal to world Jewry asking for aid in this flagrant miscarriage of justice.

With ferocious ardor the Labor groups leaped to the defense of their kill. All over Palestine on the walls of houses and synagogues, slogans were daubed in red paint, reading, "*Pity the nation whose priests protect murderers.*" Labor groups met and condemned in violent language the attempts to clear Stavsky.

The question agitated the entire Jewish world, which soon became convinced that an innocent man had been railroaded to the death cell for the sake of political expediency. In London the famous Scotland Yard Inspector Charles Leach took the classic part that Zola had held in the Dreyfus case of a generation past. His sharp and biting report was a masterpiece of its kind. The pressure became so great that the British Government could not ignore it — the trial was reopened.

Shrewd and capable Horace Samuel was now the defense attorney. He pointed out, among other things, the renewed confession of the Arab, Mejid, and demanded that the police records be made public. Again Captain Rice mysteriously refused. Evidence showing that the leftists had exploited the murder for political purposes in the 1933 election and that they had, together with the Jewish Agency, assisted the prosecution in securing the conviction of Stavsky as a political measure, was excluded. Even then the proof of collusion was so patent that the Palestine Court of Appeals had no other recourse than to free the condemned man. He had been in prison a year and walked out with his hair snow white.

The Marxists showed their joy over the verdict by stoning the synagogue in which Stavsky and Rosenblatt were worshipping. *Davar*, Laborite mouthpiece, followed up an official leftist manifesto by declaring that the two men remained murderers.

Things rapidly came to the point where Stavsky and Rosenblatt were warned by the Tel Aviv police to leave the city as their lives were in danger and the police could not be responsible for their safety.

Cheated out of its sacrificial victim, the Government was determined to have its revenge. It hounded all witnesses for Stavsky. An example is the almost immediate deportation of the widow Becherev and her two children, who had aided in establishing the accused's alibi. Its displeasure against Jewish nationalists in general showed no signs of diminishing. It found Achimeir and the other Revisionist leaders guilty of sedition and sentenced them to twenty-one months at hard labor. On December 30, 1934 this Government which knew how to punish Jews while Arabs murdered and revolted with impunity, announced that it had revoked the citizenship of Yevin and Achimier, making them men without a country. This new formidable threat in a world where no nation wanted Jews, was held as a terrible club over the head of all those who believed that the Palestine Mandate envisioned the formation of a Jewish State.

LABOR DICTATORSHIP

Until the time of the Arlosoroff murder, the Revisionists had been gaining ground so rapidly as to make it appear that their ultimate control of the Zionist Organization was inevitable. Under cover of the delirious charges and counter-charges growing out of the Stavsky affair, the Laborites, possessing by far the best equipped publicity machine, had succeeded in discrediting their enemies as a band of ruffians and murderers. By a series of admirable maneuvers and coalitions, the technique of which they had learned in the traditional Marxian schools of Europe, they succeeded, though still a minority in the Convention, in excluding the Revisionists entirely from participation in Zionist affairs. Expertly organized, and using the General Zionists as a front so as to keep the Mizrachi from bolting harness, they took control. Anchored in the seat of power, with the Organization's established income at their disposal, they became almost impossible

to dislodge. Ironically, Laborite activities were now directly subsidized by donations from the same middle class Zionists all over the world whom leftist party platforms had sworn to destroy.

The Revisionists found themselves virtually outlawed. Jews who had always been the persecuted now learned the business of persecution. For the mere matter of his 'ideology,' a youth belonging to the Jabotinsky faction was to find himself completely shut off from the possibility of obtaining a visa to Palestine. In the Diaspora all Zionist activities, except those directly connected with his party, were closed to him. Hatred grew to irremediable proportions. The Laborites, nicely in the saddle, perpetuated the idea, with Zionist funds, that Jabotinsky's men were a degraded lot of "un-Jewish bastards" who had found their god in Hitler. The persecuted Revisionists were not backward in referring to their opponents with heart-felt passion as 'vermin.' Denied participation in Zionist affairs, they went ahead on their own, issuing their own memoranda to the British and the League of Nations and collecting their own funds. Infuriated, the Laborites set up a virtuous wail of 'sabotage' and 'secession.' Jews who were letting British bureaucrats tread on them as if they were worms, now fought Jews with an obduracy that neither gave quarter nor asked it.

The Zionist rulers set an ironclad dictatorship in operation for better purposes of the battle. Like the Confessional Churches in Nazi Germany, the Revisionists found themselves in a box. Any utterance contrary to the ruling fiction that "unbelievable progress was being made in Palestine" was treated as rank heresy. The American, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, resigned from the Administrative and Executive Committees of the Zionist Organization, assailing the "absolutist régime in Zionist affairs."

Shouting all the slogans of democracy, the Zionist leadership proceeded to place in effect a rigid censorship of all news and utterances. When the only existing Jewish news service offended them, they entered the news business with funds of the Jewish Agency. Leading Yiddish newspapers were handed simple subsidies with the gentleman's understanding that they

would publish no news unfavorable to their patrons. (The important *Yiddische Tageblatt* of Poland accused the Zionist Executive in June 1936, of trying to "imitate the tone of certain great powers" in its attempt to censor news on the Palestine disorders.)

In January of 1933 the Revisionists had been formally tried by a Congress Court for the alleged crime of having discussed Zionist affairs with the Polish Foreign Minister Beck, with the result that the entire Revisionist Union was ordered suspended from membership in the Zionist Organization. On July 26, 1933 the recognized leftist *Fuehrer*, Ben Gurion, laid down the dictum that "we shall under no circumstances collaborate with a party of strike-breakers and anti-labor agitators." On March 9, 1934 the Zionist Executive issued a *communiqué* announcing that the Revisionist Party would henceforth be regarded as dissolved and non-existent. It declares that no Zionist group is to be regarded as the Revisionist Sondernverbund, or to style itself so, and asserts that the World Revisionist Party is outlawed from the Zionist Organization and has no legal status within that organization or any of its affiliated bodies. On February 6, 1935, not satisfied by declaring the Revisionists non-existent, the Executive placed a *cherem* (ban) on the Revisionist Fund, the Keren Tel Chai, ludicrously ordering Jews not to donate any money to it. In 1935 they also incorporated a provision in reference to the purchase of the *shekel* which by its very nature automatically excluded Revisionists.

In the meanwhile, sensing that all this was beginning to make a bad impression on Jews all around, the Zionist hierarchy had made a sudden attempt to compromise the situation. Ben Gurion, speaking for the Executive, agreed to act with Jabotinsky to end the inter-party strife. Conventions were arrived at and signed outlawing all acts of violence, libel or slander. Both parties undertook to discipline their membership on pain of permanent expulsion. The Revisionist Union promptly ratified the act of their leader by a plebiscite. The Laborites, however, wanted no 'peace' with the hated bourgeoisie represented by the Revisionists. After one of the most vituperative campaigns in

Zionist history, they voted two to one to repudiate Ben Gurion's signature.

A few months later the provoked Revisionists went through the motions of resigning from a body which had already all but thrown them out, and with some other dissident factions formed the New Zionist Organization. At a great plebiscite which was to determine the form and content of the new organization, some 750,000 votes were cast — the largest number of ballots ever voted by Jews on a purely Jewish matter since the days of the Dispersion. The foundation congress held in Vienna during the Fall of 1935 was a jubilant and hysterical affair. Jabotinsky's strategy was to isolate the left-wingers and leave them hopelessly stranded with their catechisms on the coming Utopia. But the leftists were no fools: they swiftly compromised with middle-of-the-road elements who, delighted with the concessions made to them, decided to remain with the old organization.

Revisionist tactics were also, in part at least, based on the assumption that Whitehall's known antipathy for Socialists did not cloak a stronger anti-Semitism underneath. They believed that the Bureaucrats would welcome their action, as a sensible piece of Empire strategy. This was from the start a grave misconception. The Bureaucrats preferred Zionism in the hands of the most radical Socialists in order to have the better excuse to lobby against it at home. So the New Zionist Organization, instead of being welcomed as a happy windfall for the Empire, was quite competently ignored.

REIGNING ZIONIST PERSONALITIES

No Bill of Rights ever penned can remake overnight the mental approach of a people whose mind has been ground down by half a dozen centuries of abject horror. The memory of these cruel generations left its stamp indelibly on the Jewish spokesmen who took over the helm of the movement after Herzl's death. Invariably they were graduates of the *Yeshiva* atmosphere of the Russian Pale.

The circumstances by which they literally fell into leadership were simple. The great mass of Jewry was busy in the practical affairs of day-to-day existence. The Socialists, Liberals and Conservatives kept themselves coolly aloof. The pro-Zionists, engrossed in their own occupations, were content to show their sympathy by the donation of funds or by occasional participation at rallies and meetings. It was a small group of impassioned scholastics, who had made Zionism a profession all their lives, who took over the actual machinery of operation.

When the collapse of humanism in post-war Europe endowed the movement with immediate, critical importance as a political reality, these men still further intrenched themselves. They controlled the Zionist income and sources of propaganda. The great bulk of stunned, ruined Jews were now little more than fleeing outcasts, trying desperately to extricate their individual lives from the horrible quagmire in which they found themselves caught. Artfully the career-Zionists parried their opposition, contending that any attempt to wash dirty linen publicly during this precarious period was downright mischievous.

It is only in the light of these circumstances that one can understand the retention of a group of leaders whose muddled policies have brought the Zionist movement so close to disaster. The procedure of these men was from first to last a tragic comedy of errors. With few exceptions they were brilliant intellectually, kindly and idealistic. Completely misunderstanding human motivation, they regarded force of any kind as barbarian. They were masters of hair-splitting disputation, unmatched for pure decency of conception, but more useful in legal briefs than in the serious business of repatriating a nation. The most influential of them had adopted British nationality, which under the circumstance of any conflict of interests brought them up squarely against the question of their prior patriotism to England.

More fatal still, they lacked the fierce aggressive spirit, the shrewd realism, which the struggle for national existence demands. In their minds was ever the idyllic vision of a unique cultural community, taking precedence over questions of sov-

foreign political rule. This completely irrational conception, springing from the brain of the obstinate scholastic, Achad Ha'am, served to create an ecstatic polity in which reality could at no time be dis severed from metaphor and rhetoric. At times their learned dogmatism lapsed into sheer nonsense, as witness Rabbi Freehof's declaration that Herzl's Jewish State was not a State of armies, navies and political schemes, but the embodiment of "a Jewish civilization in Palestine." ⁵ Responsible Zionist leaders even declared they did not care about politics — their concern was "with a culture." Like all intense men, infatuated with the logic of their own pedantry, they could not understand in what they were remiss. Co-workers who spoke realistically were looked down upon as firebrands, radical, uninspired, or simply reactionary.

Throughout they pursued a course of self-justification in which their noble theories had an important part. It was they who first enunciated the conception of duty owed the benighted local population, later to be transformed into fundamentals of British policy. With the complication of left wing intrusion into the movement, shrewd efforts at national self-sufficiency were left still further behind.

Certainly the Zionist leaders were no match for clever British bureaucrats, trained in the business of extracting every ounce of value from every possible situation. Time after time they missed their chance; when the Irish were fighting a successful Sinn Fein, when Mussolini offered his hand in friendship, when the French turned to them, and when the Arabs themselves offered peace on an anti-British basis. Far from following a strategy of resistance, they actually went to the opposite extreme. Bulwarking their own weaknesses by an intensive propaganda directed to their fellow Jews, they went to the point of publicly praising the very British administrators who were conspiring against them. The influential English Zionists especially, denounced in grandiloquent sarcasm any attempt to question the good faith of England, and sabotaged all efforts to bring the Jewish case to the English public itself.

There were some among the Zionist leaders, such as Jabotin-

sky, Ussishkin, and Dr. Eder, who fought this policy bitterly in the inner councils of the movement. Eder for example boldly told the Court of Inquiry, following the Jaffa disturbances of 1921, that "there can be only one National Home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish preponderance as soon as the numbers of the race are sufficiently increased." But these men were by one artifice or another squeezed out of any position of real power.

The most influential of all the Zionist personages is the President of the World Zionist Organization, Dr. Chaim Weizmann. Weizmann was born in Motele, Russia, in 1874, and was reared in an atmosphere of poverty, piety and learning. A devoted follower of Achad Ha'am, he was one of the founders of the 'democratic faction,' a group which stressed the cultural aspects of Zionism as contrasted to the political demands which were always paramount with Herzl. During this early period he was consequently ranged on the side of Herzl's bitterest critics.

Weizmann is bald, but not unhandsome. His bearing is mild and thoughtful, but intense, brooding eyes lend fire to his personality. He has made himself into a great chemist by his own efforts and possesses a warm personal charm together with impeccable manners.

He is a marvelous money-raiser, capable of button-holing a prospect and turning on the full stream of his great charm, to leave the interview with a check in his pocket. He has always followed the path of least resistance, and early tied up his political fortunes with those of the Laborites when it appeared that their star was in the ascendant. He is a master of the technique of demagoguery, capable of convincingly blotting out his own failures with such statements as "we will show the world that Jewish idealism can bring forth a civilization as noble and fructifying as any which history has known."

Considering the unfettered criticism leveled at him by his peers for "a leadership that has proven itself a failure and is bankrupt in all fields of its activity,"⁶ he has managed to maintain an almost mesmeric hold over the Zionist Organization.

Part of this technique of control is the assertion to uneasy Jews that "England will deal only with Weizmann."

He is almost pathologically amenable to British importuning. At a World Congress in 1931, after Dr. Stephen S. Wise had called attention to London's betrayal of Zionist interests, Weizmann made this remarkable statement: "I disassociate myself from and protest against both the form and contents of Wise's speech . . . but I wish to remind the British reader of Dr. Wise's speech that Dr. Wise is a champion of the British cause in America, rendering great service to Great Britain."⁷ After having been rejected at that Congress in favor of a new leadership, he declared to the Laborites who had followed him staunch to the end, tears streaming down his beard: "The last hour before my departure, I wish to spend with those who fought for the pure and only Zionism, heroically opposing the dark forces of the Congress [the nationalists]. . . I still believe that the Balfour Declaration was only a war gain and by its gravity it was bound to sink. . . I believe that you and I are two creative forces in Zionism."

At another Congress he answered Zionists who had charged Britain with sabotaging their movement, by advising them that "our task is to cause a minimum of embarrassment to the Mandatory power. . . It is our delicate task to present the wishes of the Zionist movement to the Mandatory power, not demanding but interpreting."

In this almost bizarre description of the head of a political movement, Weizmann's henchman Louis Lipsky says: "He staked his leadership upon his faith in Great Britain. Often, he took upon himself the defense of its policies, with disastrous results to his influence in the movement. With a certain perversity derived from his dialectical experience in the *Yeshiva*, he would take up the case for Great Britain at a time when it was entitled to no such advocacy on his part."⁸ In an almost classic statement coming from a political leader, Weizmann extenuated British persecution of his own people in the following words: "On the British side it soon became apparent that the very factors which had brought about the issuance of the Balfour Dec-

laration, were, in certain circumstances, liable to operate against the execution of a policy based upon it. *The British devotion to fair play and instinctive support of the weaker side, was responsible in some quarters for a feeling that the Arabs of Palestine needed to be protected against the richer, better organized Jews. . .*"⁹

His utterances are unpredictable. On March 28, 1931 he flatly accused the Jews "of contributing to the Arab's fears" and of not making the proper concessions. On April 9, 1931, he stated bluntly that cooperation between Jews and Arabs would have been possible if England had not prevented it. A few days later, speaking at Manchester, England, he stated his unequivocal satisfaction "that the Mandate was in the hands of England." At still another time he orated: "I have no sympathy or understanding with the demand for a Jewish majority in Palestine. . . A majority is not required for the development of Jewish civilization and culture."¹⁰ A few years later he is found trying to sell his fellow-Jews the idea of a greatly restricted territory because a 'Jewish State' is being offered as part of the bargain.

The policies by which he guided the Zionist movement may be judged from his continuous flow of statements of a religioes-mystic nature, inviting acceptance of the bi-national state idea. At the Basle Congress of 1927 he described the Zionist movement as "spiritual and cultural — not aggressive . . . it is only the expression of an urge." Arabs and Jews were somehow to "come together . . . above politics and above programs." This was the typical kind of millennium over which Weizmann could work himself into a religious fervor.

The English bureaucrats think much of him. Gandhi too admires him greatly. In these two facts many critical observers think the epitaph of Zionism has been written.

The great opponent of Weizmann is the little ex-soldier, Vladimir Jabotinsky. Jabotinsky is one of the few Jewish leaders with any adequate idea of the kind of policies the present Jewish crisis demands. Among Hebrew nationalists he is idolized. In the ghettos of Eastern Europe he is already a tradition. He

is hated without reservation by the Marxists who see him as their ready-made enemy. Once he answered some leftist attacks by throwing a handful of pennies contemptuously in their faces, saying: "Here is your patriotism."

As a spell-binder Jabotinsky is almost without rival. He can hold an audience breathless, and often will talk for three or four hours at a stretch. As an expert conniver in the business of inner Zionist intrigue he is hopeless. He is handicapped by a deficient understanding of the structural mechanics of modern political warfare. Half a dozen times he has had thrown in his lap the chance to seize control of shattered Zionist affairs, and half a dozen times he has muffed it. He is impetuous and headstrong, and a poor judge of men. Despite these inadequacies he is the only existing leader capable of supplying the flashing personality and keen insight into events required if anything is to be salvaged from the impending collapse of the Zionist adventure.

Outside of Dr. Wise, whose influence is scanty, the other personalities of the movement largely reflect all that Weizmann represents. A fine example is the head of the all-important Political Department of the Jewish Agency, in Palestine, Moshe Shertok. Shertok is a commonplace fellow with wavy hair, a left-wing product who, called into court as a witness on a case, declined to take oath on the Torah, declaring that "to do so was in contradiction to his philosophy of life. . ."¹¹ Some idea of his caliber is shown in the evidence before the Royal Commission investigating the 1936 riots, where he announced in the name of the Socialist Federation of Labor that a thousand of the rioting Arabs, who had left their jobs at the Jewish settlements in order to join the rebellion, should have their places kept in reserve for them in case they wished to return.¹²

The chief political officer of the Zionist Executive, in London, is a pudgy professor of mathematics named Selig Brodetsky. Like most of Weizmann's cabinet, he considers wheedling to be the measure of political sagacity. On October 24, 1934 he asserted that "we are fighting discrimination against Jews in the Jewish National Home." Yet less than four months later he

was heard declaiming in London : "Our partnership with Great Britain was based on idealism on both sides, infused by the spirit of the Bible. And if Great Britain saw something in Palestine which might be useful to herself, we should welcome, not decry this community of interest. Our watchword is cooperation with Great Britain. . . The present High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, has shown an understanding of the meaning of Palestine which is most gratifying."

Among others whose influence is strong is David Ben Gurion, a Laborite, now virtually Weizmann's Prime Minister. When not handicapped by his associations, Ben Gurion is inclined to show courage and general good sense. After the 1929 pogroms he split no hairs in declaring that "we must take care not to fall into the trap prepared by hostile British officials who desire to instigate here a bloody religious war." Later, to save himself from the fate which befell Jabotinsky and other irreconcilables, he switched policy, and can be usually found hand-in-glove with Weizmann.

Among the other men on the inner Zionist councils with hard common sense is Menachem Ussishkin, a stolid, bearded engineer from Odessa. Unlike his associates he is unimaginative and no intellectual. He never hesitates to speak his mind. He declared in the squabble over acceptance of the MacDonald Letter that given a choice between Weizmann and the Jewish people he had no hesitancy in foregoing Weizmann. His associates consider him a nuisance and a danger but don't know how to get rid of him. He was long ago removed from the Executive and booted upstairs to become President of the Jewish National Fund. Ussishkin is a stranger to finesse and lacks a cultural background. In charge of the Commission sent in 1919 to deal with the Military in Palestine, he and his colleague Dr. Eder are said to have served 'Eno's Fruit Salts' to General Storrs at a dinner, under the impression that it was the English national drink.

Ussishkin's great attribute is a healthy pugnacity, sadly lacking in Jewish leadership ; and the Zionists might have done worse than to have had him at the helm in the stormy weather they have been experiencing during all these years.

CHAPTER II

"THE DESERT SHALL BLOOM LIKE THE ROSE"

'UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY'

If one chooses to ignore the political potentials which make it a house built on sand, Jewish colonization in Palestine is a truly astonishing and inspiring spectacle. While most other countries were suffering in the slough of seemingly endless depression, little Palestine was growing like a well-watered weed. At the twenty-seventh Session of the Mandates Commission (1935), it is described as "the most notable colonization undertaking of modern times." Major Cecil Quinlan, late Crown official in the Holy Land, refers to it as an amazing record of progress, "unparalleled in any part of the world."

The Jewish community in the Holy Land is a dynamic, vital organism. One feels the electric quality the Zionists have introduced in the country almost before he sets foot on its soil. An air of confidence, eagerness and expectancy suffuses everything. Everyone seems to be in a rush to go somewhere or do something. These people are at home — and irrespective of political actuality, they consider the country theirs. They mean to build it up at whatever cost, to be handed as a legacy to children who will never have known ghettos. Their purpose is passionate and indomitable. If they are balked one way, with unshakable will they try another. This is the miracle of the new Jew; he has seen a vision, and with quiet fortitude he means to follow it to the death. "Rarely in the history of the world," says the British M.P. Mr. T. Williams, "have human beings shown so much faith and devotion or thrown themselves into a task so wholeheartedly as the Jews in Palestine."

The Jew has in fact proven himself to be the best colonizing material on earth. He has built literally out of nothing. Inexperienced, dealing with a seemingly resourceless area, he has raised himself practically by his own bootstraps. He has faced

a hostile soil, a hostile people, and a hostile government. It is in this light that his small successes assume the proportions of greatness.

Visitors stop, pleasantly surprised in this region of dilapidated mud huts, to see the modern brick or red-tiled stone houses of the Jews. The lovely gardens around them are kept neat as a pin. Shade trees surround the villages. Painstaking irrigation ditches, lined with young trees, bespeak the unceasing energy of the colonizers. In the fields hardy pioneers, men and women alike, work from sunup to sundown. Their voices ring with the familiar words of peasant song as they labor.

Lloyd George refers to these land settlements as "models of intensive culture." Herbert Morrison unhesitatingly terms them "one of the most wonderful moral demonstrations of the human race in the whole of the civilised world," saying "it is work typical of the finest of British colonisers in the history of our Empire." No less explicit, the American Senator Hastings said after his visit in 1936 that "although Jews own but one-twentieth of all the land in Palestine, the transformation which they wrought in its primitive agriculture . . . can be felt and seen from one end of the country to the other."

In all branches of farming, Jewish growers have been the pioneers of advance and progress. The only agricultural literature published in this entire section of the Near East is issued under their auspices. They are the first and only ones to bother about creating markets, advertising, grading and selecting, and introducing new varieties. A few representative figures bring the quality of Jewish agriculture into vivid relief. Their average milk production per cow is 3695 quarts yearly compared with the Arab average of 845 quarts. The production of Jewish-owned hens is 150 eggs per annum; contrasted with 70 as the Arab figure. In the most literal sense the settlers have made two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, experimenting, testing and adapting, until their areas bloom like one vast garden.

The figures for Jewish industry are no less impressive. Just as in 1930 Hope-Simpson 'proved' that not another rod of land

was available for new Jewish settlement, so he also declared the industrial outlook hopeless. His report shows 2274 Jewish factories and workshops, employing 9362 workers, with an invested capital of £1,635,462, an output of £2,100,000 and a sum total of wages of £476,452. He solemnly warned that "it would be very bad, and might prove a fatal policy, to attract large capital in order to start doubtful industries in Palestine with the object of justifying an increase in the number of immigrants." Notwithstanding Hope-Simpson's pessimism the figures for 1936, just six years later, showed that the number of Jewish factories and shops had increased to 4615, employing 32,830 hands, with an invested capital of £8,654,000, a skyrocketing output of £9,109,330 and a sum total of wages of £2,925,780; all of this occurring despite the worst set of laws ever devised by Authority to harass production and trade.

The Holy Land now manufactures goods of the most varied kind. Among the new firms established in 1935-36 alone, were bakeries, milling companies, plate glass and paint works; razor blade and paraffin paper factories, iron works, kilns for producing earthenware, pharmaceutical works, foundries and metal manufactories; cement works, spinning and weaving mills and textile, shoe and furniture factories. A census by the Jewish Agency shows the healthy nature of this industry. Preparation of foodstuffs, stone and cement accounts for nearly thirty-nine percent of the production value; metal and wood industries, twenty-two percent and chemicals, nine percent. The remaining thirty percent is divided among textiles, printing, paper and electricity; all forming a solid base for the country's economy. In striking contrast to this wide ramification of Jewish industry, Arab manufactures are few, the most important being oil-pressing, making of laundry soap, quarrying, baking and various home handicrafts.

The amount of Jewish capital invested in this tiny land is estimated to total more than £120,000,000. Prior to the recent riots, Jews were bringing in money at the rate of two to five million dollars a month. In 1934 alone they are estimated to have invested approximately £10,000,000 in Palestine. Today

the productive output of the Jewish community is placed at £20,000,000 annually.¹ Bank deposits amounted to £16,000,000 and currency in circulation increased in the single year of 1935, from £4,738,964 to £6,561,134.

All of this is reflected throughout the country's economy, shattering its medieval inertia in every conceivable direction. Every figure in connection with this mushrooming process is remarkable. Before the War the tonnage cleared at Haifa was less than 800,000; in 1935, it was close to 5,000,000. The figures for electrical consumption climbed from 2,343,764 kilowatt hours in 1926, to the amazing total of 70,017,998 kilowatt hours in 1936. Almost 40,000,000 hours of this huge amount was accounted for in the Tel Aviv area alone.

In a generation these returning exiles have erected a civilization which the English writer Ernest Main tells us the Levantine is not capable of duplicating "in five hundred years."² Behind this singular development with its wealth of flourishing settlements and growing range of industries, lie the spiritual drive and moral tone of the returning Hebrews. Money and skill alone could not have contrived it.

POPULATION AND CITIES

The Government itself says in relation to its population estimates that "the precision of these figures is not great."³ It is almost impossible to carry out a reliable census. Looking back with suspicious memory to the tax-collectors of Turkish times, the enraged peasants either drive the census-takers out or give them falsified figures, believing any head count to be an artful prelude to new levies. The Government computation is 848,342 Moslems, 370,483 Jews, and 106,474 Christians. Reliable Jewish sources, however, place the Jewish figure around 410,000. Most of these are concentrated around Tel Aviv, which with its surrounding villages holds over a quarter of a million people.

Tel Aviv, living symbol of Jewish hope, is like nothing that anyone ever saw before. It is a mad, poetic crazy-quilt, fash-

ioned out of Jewish determination to recreate life in terms of Jewish self-sufficiency. The mayor is Jewish, the porters are Jewish, the street-sweepers are Jewish, the police are Jewish. Even the thieves are Jewish.

It was founded in 1910 on worthless sand dunes, some miles out of Jaffa, by a group of queer looking European men with firm jaws who mystically declared that they were going to erect here the first great all-Jewish metropolis of modern times. They gave it the idyllic name of Tel Aviv (Hill of Spring).

Today a city of 160,000 rears its head to justify the extravagant claims of these visionaries. In America that might be remarkable, but not astounding. In the Near East, where it vies with cities established before the memory of man, it is a miracle.

The city looks like a cross between some miniature Paris and a mushrooming mining town. Everyone is in a hurry. Everyone is eager. Everyone looks busy. The streets are jammed. Some are lined with trees, a novelty in the Levant. All of them are paved.

The architecture is the last word in modernism. To one used to the orthodox conception of cities, it looks almost freakish. The stores and amusement places are the most up-to-date in the world. Along the boardwalk on the sparkling blue sea, sit throngs of gay people, leisurely relaxing in the warm evening. Mixed colorfully among the streaming crowds are Arabs, decked in their finest raiment, who have come from all over the Levant to gaze on this wonder of wonders. A profound sense of experiment is everywhere, with a huge shopping district and cinema palaces giving an impression of a town many times larger.

Tel Aviv takes thirty-three percent of Palestine's total imports and uses fifty percent of the electrical power consumed by Palestine industry. The annual production of its 1512 industrial plants amounts to around £3,000,000 which is also the approximate turnover of the town's 6000 retail establishments. Of the 18,000 industrial workers in the entire country, 11,000 are employed in the industry of Tel Aviv and its vicinity. Its

budget for 1934-35 was £275,000 — a staggering sum for this section of the Orient.

The town places a high value on literacy, and is the center of the printing industry of Palestine. Of the 500 books published in the entire country in 1936, 382 were published in Tel Aviv. Forty-seven of the fifty-seven Jewish newspapers and periodicals were also printed here. Practically one hundred percent of the children attend school. Apart from the municipal educational system, there are 35 kindergartens, 20 private schools, 10 secondary schools, 5 trade schools, 5 schools of music ; as well as art and dancing studios, and evening classes of every description.

The cosmopolitan origin of this remarkable Hebrew community is mirrored in the school-children. A survey in 1935 showed 8178 to be Ashkenazic (of East-European derivation) ; 1338 Sephardic (descendants of Spanish exiles, coming mainly from North Africa, Greece and Bulgaria) ; 1125 Yemenite (native dark-skinned Jews from the southern end of the Arabian Peninsula) ; 184 Caucasian, 177 Persian, 92 Bokharian, and 3 of other communities. The 1616 children of immigrants who settled in Tel Aviv during 1935 were of 22 different nationalities.

A canvass of their parents shows 39% to be ordinary laborers, 14% merchants, 13% artisans, 5% members of liberal professions, 16% of miscellaneous callings — and the balance housewives or of no occupation.

The high Western state of culture of this city, as contrasted with the slough of the surrounding Near East, is not limited to surface appearances. The per capita rate of water consumption, always an indication of social and economic conditions, is 230 liters per day. This compares with 52 liters for Vienna, 141 liters for Berlin, and 144 liters for London.

There are over one hundred and sixty synagogues and Talmudical houses of learning. The names of the shops and commercial houses are derived from the Bible or the Talmud. At the sound of the ram's horn on Friday afternoon all traffic comes to a halt, stores close and commercial activity ceases. The peace of the Sabbath settles like a soft blanket on the city

until the following night. But nowhere is the fundamental Jewish character of this place better shown than on the festival days. Tel Aviv is a city of holidays. All the ancient Jewish festivals have been revitalized and made the occasion for public rejoicing. *Succoth*, the Feast of Tabernacles, is welcomed not only by farmers rejoicing in the abundant harvest. In Tel Aviv, too, thanks is given for the kind bounty of Mother Earth, with great crowds of citizens dancing the native *Hora*⁴ in the public squares of the city. During the feast of *Chanuka* great fancy-dress balls are held and school-children by the thousands parade in torchlight procession through the streets, carrying candles and torches, and singing native songs until the air is heavy with their shrill voices. There is almost an endless list of holidays, memorial days and festival occasions, all enthusiastically observed by this happy people who have found out how to live. The greatest of these, for which Tel Aviv is famous, is the *Purim* celebration, ushered in with street-dancing and huge parades with gaily decorated floats. During this gay period which lasts a whole week, the city becomes an enchanted fairyland of colored lights and music, and masked, laughing figures. Myriads of people from all over the country jam the streets; and annually thousands from neighboring Syria, Egypt and the Arab villages of Palestine join the merrymakers, for a moment forgetting their political animus against Jews.

Joseph F. Broadhurst, former Inspector General of Police for the Palestine Government, remarks that "it is at Tel Aviv that one realizes the inherent possibilities of the Jews as a nation." He found that during his whole term in office there was practically no important crime despite a polyglot population newly arrived from all quarters of the globe. "The police force," he adds, "was entirely Jewish and I never knew a Jewish policeman to let me down. The men were smart and conscientious and very anxious to follow the best traditions of the British police."⁵

One circumstance in particular labels the citizens of this Jewish city as unrivaled for pure self-discipline and force of character. When the 1936 riots were going full blast, for more than twelve weeks the city of Tel Aviv was unpoliced. Every-

one was aware that the normal constabulary of two hundred men had been commandeered to guard its borders against attack. Yet amongst this population of one hundred and sixty thousand there was not a single crime, though the town was already harboring thousands of refugees. During all this troubled period Tel Aviv was the only place in Palestine where anyone could walk the streets with absolute security both day and night. Arabs knew that they could come to Tel Aviv and pass safely through its thoroughfares, though the life of no Jew was secure when he crossed the border into Jaffa, one hundred yards away.

Jerusalem, the capital, is as different from Tel Aviv as day is from night. It sprawls over seven hills, and its name means 'City of Peace,' derived from the Hebrew *Yerushalayim*. The Arabs call it *Al Kuds* (the holy). It has had a continuous recorded habitation for more than six thousand years, and was probably already old when that record began. Throughout the ages it has held an almost mesmeric fascination for Jews. Its population today is estimated at 125,000, of whom 76,000 are Jews, 26,000 Moslems, and 23,000 Christians. Sure of their destiny, Jerusalem's Jews are trying to make this famous city one of the art, medical and cultural centers of the world. Some of the greatest physicians, scholars and creative artists of Germany and Russia, exiles from their native lands, are here.

The city is slow and sedate and wears its ancient dignity complacently on its shoulder. Here is the seat of the British Administration, and the sites of innumerable convents, monasteries, and churches of all nationalities. One suddenly comes into the Holy City out of the desolation of the surrounding granite hills. From the winding mountain roads at night its lights twinkle like distant fireflies, a familiar and warming sight to the commuters taking the hour's drive to Jaffa and Tel Aviv. In the day it sits like a queen surrounded by the blue haze of the Judean mountains, flanked in the distance by the rugged, purple wall of the Moab range.

There are really two Jerusalems. In the center is the older walled city, as fantastic as a nightmare. Built about four hun-

dred years ago, it encloses an area of roughly one square kilometer. Seven gates open at various points. The eighth, the Gate of Mercy, facing east, is sealed up, to be opened according to Jewish legend when Messiah ben David enters through it. The Old City contains four principal quarters, holding settlements of Armenians, Greeks and Latins, Moslems, and Jews. Christian sentiment is centered around the Holy Sepulchre in the northwest section.

The twisting, narrow streets of the Old City are forever bathed in kaleidoscopic twilight, some of them mere tunnels, the bordering structures forming a roof above. These lanes and alleys, colorfully striped with alternate sunlight and shadow, are lined with an unbelievable concentration of shops, stalls and bazaars segregated according to occupation and wares. Above these shops are a crazy patchwork of dwellings, courtways and entrances, like a vision from one of the modernist French painters. Through these coverings the sun passes in striped rays to touch the gowns of a churning crowd of Arabs, Jews, Armenians and races from everywhere, men who ply trades which must have been inseparable from medieval life.

Beyond this strange and picturesque relic lies the modern Jerusalem, crawling in irregular formation over the surrounding hills. Its avenues are broad and sunlit, lined with solid-looking houses of heavy white-chipped stone. Flanking the city are beautiful garden suburbs, shining clean, where the newer Jewish immigrants live. On the streets mixing with grimy workmen from Poland and Greece and learned doctors from Germany, are turbaned Arabs, Bedouins in flowing gowns, tattooed women, black-frocked black-skinned Coptic clericals, orthodox priests with their high, black, stove-pipe hats, dapper British soldiers, and many others. Automobiles honk at camel and sheep drivers to move their charges aside — altogether a medley of singular scenes so indescribable as to seem at times merely the vision of a sunstricken brain.

At the north of the country is Haifa, destined to become the aerial as well as rail terminus of the great inter-continental routes

of the future. Some day it will undoubtedly be one of the great cities of the world. Before the Zionists came it was a mere fishing village. Today it is estimated to hold some 95,000 people, of whom 65,000 are Jews. Cradled here is a rapidly expanding industrial area. Railway workshops, electrical power houses, cement works, factories and mills of all kinds are rising to swell the growth of this hungry young metropolis.

There is little that may be termed oriental about the place. Its model landscape seems copied, as it were, from a geography textbook. Sea, mountains, plains and chalk cliffs meet the eye all at once, gradually uniting with the Lebanon range in the distance. High above the city is beautiful Mount Carmel where a Jewish suburb with wide streets, smart shops and modern apartments gazes down on the calm bay and wide, green plains of Sharon.

In the harbor are always to be seen the gray masses of British men o' war. On the open beach, housed in an inauspicious building, is the terminus of the oil line from Iraq. Like two predatory monsters determined to have no other company in their berth, they symbolize the British stake in Palestine.

The only other important town is Jaffa. Its name derives from the Hebrew *Japho*, the 'beautiful.' Pliny declares that even before the deluge Jaffa was a city. On the porches of Karnak the name of Ja-pu occurs as having been conquered by Thothmes III about 1600 B.C. One hundred years ago it had a population of four thousand. Today it holds seventy thousand, overwhelmingly Arab, who are largely descendants of the Egyptians and Ethiopians brought in by the conqueror Ibrahim Pasha. The few thousand Jews who lived here fled during the 1936 riots, abandoning their shops and property.

Jaffa and Tel Aviv are really one town. Where the one begins and the other ends is told only by the sudden descent from the modernity of the Hebrew city into the stuffy squalor, ramshackle architecture and typical dirt and hoarse cries of an Arab town. The British were responsible for its artificial dissection years ago, fearing Jewish domination of the port.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE

There is something awe-inspiring in the simple joy which shines from the faces of the incoming Hebrews. Many of them arrive in the ill-ventilated, reeking holds of small cargo steamers after having survived almost incredible hardships. Some are of the tradesman and professional type. Most are poor to the point of desperation. Fellow-travelers are astounded to see these men and women, grimy workmen and petty bourgeoisie hardly suspected of sentiment or romanticism, standing silent with tears in their eyes as the brown Judean hills take form on the distant horizon. Eighty generations fade from their tired faces, years of suffering, abasement and homelessness. As they survey these shores their glance is illumined, speaking without words an almost fanatic determination that the Land of Israel shall once more stand glorious among the nations of the earth.

No one who has not seen these faces with his own eyes can understand what a miracle it is for the Jew, to stand once more on the soil that Simon Bar Giora trod, where Abraham, Isaac and David walked, where Bar Kochba led his stern swordsmen. Nothing can gloat over the sheer majesty of this scene like the starved Jewish eye, now devouring its outlines with a hunger sharpened by the nostalgia of two thousand years. As at a beautiful vision, the newcomer stares at the rosy-cheeked children racing in happy play. Their fresh, tumbling Hebrew speech gladdens his ear like beautiful music as he harks back in shuddering contrast to the sallow emaciation and frightened eyes of the only Jewish children he has ever known. Thrilled and almost disbelieving, he gazes at the straight-limbed boys who have left the puny catechisms of Europe far behind, to work with pick and shovel under the broiling sun of this new land. Their bronzed faces are like the stark brown hills around them. Like Ernest in Hawthorne's story, *The Great Stone Face*, they have subtly remade themselves in a mold long forgotten.

It is "a wonderful youth," says M. J. Landa, one of the authorities on modern Palestine, "brisk of mind, vigorous of sinew, of athletic physique . . . mentally clean and keenly conscious

of its mission and its opportunity to create a new life and spirit." ⁶ Nowhere else is sheer idealism so plain in every office of life. Kindliness and the desire to create a cooperative civilization worthy of the name of man, everywhere takes precedence over individual ambition. The same determination for a socially-intelligent existence which has distinguished post-war Sweden is evident here. Consumer and industrial cooperatives have a large hold on life. The number of these organizations increased from 769 at the end of 1935, to 849 a year later. These include 166 agricultural cooperatives, 58 irrigation and water supply societies, and various building groups for the erection of garden cities. One of the Nazi correspondents commented that even when a car breaks down on the road, nine out of ten passing motorists will stop in their journey and volunteer to assist in mending it.

For the first time in modern Jewish life the distribution of occupation approaches normality. Agriculture now absorbs 14% ; industry and crafts, 23.4% ; transportation, 6.1% ; building construction, 12.7% ; commerce, 20% ; public and civil service, 2.4% ; liberal professions, 12.4% ; persons living on income, 6% ; domestic and hotel employees, 3%.

Something in the way of flowers or greenery grows wherever a Jew lives. The passion for growing things, for trees and blooms, is so intense in this psychically starved people as to be insatiable. They love to loiter in outdoor gardens, sipping their unbelievable fruit soups or nibbling at sticky fruit compotes.

Hiking is a national pastime. They go in for athletic competition with feverish zeal. There are innumerable small sports clubs of every description and three major sports federations, including the Football and Boxing Federation and the Amateur Sports Clubs Federation. One of the great bi-annual events is the *Maccabiad* (Jewish Olympics), held at the magnificent Tel Aviv stadium. In the tournament of 1935, twenty-three countries were represented with over five thousand participants. Fifty thousand people paid admission as the whole city made a delirious holiday.

The love for the theater and for music is intense and de-

monstrative ; song is often a substitute for supper. An opera company holds a regular season in Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv, translating the classics into Hebrew. In 1936 the Palestine First Symphony Orchestra, amid scenes of abandon such as one expects to see only in motion pictures, was led by the great conductor Toscanini to a triumph of popular support sufficient to make New York or London blush.⁷ Simple workingmen fought for the precious tickets at each concert. Outside the jammed halls thousands waited in the streets to give the loved musicians a thundering ovation as they left. As in the days of the Prophets, song and community music are a constant feature of the new Hebrew life. In the meanest Jewish section of the cities, in the poorest farmer's hut, when the lights gleam yellow through the windows at night, there is always heard music and laughter. The irrepressible *Hora* is danced tirelessly.

In addition to numerous cinema houses there are a number of fine theaters. Habimah, the national Hebrew theater, is reputed to be one of the finest stock companies in the world. Its stage direction and sets are spoken of with admiration wherever acting is professionally known. The workers too have their own theater, said to be professionally superb, called the Ohel ; and there is a famous children's theater, the Theation Layelodem, where children are both the actors and audience.

Innumerable art exhibitions are continually showing, a thing unheard of in the moribund life of the Near East before the coming of the Zionists. Literature also flourishes. In Tel Aviv alone are ten publishing houses, some of them prosperous. Palestine Jewry was responsible for 94% of all the books published on both sides of the Jordan River in 1935. This is the astounding country where grimy-handed peasants read Hegel and Strindberg.

All told there are some three hundred organizations, societies, and associations of a cultural and social character. In science, too, the Hebrew genius now shines directly on its own. The Daniel Sieff Research Institute at Rehovoth is equipped with the most delicate modern instruments ; its experiments are watched by chemists all over the world. And of the Hebrew University

the Palestine Royal Commission of 1936 says: "It is remarkable to find on the fringe of Asia a university which maintains the highest standards of Western scholarship."

The conventional neuroticism which marks so strongly the beleaguered Jews of Europe is not seen here. These people are almost provincial, and certainly without complexes. A comparison of the incidence of insanity, said to be higher generally among Jews than in the surrounding populations, is startling. The average insanity for all the races of the world is 300-400 per hundred thousand; while among Palestine's Jews it is only 190 per hundred thousand.

The speech of these people is a lyrical Old-Testament Hebrew. Here in the old land of miracles, the language of the Lord Jehovah and of the Seminarists, dead and inert so long, felt the fire of Jewish rebirth breathed into it and is now the everyday tongue of the people.⁸ Love for the ancient language is so fierce that even shopkeepers will pretend ignorance of other tongues and will allow a customer to walk out rather than answer him in Yiddish.⁹ The only exception to this rule in Palestine is a section of the Marxists, who persist in hanging on to their Yiddish, regarding Hebrew as an ugly symbol of offensive nationalism. An amusing sidelight on this issue is given by the Hebrew writer, Uri Zvi Greenberg, former native of Poland and noted Yiddish poet. During a return visit to Warsaw, where he was entertained by the local literary group, he broke up the reception by thus referring to Yiddish: "In Palestine we no longer defile our mouths with the filthy Nalewki jargon."

Going Hebrew is not a fad — it is an irresistible compulsion. In Palestine when a Jew changes his name, which is frequent, he selects the most Jewish one he can find. *Rose* translates, *Shoshanna*; and *Jacob*, *Yacob*. The Aryan *Siegbert* becomes Semitic *Shalom*; the Teutonic *Siegfried* lapses into the Hebrew *Shmuel*; the Persian *Mutaza Zama* is remodeled into *Mardekjai Menashi Efrayimi*; and the Polish *Measze Szmuszkowicz* is henceforward *Menashe Benzion*.

The Scriptures and Prophets have also inspired the newcomers to apply a revised and picturesque nomenclature for the

places they have occupied. The first of the new garden suburbs in Jerusalem was named *Meah Shearim* (the Hundred Gates), after Genesis 26:12. Another was called *Yegia Kapayim* (the labor of thine hands), after Psalms 128:2: "For thou shalt eat the labor of thine hands — happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee." *Talpioth*, southeast of Jerusalem, was called after the description by Solomon of his beloved in the *Song of Songs*. *Rishon-le-Zion*, was named after the 27th verse of Chapter 42 of Isaiah; and *Petach Tikvah* (door of hope), is derived from Hosea, Chapter 2, verse 15, which reads: "And I will give her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope."

As in Tel Aviv, Jewish holidays and festivals of Old Testament times have sprung into life wherever these people live. In the settlements they are welcomed in a riot of flowers, flags, ceremony, music and dancing. The dead hand of religious formalism has departed from them and they have become stirring national holidays, declaring in sentiment and form, the re-won self-respect of the Jew.

With every year that passes, admits the 1936 Royal Commission, "the contrast between this intensely democratic and highly organized modern community and the old-fashioned Arab world around it grows sharper," conceding that nowhere in the world is the spirit of nationalism "more intense than among the Jews in Palestine." The proud character of this civilization was noted by the Irish writer St. John Ervine who found, in vivid contrast to the surrounding Near East, that there were no sore-eyed children among the Jews, nor any young men and women who were blind because of neglect. "Not once," he notes in astonishment, "in the course of my brief stay in Palestine did a Jew solicit alms from me."

All this lively reborn life is reflected in the growth of the Hebrew press, truly astonishing for such a small community. *Davar*, the largest daily, has a circulation of some twenty-five thousand; followed by *Haaretz*, with some twenty thousand; and a number of other dailies, together with many weekly publications, trade journals, and miscellaneous publications.

Jewish Palestine is organized into one community called *Knesseth Israel*. This community elects on an autonomous basis a body of seventy-one members, the Jewish National Assembly (*Asefath Ha-nichharim*), representing the various Jewish parties. This body in turn selects a permanent committee of twenty-three (*Vaad Leumi*), recognized as the authorized spokesmen of Palestine Jewry in its dealings with the Government. This body has no actual legislative or executive powers in the Administration. Actually the Government considers its existence merely as one of those concessions commonly made to the amenities, not consequent in practice. Hence the Jewish National Assembly is restricted in its external dealings to wordy memoranda of protest over decrees and legislation considered contrary to Jewish interests. In internal Jewish affairs, however, it is potent and invaluable. Representing the increasing solidarity of Palestine's Jewry, it is the nucleus for the Jewish self-government which is one day certain to come.

CHAPTER III

BUREAUCRACY LOOKS AT JEWS

THE HOLY LAND AND WHITEHALL

The largest and most expertly conducted business in the history of man is the British Empire. The nerve center and business office of that Empire is the section called Whitehall, in London, where sit the all-powerful permanent officials. Theirs is the first, and usually the last, word in directing the line of policy by which every part of that gigantic enterprise is controlled.

Virtually independent of the electorate, these impregnable bureaucracies function magnificently, undisturbed by the hot and cold breath of political change. They are ruled by men who have been trained from boyhood into the tradition of the Empire. To these men the slightest material advantage to Imperial business comes first, irrespective of humanist philosophies and social codes. They are smug, clever and loyal. They avoid the limelight — but their power is immense.

Among the men who really rule England is Sir Robert Vansittart, head of the Foreign Office and perhaps the most powerful personage in the British Empire — a man whose taste for whiskey and intrigue has won him the nickname of "Machiavelli-and-soda." He has under his immediate control the admirable British Secret Service, and dispenses thousands of pounds of the Foreign Office's "secret funds" — money on whose expenditure the law expressly forbids any detailed account to Parliament. He is also chairman of the 'Co-ordinating Committee,' the Government's own propaganda bureau, whose function is to influence the news in foreign countries where friendly opinion is important. One of the functions which the 'Co-ordinating Committee' has assumed is responsibility for the Arabic broadcasts which go forth regularly from London.¹

Another of these men is Sir Maurice Hankey, an unostenta-

tious functionary who combines in his person the post of Secretary to the Cabinet, Secretary to the Privy Council and Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defense. Sir Maurice knows probably more than any other man the closely held secrets of military and political intrigue, the careful long-range planning, by which the future of the Empire is safeguarded. Around these two men are grouped the political agents in direct contact with the omnipotent Intelligence Service, "who are employed to test or to alter public opinion" — a small group which numbers in its ranks some of the best and shrewdest brains in England.²

Among other powerful figures are Sir Walter Runciman, head of the British Board of Trade, and Sir Warren Fisher, Chief of the Treasury. Behind these Vansittarts and Hankeys are a host of others — shadows behind shadows — men whose direct influence often colors or dictates the actions of their chiefs. More are continually in the course of training, eventually to take over their masters' jobs. The mechanism is self-perpetuating.

The most important of these Bureaus is the Admiralty, recognized as the 'sacred white cow' of British political life. Following closely after the Admiralty in prestige and power are the War and Colonial Offices. A number of lesser Bureaus, immensely powerful in their own right, complete an impregnable web which has rarely failed to enmesh every British Cabinet of modern times.

In the hands of these brilliant functionaries there is no confused muddling of action, but an artfully planned and carefully concealed continuity of objectives. The appearance of clumsy incapacity is part of their technique; but when all the presumed bungling is over, the strategic spots in question are always found to be miraculously occupied by the British, without loss of moral tone. The greatest part of their strategy is dictated by the fact that the Empire has settled down to the point where it exists mostly as a market for English-manufactured goods as well as a source of raw material. Tranquillity is the essence of Empire needs under the circumstances — hence these

men will make many concessions for it where vital requirements are not at stake. This, plus the private prejudices of the Bureaucrats, is the major basis of British ethics in the business of Empire rule.

Their tactics, developed over centuries of training, are ably devised. They consist in the main of sudden surprise maneuvers covered by a barrage of pious rhetoric. If the resistance is too great and a graceful exit available, they take it. They regard a doughty antagonist with respect. They will treat with him when they discover that more is to be gained in that way. If pushed so far that they cannot return without losing face, their history indicates that they will fight like bulldogs; but if allowed a convenient retreat, as one prominent European statesman once said to the writer, "They will give you not only what you want, but fifty percent more."

They have an immense contempt for elected politicians. Parliament they consider a necessary evil. Their method of parrying pointed questions from that body is a marvel in efficiency and insolence.

Among these servants of the Crown there are often decisive and sometimes fundamental differences of opinion. Taken by and large, however, the human content in their computations does not exist. The terms in which they think are well represented in the Chinese opium trade, forced on China by British gunboats. At the Opium Conference held at Geneva in November 1924, these men refused pointblank to yield to the humanitarian demands of the American delegates for termination of this debauching traffic, "on the ground that Britain needed the money," so the Conference came to naught.³ It was this same cabal and its reactionary allies in 'The City' who were largely responsible for the rise of Adolph Hitler on the Continent, financing him and preparing his way behind the scenes.⁴

The vast bulk of these men believe the Balfour Declaration to have been a grave error, and that by it Britain is building a first class Frankenstein in her own backyard. That error they have set out to rectify.

The background for this conviction was erected when Eng-

lish agents returned from Russia after Kerensky's fall, with the bug of a world Jewish conspiracy chasing itself around in their bonnets. The Chinese Communist Revolution which followed, threatening to eliminate them from their entire privileged position in Asia, almost frightened them out of their skins.

In the path of the Bolshevik eruption came wild reports, and the consuming fear that the established world was about to go up in flames. Riding high on the tide of success, the Communists blatantly announced their plans for ripping the world up by its foundations. Dynamite was in the air throughout Europe and Asia. Radicals had made good their Red promises in Hungary. Italy and Germany were in a nip-and-tuck struggle with disaster. The Far East was infected. Typical of the kind of stuff that was rattling British brains was the Manifesto of the Soviet Congress of Eastern Nations at Baku, September 1920, announcing that "our main blow must be aimed at British Capitalism; though at the same time we want to arouse the working masses of the Near East to hatred. . ."

The English had just finished their sad adventure in Russia where the counter-Revolution was little less than an English war. Some idea of British commitments to the White Russian cause can be gained from Winston Churchill's Memorandum of September 15, 1919, just before the beginning of Denikin's great retreat, when he observed that up to that date Britain had expended nearly one hundred million pounds.⁵ The hatred this contest engendered against Jews carried over into post-war England as a fixed quotient in all the Government bureaus. The idea soon gained currency that the Russian Revolution was part of the ramifications of a gigantic Jewish plot against the world — and that the Zionists themselves were an important part of this conspiracy. When E. H. Wilcox, a newspaper correspondent for the *London Daily Telegraph*, brought out his book in 1919, *Russia's Ruin*, pointing out in a seemingly impartial, repertorial manner the great part played by the Jews in the Revolution, the identification of Jews with this dangerous movement became complete in the Bureaucratic mind. Over-night the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a crude forgery reputed

to be the intimate documentary evidence of the Jewish plot, achieved a terrific circulation.⁶ Men, otherwise quite sane, believed this fantastic rubbish completely.

A vast literature soon accumulated on the subject. Members of Parliament were flooded with anti-Semitic leaflets and pamphlets daily, in which the term "hidden hand" and other phrases such as "international finance" are developed into an argot used to signify the Jewish conspirators behind the scene. Represented as the modern genius behind this diabolical scheme for world disruption is, remarkably enough, none other than Achad Ha'am; and as Ha'am's "representative," in this strange literature, poor Weizmann is translated into one of the most dangerous men alive.

To suspicious Bureaucrats whose entire training in life lay in quiet conspiracy to gain hidden ends, no part of this sounded like an impossible hypothesis. Antipathy for the Jews assumed such proportions in whole sections of English society and Government as to become pathological. The basis, in fact, of their fanatic support of Hitler was the belief that he was the only man with the genius and courage to fight the vast unseen Jewish octopus which was draining the Empire's life blood and which was credited with instigating every misfortune and misadventure which befell England anywhere.

Some idea of the influence of the Protocols alone, can be gained from the critical study made by Benjamin W. Segel, who found that "no recent book of world literature could even in a slight degree compare with the circulation of the Protocols." The tremendous influence and ready acceptance of this fantasy is hardly understood by Jews. The Zionist leaders, especially, are capable of having this stuff swirling all around their heads without being aware of it. When a few years ago the writer showed it to one of them, he airily dismissed the whole business as sounding "like Alice in Wonderland."

Riddling the Bureaucratic mentality also was a strong, though not properly recognized neo-Pagan movement, borrowed from their liaison with the Germans. To these groups many of the important officials of the various Bureaus belong. A particu-

larly influential group meets in offices in the Temple off Fleet Street and is said to be headed by one of the most important peers and barristers in England. It was this group which Alfred Rosenberg visited with Count Herbert Bismarck in 1933 on the all-important Nazi mission which was seeking desperately-needed British support. Its meetings and peculiar occult practices are semi-secret in view of the station occupied by a great part of its followers. Loosely organized, it is called "The Mistery" after the German "Mysterikon" of Lans von Lebensfels. Part of its philosophy is the theory propagated throughout official England that the secret meaning of the Book of Job is that the Jewish race is the result of the mating of a Semitic tribe and apes.

Official London became a hotbed of anti-Semitism, where the feeling was no less venomous by reason of being covert. The 'world Jewish plot' remained the implement by which Zionists were baited in club and salon, those important centers of English political influence, as well as within the sacred precincts of 'The City' itself. Lord Lloyd, former High Commissioner of Egypt, expressed the inward fear agitating the English minds when he stated that Jewish immigration was turning Palestine into "a springboard of Bolshevism in the Near East."⁷ Innumerable meetings, semi-official in character, were told of the extreme danger lying in wait for the Empire and assured that "Communism was alien to the Arab."

The embryo of English Arabophilia reached back all the way to the period of peace negotiations. Englishmen were speaking for all the varied Arab races to Englishmen in London. In the agreements for the creation of Arab States, McMahon had included this sentence throughout: "It is understood that the Arabs have decided to seek the advice and guidance of Great Britain only, and that such European advisers and officials as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British." Englishmen thus found themselves regimenting their own self-interest as an Imperialist power, acting for groups of colorful tribesmen who rained all the blessings of Allah on their heads with unctuous correctness.

It was a nice feeling and it had its physical rewards in the immense resources of the Arabian Peninsula, seemingly wide open to exclusive British exploitation. When the British eventually came up against another group, the Jews, who had social theories, spoke English and proposed to represent themselves in negotiations, they were thoroughly annoyed.

In London, the Palestine Administration, supporting its subversive efforts with Jewish tax money, lent its entire force to a campaign making the Arabs out to be an honest, picturesque folk whose patrimony was being stolen by an invading army of Bolshevik Jews. Arab 'commissions' with the tacit backing and open advice of Palestine officials, pilgrimaged to London regularly, walked the streets in their dignified flowing robes and played their roles as they had been coached.

Judeo-phobes and anti-Bolsheviks began to discover that the Arab cause was a great and noble one. They formed themselves into formidable committees in and out of Parliament. Powerful figures such as Sir Henry Page-Croft, Sir Arnold Wilson, Lord Sydenham and Lord Lamington associated themselves actively with the stage management of the Arab campaign for public sympathy. Other still more powerful figures operated from the shadows, telling the Arabs what to say, formulating their demands and maneuvering their case. Lord Eustace Percy stated the situation in Parliament, July 4, 1922, declaring that "certain Englishmen — who do not like the Zionist policy . . . have inspired them [the Arabs] with certain ideas that they never dreamt of before, and have supplied this Arab delegation with arguments." Arabs were made to say meaningfully that "Communism is alien to our religion, our principles and our conscience." Early Arab memoranda point out in staged horror to the Government that "the prevalent conditions of the Jewish immigrants are a very fertile medium for the propagation of Communistic principles not only among Jews, but also among Arabs." ⁸

Certainly, an anti-Zionist campaign of this power and scope is far beyond the known strength of the Palestine Arabs. Meeting with little counteraction from the Zionists, it has affected

many divergent sections of opinion. Ironically enough, the Independent Labour Party announces through its chairman, Archibald Fenner Brockway, that "the Balfour Declaration was issued in order to win the support of Jewish Capitalism; that in itself is sufficient reason for our opposition to it."⁹ The Communists, as expected, are categorically opposed to Zionism in any form or shape. Their only member of Parliament, William Gallacher, squarely asserted during the 1936 riots that "if ever a people were justified in making a protest and in making a demonstration in order to get justice, it is the Arab people in Palestine. . . I view with growing disgust the hypocrisy of the position when I hear high moral concern and great regard for the Jews being expressed in some quarters."¹⁰

The most active opponents of the Zionists are in the Admiralty, which has its eye on the strategical importance of Palestine to the Empire. For years it is said to have employed various propagandists and organizing experts on anti-Zionist work. The Colonial and Foreign offices also utilize agents for a similar purpose. According to a detailed statement supplied the writer by an American whose intimate knowledge of English anti-Semitic activity is unquestionable, the business of these people is to organize the known anti-Semites in and out of the Government for a concerted assault on the Zionist position. Supported by their allies in the Departments, these people circulate through the drawing rooms and clubs, cultivate the secretaries of prominent men and weave their web wherever influence counts.

Through the mediation of these Bureaus, anti-Zionist propaganda has become an integral part of the efficient publicity service with which the British Government advances its views all over the world. The greatest part of this concentration of effort is in America. Just as English anti-Semitism stems largely from White Russian sources, so the present propaganda in America is heavily influenced from London with the hope of immobilizing the Jewish demand for Palestine. British officialdom is making a thorough job of presenting the Arab case wherever public opinion is important. They were even able to secure an appointment to lecture in Columbia University for the

Mufti's assistant, George Antonious, a venomous Jew-baiter whose very name sends a shiver down the back of the Palestine Jews. In adroitly-managed liaison with American anti-Semitic elements, the anti-Zionist campaign is persistently and expertly implemented. Its literature, distributed in ton lots in the large cities, is heavy with neo-Pagan coloring. A sample is its virtuous announcement that "the Jewish claim to Palestine rests on a religious-Biblical dogma which is not binding on those who cannot accept it by reason of a different belief. . . These Jewish claims have been reinforced by many Christians who have been influenced by the Bible — a book necessarily favorable to the Jewish people."

Actuated by the permanent officials, the full force of the British Government has been thrown in back of the anti-Zionist campaign. Its effect is seen in Turkey and even in faraway Japan, where Zionists are suddenly singled out for persecution and their movement all but declared illegal. How enormous and persistent this pressure is on the surrounding countries and governments of the Near East we shall shortly discover. The strength of this determined animosity is spot-lighted by London's insistence that Palestine be excluded from the sphere of operations of the Refugee Commission presided over by MacDonald in 1936 — certainly as sardonic a commentary on England's interpretation of her word as could be imagined.

There are of course other and more respectable reasons which activate London's attitude. One is the repugnance with which a certain section of British opinion views Palestine's transformation into a prosperous, modern community. This group would prefer to keep the Holy Land under a glass case — a perpetual survivor of the tourist East. But whatever the reason, the factual result is tersely given by Colonel Meinertzhagen.¹¹ Speaking February 9, 1938, he coldly asserted that "Arab opposition to Zionism is nursed and encouraged by anti-Zionist views not only in Palestine, but in Whitehall and Westminster. . . Anti-Zionist officials in Palestine and London never gave the Jewish homeland experiment a chance to succeed."

THE JEWISH NUISANCE

There is no lack of evidence of the dislike held by the Palestine Administration for Jews. The essentially pro-British propaganda of the World Zionist Organization is read by the *Yishub* with its tongue in its cheek — understood for what it is, a sagacious part of the Zionist money-raising machinery. The *Vaad Leumi*, occasionally provoked enough to forget the conditioning restraint placed on it by its financial patron, the Jewish Agency, has sometimes spoken its mind with great clarity as in its 1929 Memorandum to the League charging that the whole continuity of spoliation, riots and 'Commissions,' was "the inevitable consequence of a policy of opposition to the Jewish National Home" which the Administration had "been pursuing for years."

There can be little question that the prevailing sentiment of the Government of Palestine is a vigorous offshoot of that section of London City opinion which is pro-Nazi. There is as little doubt that the controlling factor in this sentiment is a deep-rooted anti-Semitism.

The monist ferocity of anti-Semites is too well known to require added description. The structure of the British bureaus lends itself admirably to maneuvering by a small cabal of determined political adventurers, and the anti-Semitic group has not been remiss in utilizing every possible avenue for placing its own 'reliable' creatures in the Holy Land service. They tried desperately at one time to secure the appointment of General Michael O'Dwyer as High Commissioner, and came close enough to it to make the Jews shudder. O'Dwyer, said to believe religiously in the existence of the great 'international Jewish conspiracy,' is the man reputed to have shot six hundred Indians in cold blood, and made the others at Amritsar crawl half a mile on their bellies in the dust as a symbol of their submission.

These men want to conduct legally, under the protection of the British flag in Palestine, a systematic hatred of Jews. They

are heavily hampered by the existence in Commons of individuals who are far from agreeable to this point of view. Hence they wear such a mask of Christian benefaction as they can under the circumstances, and attempt to justify their acts constantly by principle. Wedgwood contemptuously refers to this type of Crown servant as "the ordinary narrow-minded, half-bred Englishman who feels about Jews just as his counterpart Herr Hitler does."

The pagan mentality is also much in evidence in the Holy Land Service if one may judge from the published remarks of C. R. Ashbee, Civic Adviser to the City of Jerusalem. In his volume, *A Palestine Notebook*, he writes that "the most fanatical people in the Holy City are the Roman Catholics. . . The Jews run them a near second. The Moslems being tolerant in religious matters, are hand in glove with the free-thinking English." This official of the New Jerusalem continues: "One still sees the Christ type in the streets here, and it is usually the Jew who has it. . . Jesus Christ, if he ever existed at all, was a Syrian and he's still here in Jerusalem; he won't enlist, he is perverse, tiresome, and a thorn in the side of any government. . ."

One of the early reasons contributing to this feeling against Jews was the unscrupulous propaganda of the German-Turkish agents, enraged by the deflection of the Zionists. Originally intended to promote anti-British incitement, these canards found the sympathetic ear of the English authorities on the spot, who for quite other reasons were opposed to the Jews.

Among the grudges held against the Jew was the claim that he was clannish and had behaved with abominable inhospitality when the British first arrived. The newcomers were lonely and without their wives, a condition often remedied by Arab sheikhs who, considering that women do not possess a soul, had long made it a practice to turn over a female of the household to a favored overnight guest. War-weary English officers appreciated the soft inertia, slumberous music and polished deference shown them by their Arab hosts; while the inexplicable Jews had vulgarly continued to toil in their fields and pore over their interminable blueprints. "Whatever their station in life,"

says Horace Samuel, "and whatever the angle of contact, the Arabs exhibited invariably far better manners than did the Jews." ¹² They were picturesque and exotic, in striking contrast to the Zionists whose rolled shirt-sleeves and incessant drive made the colorful indolence of their neighbors seem almost an enchanting relief.

On the whole the Jew proved quite the most desperately impossible human being to govern that ever drove an annoyed bureaucrat to distraction. He was worse than the Afridis who took to the mountains and shot off their rusty rifles ; even worse than that patience-trying creature, the Hindu, who calmly sat down on his brown haunches and refused to recognize that the English existed.

The Jews first looked on the all-but-sacred Crown Colony Code, the provincial's Bible, with disrespect. Feeling that the country was theirs by solemnly ratified international agreement, they chafed impatiently at its interminable red tape and officiousness and often expressed their annoyance in no uncertain terms. Britishers used to the languor of Timbuctu and Belize, who suddenly found their snobbish hauteur deflated by even common Jewish workingmen who did not know the word 'native' as applied to themselves, sat back in their chairs unpleasantly puzzled. The tempo of activity these Jews set was perpetually ruffling to officials who wanted to enjoy their jobs in peace. They did not warm to the determined intellectuals who presented argumentative petitions when their plans were balked. They were aghast at the grimy-knuckled men who did not hesitate to invade the sacred sanctums of officialdom in their shirt-sleeves ; men of high energy and courage, whose manners were often bad and who sometimes developed antagonism by their very presence. Here was an enigma defying previous experience, a charade of new values which the Colonial official, recruited from the aloofness of the British manor or the worse officiousness of London tenement, could neither understand nor relish. "They almost forgot the difference between themselves and their employers," said Sir Ronald Storrs. "My first chauffeur was a Jew . . . he was an excellent driver, but it never

occurred to him to brush me down after I got out of the car. I stood it for three months and then I engaged an Arab chauffeur in his stead."

Even more galling, the Jewish spokesmen, product of an ethnos incalculably different from anything that makes an English Colonial, left the impression that they considered themselves a higher order of humanity. They brought means, culture and capacity with them, and a typically Jewish point of view that was apt to forget that an Inspector was not necessarily an ass because he had not read Turgenieff and had no taste for classical music.

A certain insight into this matter was given by Mr. Spicer, Chief of Palestine Police, in reply to the question, "Why are you all against the Jews?" Spicer, decent as Colonial officials go, but stolid and unimaginative, replied obligingly: "Look 'ere now, there's many reasons. The bloomin' h'Arabs are h'easier to 'andle. Now you tyke the h'Arabs when they want something. A crowd will gather in front of my 'ouse, looking fierce and shaking their blasted clubs, and maybe bryke a window. Now w'ot do h'I do! H'I tykes me military 'at, puts it on me 'ead, and walks outside. I tyke out a cigarette, fix it slowly in the holder, flick the ashes off with a little finger — so! And h'I finally sye in an even voice: 'See 'ere you beggars, what's the damn meaning of all this! Go 'ome!' And they go 'ome.

"Now w'ot do the Jews do! When they want something, they call h'up the day before for an appointment. Then three distinguished lawyers come in on me with their arms full of lawbooks to prove their bloomin' case. Hell, you know h'I don't know anything about law."

Certainly a major factor was the bristling hostility to Communism, which had been built in the gentile mind into something closely approximating a Jewish phenomenon. To Officialdom the new Jews coming to the Holy Land were nothing but the vanguard of Bolshevism, arch-enemy of everything British. In Palestine was a labor movement headed by hard-working, grimy-handed men who had read Karl Marx. These men were vague pinks, of the kind found in the English Labour

Party, whose Socialism consisted mostly of words. Actually there were only some five hundred known Communists in the entire country, most of whom were Arabs, and all of them lock-stock-and-barrel against the Zionist experiment. But these were fine points past the ken of uniformed officials who, constitutionally unable to distinguish between the various brands of Marxism, viewed anything remotely touched by it with dark suspicion.

What disturbed them principally were a few small farm settlements called *Kvutsoth*, organized, like the Christian *Hutterites* in the United States, on a communal basis. The *Kvutsoth* members pretended to be advanced thinkers, looked on religion as a remnant of the Dark Ages, fought against religious registration of marriage, and ploughed on the Sabbath. Beyond this they were hard-working people who slaved under the hot sun from daybreak to nightfall. The total number of adults in all these collectives at no time numbered more than three thousand, but their activities were looked on with a tolerant eye by the Jewish Agency, bowing to the thumb pressure of the socialist General Federation of Labor. Moreover, they were settled on land owned by the Jewish National Fund, and their buildings financed from the same source. This was deadly ammunition in the hands of Zionism's enemies, handing over the Jewish National Movement for crucifixion on a cross of Marxism. The Arab High Commission of 1923 does not hesitate to describe the *Kvutsoth* as "typical examples of Communistic villages in Red Russia," adding that "had these conditions been restricted to Jewish colonies this would have been quite a Jewish affair, but we find that the infectious bolshevik disease is penetrating day by day into the Arab peasantry." This kind of propaganda had an inestimable affect on the bureaucrats in London. It made the rounds of British officialdom, even officers friendly to Zionism surveying it with knitted brows. Up to today it runs like a binding thread through the entire British attitude.

There can be little question that there has finally grown up among His Majesty's officials in Palestine an ingrained aversion to Jews, rendered almost ferocious by the struggle to hold these

'unsavory foreigners' in their place. Even as open-minded an official as Broadhurst refers to "the notorious Balfour Declaration."¹³ It would be difficult in fact to find anywhere a group of men as incapable of assistance or understanding to such a project as the Jewish National Home as are quartered under the roof of the Palestine Administration. Without question they regard themselves as under some sort of queer duty to lead a stealthy filibuster against the very policy they were commissioned to carry through. No one even on speaking terms with the facts can doubt that the British and Jews in Palestine are lined up, like medieval Norman and Saxon, on two sides of the political, social and economic fence. "I could not help noticing," says Broadhurst pointedly, "that when British officials attend any Jewish social function they beat a retreat at the first opportune moment."¹⁴

The American minister, John Haynes Holmes, visiting the Holy Land in 1929, found an invincible prejudice against Jews among the Crown officials. These men, he relates, "talked of the Zionist movement with impatience, frequently with contempt, and always with the suggestion that they would be inflexibly relieved, if not actually pleased, if the whole thing would only blow up and disappear."¹⁵ The English writer, Beverley Nichols, paints an identical picture, saying, "I had not been in Jerusalem for a week before I realized very clearly in which direction lay the sympathies of the majority of the English community. They were pro-Arab. Some from a vague sense of 'justice,' some from very clearly defined views of Imperial policy, and some because they were frankly anti-Semitic."¹⁶ This whole pattern of dislike is aptly shown in trifling provocations, as the alteration in 1931 when Nathan Straus Street in Jerusalem was given the hated name of Chancellor. Ashbee epitomizes much of this feeling. He finds "these Jews of the Holy City even worse than their brethren of Whitechapel."¹⁷ The policy of the Balfour Declaration, which he was appointed to implement, he discovers "is an unjust policy . . . dangerous to civilization."¹⁸

Farago, covering the 1936 riots, describes the wives of highly

placed British officials openly carrying on propaganda for the Arab cause among the newspaper correspondents. Even the Chief Secretary of the Government, Hawthorn Hall, an official ranking next to the High Commissioner, is found advising French journalists to read the anti-Semitic Arab press if they want to get at the true facts of the Palestine situation.¹⁹ A wave of hatred as devastating as this has many little eddies, nor have the enlisted men escaped its clutch. This jingle, popular with the Palestine army under General Dill, speaks volumes:

“Arab ! Don’t shoot me
Shoot the man behind the tree.
He is a treacherous Jew
I am an Englishman true.
Arab ! Don’t shoot me
Shoot the man behind the tree.”

A considerable proportion of His Majesty’s servants in Palestine, end up as accomplished anti-Zionist agitators in London. To understand the ease with which the transition is made, one has only to read the pages of the Arab propaganda sheet, *Palestine and Transjordan*, and then the letters written by Sir John Chancellor inviting various individuals in the Government to subscribe money for the upkeep of this “weekly paper in English to express the British point of view.”²⁰

There is not the slightest doubt that the Zionists are faced in Palestine by a cynically hostile Guardian, who in the very nature of events must sooner or later succeed in grinding their movement to a pulp. It is in fact hard to conceive how, in a modern world, any colonization enterprise can be conducted successfully when it must contend with the active hatred of an overlord who sets immigration conditions, tariff rates, taxes, and regulates by fiat every economic and political condition under which the new settlers must live.

Zionist publicity has proven itself adept at concealing this ugly situation. Colonel Wedgwood visiting the country in 1927 was utterly astonished to hear at first hand the bitter feeling of the Jewish settlers. He had been under the impression that they were enraptured with the English Administration.

Only old Menachem Ussishkin among the Zionists, has dared to speak his mind. With blunt candor he declared that "from the start it was clear that the British officials in Palestine were against us. The entire Arab opposition to the Jewish National Home was 'made at the Government House.' " ²¹

Dr. John Haynes Holmes puts the matter in a nutshell when he says: "It may well be discovered, before the tale is done, that the English conquest of Palestine, and the English Government of Palestine under the Mandate, constitute together the greatest tragedy that ever befell the Zionist movement." ²²

'RULE BRITANNIA!'

Weizmann had tartly informed the Twelfth Zionist Congress: "If you think we made ourselves the agents of English politics in the Near East, you have the wrong idea. . . If you were to ask any British Imperialist today whether Palestine is a necessity for them toward their Imperialistic ends, you will hear as the answer a flat 'no.' "

This, however, was far from the opinion of the gentlemen in Westminster and Whitehall. They saw with hungry eyes that this little territory had rapidly become the "key to great oil deposits, to regions of vital value to Great Britain. Its loss by the British Empire might be fatal to its interests in India, in Egypt, and in the Suez Canal Zone." ²³ They saw also that between Jewish and British interests in Palestine there lay basic, and from their viewpoint, unbridgeable, contradictions.

With grim realism these men understood what Jewish politicians were too naïve to grasp, that there was no struggle between Jews and Arabs, but actually an undeclared state of war between the Zionists and His Britannic Majesty's Government for possession of this vital area.

It was disconcertingly plain that if the Zionists put up a smart fight for their patrimony the English would find themselves in parentheses. Palestine was not a British colony but an area in the process of becoming an independent state, handed over to the transient guardianship of a Mandatory by consent of the

Jews. It was in this none too reassuring olio of facts that British policy in Palestine had its *raison d'être*. If need be they could occupy Palestine on the same principle of '*J'y suis, j'y reste*'²⁴ by which they had held on to Egypt.²⁵ But a Great Britain faced with a world of enemies, and which was loudly demanding international sanctions against covenant-breaking nations like Japan and Italy, had to keep face. It must achieve its ends by a silently progressive destruction of the legal bases on which the Zionist framework rested. Understanding this, one understands the dissembling, the artificially created problems and the covering cloak of platitudes which mark the British reign in Palestine. Then, what must be otherwise merely an inexplicably shabby series of mean-spirited acts against a defenseless people, begins to make some pattern of sense.

In 1875 Disraeli got the Suez Canal for England with money advanced by the Rothschilds, literally muscling his nation in as the major shareholder. The canal made British control of Egypt inevitable. Since that time, the King's subjects have been taught that the lifeline of the Empire runs through Suez. The Admiralty has always held doggedly to the dictum that this artery must be dominated by Britain at all costs. Suez reverts to the Egyptian Government when the Canal Company's concession expires in 1969. Still more disturbing, the Egyptian Nationalists forced London to sign a new treaty in 1936, under which Britain troops will have to evacuate Alexandria and Cairo in eight years.

These changing conditions leave the British Army, quartered in the Canal Zone, without any hinterland as a base. Palestine thus becomes an essential bulwark for an otherwise precariously situated army. Accenting this condition is the presence of the Italians on the newly acquired Island of Doumeirah in the Red Sea, their guns mounted menacingly right athwart the Imperial line of communications. On the land side Italy holds an impregnable position in Ethiopia. Under her stimulation, Egypt grows daily more restless. Germany has once more turned her face toward the East, and is reviving Bismarck's *Drang nach Osten* policy. Though at this moment she pays court to Eng-

land in the hope of winning its neutrality while Hitler is establishing his domination in Europe, ultimate German colonial aims at the expense of the British Empire are unconcealed. The old objective of the Czars, dreaded by Englishmen for a hundred years, has been finally gained by the Soviets. At the Montreux Conference in 1936, despite anything His Majesty's representatives could do about it, Turkey fortified the Straits and allowed the Northern Muscovite Bear permission to send her fleets through to the Mediterranean. Thus the danger of being outflanked both by land and sea looms up more vividly real with each passing month. In the Far East, Japan openly challenges Britain not only for dominance in China but throughout the East. Under Japanese stimulation the tide against the white man rises inexorably in Asia. Siam and Persia are visibly anti-British in sentiment, and the volcano of India smolders with ominous portent.

Thoroughly alarmed, Great Britain is feverishly rearming. She is straining every sinew and all her resources to meet the savage attack which she knows must sooner or later be made on her.

The chain of great naval bases reaching from Gibraltar to Singapore and Hongkong bears witness to the sharp attention paid by British statesmen to control of the trade route to India. If this were cut, Britain would be dead of starvation within six weeks.²⁶ Far from being self-supporting, England produces only about three-fifths of the food she requires and about twenty percent of the raw materials needed in her manufactures. Roughly, forty percent of her commerce lies in export trade. The Mediterranean is the principal trade route to all British Dominions except Canada, and since her supremacy there has been challenged it assumes greater significance in British eyes than ever before. Its importance may be judged from Admiralty figures, showing an annual value with India of £80,000,000; Australia, £50,000,000; and China, £26,000,000. The center of gravity in international affairs, says Sidebotham, is "no longer Stresa or Danzig, but Haifa."²⁷

Haifa harbor has become the most important stronghold in

the Mediterranean. It is incomparably better than that of Alexandria, which has now become difficult for large water vessels due to the shifting of the channel. The quarrel with Mussolini over Ethiopia demonstrated the untenability of the old naval depot at Malta, which is now to be closed up and transferred to Haifa, slated to be the permanent station for the Mediterranean fleet. Haifa has hence become a weighty matter of empire, comparable only in strategic significance with the new gigantic Singapore base.

This port is moreover the terminus of the great oil line through which the enormous stream of Mosul oil is transported to the sea.²⁸ This factor becomes overwhelmingly important in light of the fact that less than six percent of all fuel oil and gasoline consumed in the United Kingdom originates in the Empire. With the British fleet modernized so that it depends on fuel oil exclusively, has risen the Admiralty's demand that Zionism be halted altogether and Palestine fenced off into a wholly British preserve. The English blueprint envisages a parallel pipeline to run from Haifa to the Mosul fields ; and another conduit to carry the Anglo-Iranian oil from the Persian Gulf to either Haifa or Aqaba.

Palestine today holds the key position for all air routes between Britain and the East, and in view of the uncertainties in Egypt, is a dominant factor in the development of air routes to Africa. It has become a vital link in the whole British chain of strategy. Desperately, as the open question arises as to the relative efficiency of dreadnaughts and airships, Britain is seeking transcontinental sovereignty of the air.

London also plans to supplement the water route to India by a system of motor roads, of which Haifa will be the western terminus ; and by a magnificent railway system, connecting all the important British possessions in the old world like a girdle. The defeat of Germany and Turkey during the Great War removed the last physical obstacles to this grandiose scheme. The railway is to go from Haifa to Baghdad, thence to the Persian Gulf, connecting with British-controlled Port Fuad and the India line. At Haifa again, it connects with the Cape to Cairo

Railway by way of Kantara, making Haifa the apex of a tremendous triangle whose other extremes are at Capetown and Calcutta. One arm is to go from Haifa to Damascus via Iraq, thus maintaining an *a priori* grip on Syria in case the French are forced out and the Italians attempt to take their place. Another branch is to reach from Haifa to Aqaba, providing an alternative land route between the two great seas.

If Haifa is rapidly becoming the key to the Orient, Aqaba, on the Red Sea is potentially of like importance. Its sheltered waters are ideal for a seaplane base, while the high mesa which overlooks it provides the finest natural aerodrome in the world. Fifty airplanes could take off simultaneously on this plateau. Plans are already actively being formulated for the digging of a new canal to supplement Suez, to stretch from Aqaba to Gaza. This would relieve Britain of the fear of the water route reverting to Egypt, and would give her a virtually impregnable line of communications, making her master of the old world.

Bearing heavily on English attitudes is still another factor of vast importance — the presence in the Dead Sea of unlimited amounts of potash and other chemicals, valuable in peace and absolutely essential in war. Palestine is England's only source of this material. Until the Dead Sea development materialized, the Germans held a practical monopoly on potash, placing the Allied Powers in a serious predicament during the World War.

To the official mind, it became pressingly evident that some pretext for permanent occupation of this indispensable area had to be found. One thing was certain : England could never permit Palestine to come under the rule of any other country. Even more dubious in the Bureaucratic mind was the possibility of an independent Jewish State, which, being free to contract alliances with foreign powers, could conceivably make common cause with the Empire's foes in the unpredictable future.

These officials look askance at the presence here of a large, intelligent, modern population whose reaction in any crisis might involve an obstinate consideration of its own needs and welfare ; and which might under able leaders extend its hegemony of interests to cut through the indolent Arabic countries like a

knife through so much cheese, perhaps even challenging British supremacy over Egypt itself. They believe that Palestine can be held much more comfortably for Imperial purposes, without a Jewish Homeland, with a native population completely dependent on Britain for financial and political support.

The pioneering energy shown by the Zionists has also alarmed London lest she should be nursing a new Japan in Western Asia, who, sooner than was pleasant to contemplate, would go into active competition for the all-important markets of Africa and the Orient. They dread the possibility that an industrialized Jewish Palestine would form the spearhead for an economic bloc of Near Eastern countries, ruining British position completely by an enlargement of already conflicting interests. They uncomfortably remember that in 1914 India was importing seventy-five percent of its cotton textiles from Great Britain. By 1934 Indian capital had built enough domestic mills to supply seventy-five percent of the textiles the country needed, Japan gobbling up more than half of the remaining business. London is determined to forestall industrialization in Asia wherever it can, and is much more interested in maintaining the old conditions.²⁹

The British know that the Jew, with his resources and indomitable energy, if encouraged instead of hampered would eventually bring the entire Near East into his sphere of influence; and this possibility is sufficient to keep the gentlemen of Downing Street from sleeping at night.

A persistent minority of independent British opinion, however, takes a contrary view. On the matter of trade it points out that markets depend also on consuming capacity and that it is to the mother country's advantage to develop the Near East. It points to the increasingly large English export to Palestine following hard on the heels of Jewish industrialization. It draws attention to the compensating trade development following the industrialization of Canada, Australia and the other Dominions, and it finally rests on the contention that the hand of progress cannot be stopped whether England wills or no.

Such leaders as Lords Snell, Lothian, Tweedsmuir and Cecil hold that the success of Zionism is no less important to Britain

than to the Jews, and stress the need for developing a loyal population there whose interests would be tied up with those of the English. These men view with disquietude the political instability of the Arab, as well as the growing antagonism to Britain throughout the Moslem world. They believe that a powerful Jewish National Home, holding the Judean fastnesses and the key coastal positions, would be another Gibraltar on the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The English pro-Zionists contend that intelligent Imperial planning demands the driving of a stout Jewish wedge between the Egyptian, Turkish and Arabian Moslems. Mr. L. S. Amery, former Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his book *The Forward View* states that the introduction of a strong Western force, allied with Britain, into this part of the world, is an absolute Imperial necessity. The great British publicist Herbert Sidebotham writes that "so strong is the argument for Zionism to our own security that if there had been no Zionism readymade to our hand by thousands of years of Jewish suffering, we should have had to invent it."³⁰ And Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy asserts that "it is the duty of every British Imperialist to support the Zionist policy in Palestine, which is the only insurance policy for the defense of the Suez Canal."

Among the plans that have been seriously advocated is the scheme for making Palestine a Crown Colony as a prelude to recasting it as a self-governing Dominion. The Seventh Dominion League was formed under the lead of such men as Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, Sir Martin Conway and Lord Hartington. They maintain that it is absolutely essential for the interests of the British Empire that the Jews realize their ideal of a national home in Palestine, that the burden of military defense for this whole sector would then be minimum "because no nation could attack Palestine without shocking the whole world Jewry."³¹ While the 1936 riots were going on, the Bureaucrats also, with a wary eye on possibilities in case the original scheme fell through, conducted some inspiring propaganda among Jews towards this end. Leading it in Palestine was Hawthorn Hall, Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government. The Jewish Farmers

Union and certain industrialists agreed eagerly, feeling that this plan would eliminate the heartbreaking disabilities from which the country suffers. In sheer weariness, most of the Jewish leaders would have welcomed this solution if any half decent guarantee would have been given them in exchange for their voluntary relinquishment of the Mandate.

However, a Dominion has certain privileges, as London has found out in its dealings with Canada and South Africa.³²

The bureaucrats did not want the Jews as partners in the Empire if they could avoid it. Expressing this hostility, Joseph F. Broadhurst, long Assistant Inspector General, C.I.D., to the Palestine Government, remarks: "I cannot see that a heterogeneous collection of Jews dumped into a land with no connection with our own would make the best of compatriots. This would never do, and few British people would tolerate such a scheme."³³

While this difference in opinion exists, the vast preponderance of power lies with the anti-Semitic group, which is irrevocably opposed to the Jewish National Home. They are painfully aware that the Mandate was given to fulfill Jewish, not English, needs and that England has no title in Palestine except such right as she can make. Hence they have had to base their politics on Jewish-Arab tension, a policy splendidly successful from their viewpoint, even when a few of the resulting details were highly unpleasant for Britain.

One of the great difficulties they encountered was the increasing pressure of millions of desperate Jews throughout the world who banged on the doors of the country frantically. Here the Bureaucrats were at once presented with the need for much circumspect maneuvering so as to avoid bringing a storm of condemnation down on their heads. Unwilling to drop its pose of decent impartiality in view of the effect it might have on other subject peoples in the Empire, the Government was forced from one impotent artifice to another.

Officialdom is further faced with the fact that in England itself an obvious policy of pledge-breaking would not be popular. British public opinion must be handled with kid gloves. It

regards the moral tradition of the nation with reverence, and has been known to buck like a wild steer when this was outraged. Both in and out of Parliament there existed an enormous sympathy for Zionism which could not be dispelled over night. As late as October 1936 a poll on the Palestine situation taken by the anti-Zionist *Daily Express* showed even here a more than two-to-one majority in favor of the Jews as against the Arabs Whitehall was espousing. In its own literature the Government had acknowledged that outside of Jewry "an overwhelming mass of public opinion would appear to favour Jewish administration in Palestine."³⁴ This "overwhelming mass of outside opinion" had to be deferred to, and at the same time, broken down.

These uncertainties are the only reasons why they do not annex Sinai to Palestine as part of a final settlement with Egypt. They are playing the safety factor ; not feeling sure that their strategy in the Holy Land will be successful, and afraid that they may yet, despite all their desperate juggling, be forced to deal with the fact of an independent Jewish State.

The sum total of this situation is certainly rather awkward for the men who sit at the mahogany desks in Whitehall, and calls for smart operating. But they are capable of smart operating. And they are determined to make Western Asia into a British pasturage if they have to turn half of creation upside down in the process.

THE ARAB EMPIRE PROJECT

Many reasons are advanced by the English to the bewildered Zionists to explain their conduct. "We are sorry," they say confidentially. "We would really like to do it, y' know, but we have to be careful of the ninety million Mohammedans in our Empire."

Under examination this hackneyed contention seems pretty thin. The British have only to refer to their own T. E. Lawrence, who termed Pan-Islamism in politics "a fiction." The men of Whitehall are, after all, capable administrators who are

not apt to forget recent experience in a hurry. They can still remember the war with Turkey when the Mohammedans refused to heed the Ottoman Sultan's call to Holy War against England, and instead united with the Hindus to aid the Christian conqueror. They are also aware of the successful French experience in throwing Feisal, descendant of the Prophet, out of Syria bodily, with the rifles of imported Moslem levies. They know that the Agha Khan, head of the Indian Mohammedans, belongs to the Ishmaelite sect, who are so thoroughly orthodox that they regard the Palestine Moslems as shameless infidels.³⁵ They also could hardly be unaware that the Hindus, far in the majority in India, are more than a counterweight to any possible Moslem reaction ; and Hindu leaders have made their cordial sympathy for Zionism clear.

There is, on the whole, more real difference between the various Moslem sects than there is between the beliefs of a modern Englishman and an orthodox Jew from Bessarabia. Islam itself is more than a creed. It is a complete social system. Originally it was a simple and understandable faith, full of the spirit of generosity and brotherhood. To the essential democracy it preached it added cannily a list of simple sugary delights, including a Paradise containing beautiful and agreeable girls whose virginity miraculously returned to them every morning. To-day knowledge of the Faith is everywhere confused with debased moral standards, superstitions and bigoted ignorance.

The powerful Ibn Saud preaches the unity of orthodox Moslems and the exclusion of all other Arabs. His Wahabis adhere literally to the Koran, do not drink or smoke, and consider every technical innovation of our time to be a tool of Satan. They regard all the theological and philosophical speculations which made Arab civilization famous during the Middle Ages, as heresies, to be relentlessly purged. They are prepared for no compromises and consider the North Arabs as *Musbreks*, unbelievers, who are to be viewed with more intense dislike than even Christians or Jews. The Wahabis consider the wearing of a silk garment or gold ornament to be a sin. They regard the Prophet Mohammed as just a man and repudiate bitterly the act

of other Moslem sects in turning him into a supernatural being. The Wahabis look on any built place of worship as being perilously close to idolatry. Only with difficulty were they restrained from destroying in their zeal the beautiful architectural shrines in Mecca and Medina when they drove Hussein out of the Hejaz.

The Wahabis often have threatened an attack on Iraq. Part of the ever-impending Holy War against "unfaithful Moslems" in Transjordan, Iraq, Kowiet and Palestine almost eventuated in March 1928, and was only stopped by a convincing mobilization of British airplanes and armored cars. In Iraq, against the fierce opposition of the predominant Shi'a community, Feisal, who belongs to the Sunna sect, was bombed onto the throne by the British. There has since been continuous trouble of a sort only comparable to the religious hatreds which divided France and Germany after the advent of the Reformation. Numerous and bloody physical clashes occur. The Shi'as, who outnumber the Sunni invaders three-to-one, are suppressed with an iron hand, exiled, imprisoned and their newspapers outlawed. How venomous the feeling is, is shown in the Shi'a protest to the League, praying for remedy from the terrorization they are being subjected to by the "savages brought from the desert" by England.³⁶

The bogey of a militant Arab racialism is another invention of the ever-resourceful Bureaucratic mind. Lawrence once told Liddell Hart that he had "always been a realist and opportunist in tactics: and Arab unity is a madman's notion." Sir Ronald Storrs, too, remarks: "Arabism does not exist."³⁷ And another British authority, Loder, adds: "Arabia is a geographical expression and corresponds to no political entity."³⁸ The very use of the words 'Mohammedanism' and 'nationalism' in the same breath is a contradiction in terms. Racial pride is unknown to Islam. Everyone who confesses Allah is accepted as a brother and equal, whether he be a Negro, Malay or European.

There, moreover, remains a strong identity between sectarianism and dynastic government. Religion and law are so closely identified in Islam that the difference between two sects as-

sumes an important difference between the civil and criminal sanctions under which they respectively live.³⁹ The only way nationalism can be effective in the Near East is by the secularization of religion, from which these people are a long way off.

Arabia is a mass of blood feuds and economic rivalries. There are long drawn-out boundary disputes between the various countries, and the traditional jealousies between the ruling houses extends fan-shape down the line through the whole host of minor sheikhs, sultans and imams.

Bedouins meeting in strange territory slaughter each other without mercy. Tribesmen are constantly being killed in frontier raids from which not even Palestine and Transjordan are exempt. None of the established Arab governments have been able to put down these constantly recurring conflicts between the tribes. Even under the strong hand of the British, raiding Wahabis slaughtered the whole Transjordan tribe of Atie in December 1928; and a typical pitched battle was fought between the tribes at Koba near Jerusalem as late as July 1932. The Syrian author, Ameen Rihani, gives a graphic picture of the general state of affairs in one Arab country, Yemen. The ruling Imam, in order to protect his position, is eternally warring with rebellious clans and tribes. "The twenty-seven years of his reign," says Rihani, "have been a continuous *Jihad*, actual and political — a chain of wars and truces. Little wonder that hostages are the foundation of the state." Here, too, the Italian observer, Salvatore Aponte, notes that the vast majority of the population are the unwilling subjects of the ruling Zaidis from the hills, "whom they look upon as abominable heretics."⁴⁰

In all the Arab countries provincialism is a persistent factor. Syrians employed in the Iraqi Government service, as an instance, are the constant object of agitation aimed at ousting them.

The result of the recent controversy between Turkey and Syria over the Sanjak of Alexandretta (a part of Syria which holds a considerable minority Turkish population) is also illuminating. The Turks declared openly to London, Paris and Geneva: "We have confidence in France but not in Syria."

Negotiations between Paris and Ankara, under the auspices of the League, finally ended in the Spring of 1938 in a settlement whereby this richest of all Syrian provinces (called by the Arabs "the pearl of the Arab Empire") is to be detached from that country and ultimately handed back to Turkey. The result was hardly what could be expected if pan-Arabism is to be credited with the vitality London concedes to it. The outside Arabs maintained a prudent silence. Not one Arab paper dared to write a single article against Turkey. No Arab State raised its voice in favor of Damascus, and not a single Arab statesman protested directly or indirectly. At the very moment, in fact, when the Syrians were imploring the aid of their Arab brethren, Baghdad organized a triumphal reception in honor of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had come to Iraq at the head of a large official delegation.⁴¹

None of this prevents the Colonial Office mouthpiece *Great Britain and the East* from headlining an explosive editorial during the recent riots: "ARABIA AWAKE," asserting that the Arabs, from Morocco to Persia, with a single patriotic voice "are implacably resolved to look upon Palestine as a part of Arabia."

The whole plan for a great Federated Arab State reaches back to the tenacious support England gave the Turks before the War. By 1915 the idea gradually emerged of elevating the Arab into the place in English affections that the Turks had so rudely left vacant. It had been the pet scheme of the military clique who came in with Allenby. It was then dropped, suddenly to be revived ten days after General de Bono marched his Italians into Adowa. Slowly the Federation is taking shape as British gold pours into the Near East.

The previous tactics were to keep the Arab rulers at each other's throats. This was handled by a system of *agents provocateur*, politely known as *political officers*, who represented the Crown and dispensed its largesse in each place and principality. This method revolves around a system of always having rivals, or powerful opponents, ready to put forward if the existing ruler becomes difficult to handle. The big question in every Arab land is the agreement or treaty with the British, and the

amount of gold that can be secured. The amazing elasticity and scope of this control system is outlined by Rihani in his book, *Around the Coasts of Arabia*.⁴² "They all have to be satisfied," he comments, "the big chiefs, the little chiefs and all the chiefs between."

The Arab countries are hardly more than camouflaged English colonies. Iraq, for example, is theoretically independent. But the British maintain troops there and have absolute control over the country's foreign affairs. Under the twenty-year 'treaty' signed October 10, 1922, Iraq may appoint no foreign official or adviser without British approval. It provides for a separate agreement covering the employment of British officials in the Iraqi Government. Another separate agreement gives England a measure of control over Iraq's judicial affairs. The Treaty also stipulates that the British Air Force is to protect Iraq's frontier, putting England in *de facto* military control. In December 1925, Britain maneuvered the League of Nations into position to hand over the Turkish Vilayet of Mosul to Iraq, "provided that the British control over that kingdom were extended for a period of about twenty-five years."⁴³ Ibn Saud, too, gets a large subsidy, granting adequate favors in return. Among these is a juicy concession to the British-owned Iraq Petroleum Company "extending over the whole Western littoral of Saudi Arabia to a depth inland of one hundred kilometres."⁴⁴

Today the official plan involves closing the door to threatened expansion by Italy, making a more or less closely organized unit desirable. Mussolini had been making overtures to the Arabs and was utilizing funds from the Italian Treasury for this purpose. He had set up a powerful broadcasting station at Bari, agitating the Arabs in their own language to throw off the British yoke; forcing the frightened British to inaugurate competing Arabic broadcasts from London.

Ibn Saud, in exchange for an increase in his subsidy and wider autonomy from direct British rule, agreed to enter the system of pacts, as did Iraq. Then the clique in Whitehall summoned Abdullah of Transjordan to London and set the background for the events which ended in the 1936 Palestine riots. King Ghazi

of Iraq is looked on as a weakling and thoroughly undependable ; and Abdullah was inserted into the pact system as a check on the ulterior ambitions of Saud whom London distrusts. Abdullah, who once expressed strong anti-British sentiment before he learned what side his bread was buttered on, is now in high favor with Downing Street as a man of "extraordinary good sense." When during the Ethiopian incident the Mufti decided to balk, it was the ever-pliable Abdullah, rising like an elfin Don Quixote from his little principality, who issued the call to the *Jihad* against Italy in the name of Islam. As ruler of Transjordan the Emir cuts rather a ludicrous figure, but as King of a reunited Transjordanian-Palestine he becomes a respectable monarch and an ideal counter-balance to the Hejaz Kingdom in the Arabic Federation of the future.

In the formulation of this plan, Abdullah was not to be trusted altogether with Palestine. Strategical sections, including Jerusalem and Haifa, were to be handed over to Britain outright, as was an enclave around Aqaba. The Jews were to be restricted to a tiny coastal area. If they refused to agree, a cantonization plan was favored, thus accomplishing the same result without benefit of international sanction.

The authors of this scheme allowed their imaginations to roam over the possibility of even disengaging North Africa from France and Italy, and already have had their puppets speak in grandiose terms of an allied free Moorish State in North Africa which will fall within the magnetic influence of the free Arab Federation.

All this was fraught with considerable difficulty from the Arab side alone. There had been bad blood between Feisal and his brother Abdullah. The Emir felt that he should have gotten the throne of Iraq after Feisal's death instead of the boy King Ghazi. Iraq was now ambitious to get part of northern Palestine for an outlet to the sea. The project was also viewed with ill-concealed suspicion by Ibn Saud who wants no strengthening of a rival house ejected by him from Mecca.

Working against time, British agents like Philby, Cox and Peake Pasha again criss-crossed the desert handing out money

and promises right and left. Under pressure, boundary disputes are being speedily settled as this great effort to de-Balkanize the Near East goes forward. In complete liaison, British agents were at work in Teheran and Istanbul to draw these two important powers within the British orbit by inducing them to sign a corollary pact. In response to this fast work, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey came to a treaty of friendship early in February 1936. One leg of the journey was now over. The bringing of Egypt into this bloc was to follow, as was the Arab Federation into which Palestine was to be absorbed. Such was the plan. As early as June 11, 1936, *Great Britain and the East* blatantly announces that "the Arab Federation is being developed . . . under British patronage, on sound lines." At a crucial Cabinet meeting in September of 1936 the English were on the point of declaring the Federation in existence; and were only deterred at the last moment by pointed protest in the American Congress calling attention to the international obligations inherent in the Palestine Mandate and to America's vested interests there.

It is somewhat sardonic to note that during the same period that official British publicists were ballyhooing the right of self-determination as applied to Arabs in Palestine, Britain had grabbed a huge chunk of territory from the Arabs in Southern Arabia. By an Order in Council which became effective April 1, 1937 the British Government arbitrarily annexed to the Empire 111,025 square miles of territory, including some six hundred thousand Arabs of different tribes and complexions. This area is called the Hadramaut, and it was taken by exactly the same methods Italy used in Ethiopia. Completely soured on the tactics of his own Government, Philby writes: "The attempt of Great Britain to curtail the independence of South Arabia necessitates the employment of terrorism which we deplore when it is used by others. That aerial bombing is freely used . . . is not denied by the Government."⁴⁵ The British also own another slice of Arabia which they annexed shortly after the World War. This is the colony of Aden which dominates the southern end of the peninsula and looks straight across the

Red Sea at Mussolini's legions in East Africa. Obviously the vast areas of the Hadramaut and Aden are not to be included in the proposed Arab Confederacy.

Part of Whitehall's strategy lies in an attempt to frighten fellow-Englishmen with the bogey that the Arab was prepared to be Britain's best friend until the ultimate enormity of Zionism was thrust upon him. Actually the British seem to have little to fear here, since the Arabs require the power of English arms if they are to maintain their independence. "Nothing," writes Ernest Main, "could stop Turkey or Persia walking into Iraq tomorrow except the presence of Britain."⁴⁶ The Arab liaison with England is in many ways a more than doubtful value. Turkey, for instance, obstinately regards the Mosul area of Iraq as Turkish *irredenta* territory. Therefore, states Herbert Sidebotham, English friendship with the Arabs is more than likely to bring Britain into collision with these countries: "In any case . . . our friendship should be courted by the Arab kings, rather than theirs by us."⁴⁷

Pro-Arab propagandists additionally ignore the dark hatred with which the Arab regards all Christians. The Hejaz, country of King Hussein, number one man in this controversy, *does not allow a single Christian within its sacred borders*. Lieutenant-Colonel Stafford writes that "at an official reception to the present King of Iraq the usual cheers were followed by cries of 'Down with Britain.'" Article II of Lawrence's *Confidential Guide to Newcomers from the British Army* states frankly that "the foreigner and Christian is not a popular person in Araby. . . Wave a Sherif in front of you like a banner and hide your own mind and person."⁴⁸

Shrewd English observers, unimpressed by bureaucratic fetish, are of the absolute opinion that in the event of a general war the first purpose of the Arabs would be to get rid of Britain, and that London is strengthening the very forces which will ultimately be arrayed against her. The English writer Ernest Main mentions, as an augury for the future, that the Arab press solidly supported Italy during the Abyssinian War, making no

bones of their intention to blast the English into the sea at the first opportunity.⁴⁹

In Palestine itself there can be no doubt of the ferocious extent of anti-Jewish sentiment, "but it is all but swallowed up in the sweeping tide of feeling against England."⁵⁰ Rasps the Arab newspaper *Falastin* in its issue of May 19, 1930: "The Jews lost an opportunity to arrive at an understanding with the Arabs owing to the Jews' obstinacy and blind loyalty to Great Britain." The articles of indictment are numerous: the country is overridden with English officials who draw high salaries and live in luxury, etc. Nor do Moslem doctrines require much outside stimulation to foment a frenzied hatred for the Englishman and all his works. What Moslems really think was plainly stated by Mohammed Ali, supreme Moslem leader of India, addressing the Moslem High Council in Palestine on November 23, 1928. "Not the Jews are our enemies," he shouted, "but British Imperialism: which aims to seize all Moslem lands."

The British were in fact thoroughly cured of "all-Moslem Congresses" by occurrences at the Congress of December 1931, which the Palestine Government had organized as a weapon against the Zionists. One of the first resolutions it adopted claimed that the highly strategic Hejaz Railway was *Wakf* (Moslem religious) property which had been stolen by the English, and demanded its return within six months under threat of an international Mohammedan boycott of British goods.

INTERPRETING THE MANDATE

No matter what opinions British politicians might have once expressed as private individuals, once in office they invariably succumb to the demands of the anti-Zionist permanent officials.

When Malcolm MacDonald became Colonial Secretary he ceased to function as "Weizmann's best friend," just as his father forgot most of his Socialism and all of his Zionism when he became Prime Minister. Winston Churchill made beautiful speeches for the Zionists, but Churchill in office made common

cause with the clique in the Departments, and issued the crushing document which bears his name. Thomas as a Labor leader, protested unreservedly against the theft of Trans-Jordan, but Thomas as Colonial Secretary lapsed into all the stereotypes of his predecessors. Ormsby-Gore's deep hearty voice had assured the Jaffa Jews that the Balfour Declaration meant the "building up of a Jewish nation in all its various aspects in Palestine." Becoming Colonial Secretary in turn, he discovered that the Declaration embodied "a dual obligation toward Arabs and Jews." What this meant is illuminated in answer to a query from the Permanent Mandates Commission, asking what was being done to implement Article VI of the Mandate regarding close settlement on the land. Ormsby-Gore replied for the King that immigrants were very anxious for land but that the Government had been prevented from granting them any *by reason of the other duty which it owed to the Arab population*. In reply to another query he declared in extenuation that "the Arabs objected to the Jews because the latter were much more efficient." Thus this responsible officer of the Crown makes it clear that his Government regards its principal "obligation of honor" under the Mandate to be the protection of the Arabs against Jewish encroachment, a finesse which almost approaches the proportions of genius.

Even the MacDonald Letter, supposedly edited in a tone of good-will toward Zionism, carries the adroit observation that "the Mandatory cannot ignore the existence of differing interests and viewpoints," which it infers will be readily reconciled in a pending understanding between Arabs and Jews; but, quite naturally, "until that is reached, considerations of balance must inevitably enter into the definition of policy." Stripped of concealing verbiage, this simply means that no essential measure in favor of the Jewish Homeland may be effected unless there is an 'understanding,' i.e., if the Arabs agree. If the Arabs object, the measure cannot be carried out.⁵¹

This theory goes a long way beyond any reservation even hinted at in the Mandate. The preamble to that document protects the 'civil and religious rights' of the non-Jewish communi-

ties but it nowhere mentions their psychological attitude as a factor entitled to annul the purpose for which the Home was conceived. Article VI of the Mandate reads: "The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration. . ." In a process of hair-splitting that would do credit to fifty Philadelphia lawyers, the British concentrated on the word 'position' with a magnifying glass. When the Mandate was issued, the 'position' of the Arabs was that of eighty-eight percent of the population. In 1936 it had shrunk to sixty-six percent, and had therefore been 'prejudiced.' The same logic naturally follows in reference to the professed inability of the Arab to compete in terms of modern civilization, an argument not essentially different from that of European Judeo-phobes, wherever the Nazi racial theory has not supravened. It is no new experience for Jews to be barred as immigrants and be ring-fenced in a percentage norm, but it seems far-fetched to believe that the sanction of the Peace Conference was necessary to provide the British Government with the authority so to act.

This whole sapping operation has been accomplished by a series of graduated depredations. Entrusted with complete supervision of the Jewish inheritance, the Bureaucrats were in position to smash it effectively by degrees and still maintain a surface attitude of benevolence. Year by year, under one pretext or another, they managed systematically to curtail Jewish rights under the Mandate and to give that document various reinterpretations, most of which rested on a body of precedent established by themselves. There is scarcely an evasion that was not tried. With great shrewdness the Palestine Government attempted to transform the Jews, in its official reports, from a national entity to a religious body. They questioned the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and pretended a vast ignorance of the meaning of 'Zionist aspirations.' Ormsby-Gore, then Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was even smart enough to retreat into the queer conception formulated by the Hebrew mystic, Achad Ha'am, that Palestine was to be a spiritual center

for the Jewish people and that "the quality and not the quantity of settlers matters."⁵²

Like a master magician turning up cards that shouldn't be there, the British went about the business of proving that black was white. An all-important case revolved around a decision by the Magistrate of Tulkarm, who had acquitted one Sherif Shanti of breaking the Fast of Ramadan on the grounds that the old Turkish law under which the defendant was charged was in opposition to Article XV of the Mandate. In a judgment rendered December 16, 1935, the Court of Appeals at Nablus quashed this decision, laying down *inter alia* "that the Mandate . . . has no juridical value in the courts of the country except so far as its provisions have been expressly incorporated into the Laws of Palestine." This ruling laid the way wide open for the complete destruction of the Mandate itself.

With more than an astute eye to the future, the Jaffa District Court ruled that "a British subject who voluntarily acquired Palestinian citizenship does not thereby lose his British nationality" (June 5, 1934). Until then Britain had wriggled out of acknowledging its alien position in the country by refusing to allow any British Jew to become a citizen of Palestine.

Some of the Mandatory's decisions border on the ludicrous. One solemnly handed down by the Jaffa District Court on May 25, 1928 reversed an ordinance passed by the City Council of Tel Aviv declaring Saturday a legal holiday, as being found contradictory to Article XV of the Mandate "since the Ordinance establishes a sort of discrimination by prohibiting trading on the Sabbath to Jews only."

Until recently, the Government has maintained with fine rectitude that Jewish immigration, keystone to the whole Mandate, must be based on the 'absorptive capacity' of the country, an argument which can hardly be gainsaid, except for the fact that the Mandatory made it dependent on an acute shortage of labor and on a perpetuation of the status quo in industry and agriculture. In practice, this principle, so nice on paper, put the Jews almost in a water-tight box.

Throughout the official reports a stubborn silence is kept on

the positive significance of Jewish immigration. Reading them one would hardly believe that the dynamic and decisive force in Palestine life emanates from the Jewish element — but rather that the small minority Jewish community was an unending source of embarrassment, friction and trouble.

During the entire period of English occupation, not the slightest step was ever taken to popularize the Mandate among the general body of Arabs. The High Commissioner was never known to invite Jews and Arabs to sit at his table at the same time, a move which might have done much to ameliorate bad feeling. And in the numerous Government schools Zionism was treated as an alien and highly unpleasant phenomenon.

Throughout the years the Administration's reply to questions was "the Government's policy is unchanged." But it was evident that when Britain asserted she would stand by the Mandate, she did not mean Zionism, but rather her right to remain in Palestine indefinitely.

Stripped of all disguise, the fundamental English attitude toward the ward entrusted to their care by the Nations was defined by then Colonial Secretary, Cunliffe-Lister, when he assured a Quaker Committee (June 28, 1934) : "I will not permit Palestine to be filled with Jews."

In all this skillfully built design of plot and stratagem the British have had to wind their way through a maze where in one breath it was imperative to hold that the Jews held legal title to Palestine, and in the next, to deny it. This made for a most difficult situation in which anyone less experienced would have bogged down hard ; but the Bureaucrats managed to detour the hard places and obviate the rest by simple contrivances which, while shabby in themselves, are admirable for their sheer artfulness and long-range insight.

The Jews were the British excuse for being in Palestine. They were the only protection against the French who were eager to demand an international control if they could not have it for themselves. How this worked out is shown in London's rejection in 1921 of a demand by the United States Government that concessions of Palestine's natural resources be granted "with-

out distinction of nationality" between the nationals of all States Members of the League, as in the East Africa Mandate. Suavely, London replied that "the suggestion appears to His Majesty's Government to overlook the peculiar conditions existing in Palestine and especially the great difference in the natures of the tasks assumed in that country and undertaken by them in South Africa. . . In order that the policy of establishing in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish people should be successfully carried out, *it is impracticable to guarantee that equal facilities for developing the natural resources of the country should be granted to persons or bodies who may be actuated by other motives.*" This in substance was also the reason given to the French, who were boiling over because their title to the immensely valuable Dead Sea deposits, carried over as an old Turkish concession, had been voided by the Palestine authorities.

The Jews were equally useful as an instrument for rejecting the demands of the Arabs themselves for self-rule, at a time when Britain felt that it meant their consolidation with Syria under French influence. With impeccable probity London then found that "it was impossible to recognize the granting of unqualified autonomy to the present population of Palestine, since such an autonomy would imply the right to dispose of the country by legislative and administrative measures even against the obligations assumed by the Mandatory," which it asserted are not to "the present population of Palestine" but to "the much larger population whose connection with Palestine has been internationally recognized."

There was also the fact that in order to get its fingers on Palestine at all, Britain had acknowledged itself as merely a temporary agent for the League of Nations. In the earlier days while the League still had some untested strength, it did not hesitate to uphold its own authority, and here England was compelled to use the Jews again as a catspaw. The absolute control of the Permanent Mandates Commission over mandated territories was upheld at Geneva on September 27, 1926, after Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, had brought the matter to issue as to whether the Commission had actual

jurisdiction or merely the right to criticize and lay down generalities of policy.

The Mandates Commission did not hesitate at various times to lock horns with the British Government in no uncertain terms. Had Zionist leaders themselves played anything but an acquiescent role, it is quite certain that the League would have supported them and forced the English into a most difficult position. "If the matter were looked at impartially from the point of view of the Mandate as it stood," observed the Commission in 1930, "the Government's method of encouraging immigration had been to limit it . . . [and] that the result would be as negative if an inquiry were made as to the State lands and waste lands on which the settlement of Jews had been encouraged. . . The special situation," it continued drily, "granted by the Mandate to the Jewish element in Palestine appeared to have escaped the notice of the Administration." In extraordinary session in June of that year the Commission bluntly advised "all the sections of the population [in Palestine] which are rebelling against the Mandate, whether they object to it on principle or wish to retain only those of its provisions which favor their particular cause, that the Mandatory Power must obviously turn a definite and categorical refusal. As long as the leaders of a community persist in repudiating what is at once the fundamental charter of the country, and, as far as the Mandatory Power is concerned, an international obligation, which it is not free to set aside, the negotiations would only unduly enhance their prestige and raise dangerous hopes among their partisans. . ." ⁵³

On the face of it the proposition was a well-nigh impossible one, making it necessary for London to attempt the miracle of standing simultaneously on two sides of the one fence. The Zionists had to be smashed at the same time that Britain was posing as their guide and benefactor. They had, moreover, to be kept placated and quiescent. Experience with the Irish taught England's rulers the folly of an active struggle with a determined, world-scattered people. If the Irish were now to be joined by the Jews in a joint last-ditch fight against the Empire, the Sinn Fein would assume grave proportions. Here was

an intricate set of problems, most of which impinged on what attitude the Zionist hierarchy itself would take.

Jewish spokesmen, lost in this welter of intrigue, inexperienced, inexpert and totally unable to distinguish between sincerity and clever dissembling, did not prove too troublesome. They appealed to the facts, which they marshaled systematically, to fundamental law and to justice. Their arguments were presented in the circumspect language of a barrister drawing up a brief on some learned obscurity of law and were presented without fanfare. Though the whole fundamental framework of their enterprise was plainly crumbling before their eyes, they continued to issue reassuring statements to their following. They claimed with reverse pugnacity that "the Government wants to be loyal to its duties"; and were as outraged "over the speculation that the Government is making an effort to encourage the antagonism between Arabs and Jews" as if they were employed in Downing Street. Dr. Weizmann retreated gracefully to keep pace with the wishes of Whitehall in a series of amazing shifts. At one moment he concedes that "everything that is going on in Palestine today is on the pattern of that which is going on in Egypt. . . The same formulae are being applied. In Palestine, I admit we are . . . a convenient pretext."⁵⁴ At another moment he would warn his fellow-Zionists against submitting sharp memoranda to the Government as "England also has to deal with the Moslem world in India and Egypt."⁵⁵ In a lecture before the Royal Central Asian Society in May 1936 he discovers that "if the land were properly developed, there is room in Palestine for another hundred thousand Arab families and another sixty thousand Jewish families," a clear proposal for a perpetual Jewish minority status. Soon after he is heard in defense of the dismemberment plan proposed by Lord Peel, inveighing against those Jews who opposed it by calling them "enemies of the Jewish State." The attitude of the Zionists was in fact, the most unexpected windfall the Bureaucrats had experienced in a generation. Only in Palestine itself, where doughty old Mayor Dizengoff of Tel Aviv charged the British with "play-

ing a diabolical game" did the Jews make any effort to face political realities.

Until 1936 Whitehall had held tenaciously to the principle of 'absorptive capacity.' It now realized that even this contention, despite every topsy-turvy interpretation of normal economics, would see them the loser in the long run. In a complete about-face from all previously held theses, the Bureaucrats now admitted that "if the matter be reduced to statistical or economic terms . . . the Zionists have the better of the argument, and when the Arabs choose to indulge in figures, they use their weakest argument. . . The Palestine problem is not one of statistics : something far more fundamental is involved." ⁵⁶

Just what that 'something more fundamental' might be was soon disclosed officially by Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore, addressing Commons on July 2, 1936. Leveling his shafts directly at Jewish nationalists, he acknowledged darkly his awareness of the "character of Zionist propaganda," booming that the British Government accepted the Palestine Mandate *without subscribing to any declaration that the country belongs to either Jews or Arabs, but that it is a British Mandated territory*. The Government, he warned, did not intend countenancing any action "inconsistent with the Mandate" and this interpretation of it.

The British had been nineteen years working up to this denouement, but at last the cat was out of the bag. The Zionism of Herzl and Balfour was now an "action inconsistent with the Mandate" for Palestine. All that was left in the Bureaucratic mind of the Balfour Declaration was now "the Jewish problem in Palestine," and that is the way they expressed it.

CHAPTER IV

WELCOME HOME!

THE JEW TRIES TO ENTER PALESTINE

Article VI of the Mandate makes it obligatory upon the Administration of Palestine to "facilitate Jewish immigration." The British made a convincing start on this by making the Immigration Department a part of the Department of Police and Prisons. It has been shifted around like an unwelcome cat which refuses to stay lost. Once it was hidden in the Department for Travel. At another time it had been shunted over to the Permit Section of the Secretariat.

The Immigration Department is more of a Secret Service Department than anything else. Its principal function seems to be that of preventing Jews from entering the country in any numbers. The attitude toward the Hebrew migrants was pegged by Duff, who wrote that "we had to be seemingly harsh and unfriendly towards them; it did not pay for one's seniors to think that one had any undue sympathy for the returning Jews. . ." ¹ A decade later another Englishman, Josiah Wedgwood, recounted the same story of ugly animus, to Commons. "Why," he asked bitterly, "is this done by Englishmen . . . against all the traditions of our race? If the Jews trying to go to Palestine were English, the situation could not endure for a minute. Conceive the outcry! But they are Jews, not English — they are not in the family; they are not entitled to be treated as though they were Aryans or Christians."

Under the regulations, only capitalists may enter Palestine freely. Originally, a 'capitalist' was a man with £500 in cash. After 1930 the required amount was raised to £1000. Skilled artisans possessing £500 or more may also enter, theoretically; but in practice this provision is a dead letter. All others require specially issued immigration certificates, which are doled out with much quibbling in paltry numbers. The truth was

that while huge sums were being dumped into the Jewish Homeland, Jews were being kept out of it with all the customary rigor of anti-Semitic formula. Some idea of the situation can be gained from Senator Austin's estimate that "measured on a per capita basis, each of the two hundred and fifty thousand Jewish immigrants [man, woman and child] who entered Palestine since the establishment of the Mandate, carried into the country \$1800." ²

The distorting political and economic minority life which had stratified the Jews into a class of petty capitalists and traders, found itself dishearteningly duplicated in Palestine. With feverish energy and determination the newcomers applied their money and experience, hoping to create opportunities for their poverty-stricken brothers in Europe to join them in building the new nation. Factories and enterprises of all kinds were started. The result was a critical scarcity of labor in which the entire economy of the country went lunatic. Workers were drained out of the farms to take the more lucrative positions in the cities. In the towns the same process repeated itself in favor of the 'boom trades' which could afford to pay wages far out of line with those of normal occupations. Employer competed desperately with employer for the available labor supply. Industries had to curtail their activities, factories shut down altogether. Palestine skyrocketed along on the most insane economy modern industry has ever seen.

The condition is partially glimpsed in a semi-official report of August 27, 1934, admitting that the entire Palestine export trade was at a standstill due to a shortage of labor. Two-thirds of the workers on Jewish land, says the Report, are now Arabs, "and those Jews remaining will soon be displaced due to labor scarcity." The problem became so acute that populations of whole districts, including school children, had to be mobilized to keep crops from rotting in the fields. While anxious Jews were being turned away at the docks of Jaffa and Haifa, the Nesher Cement Works, engaged in a £150,000 expansion in Haifa, announced November 16, 1933 that it was unable to proceed due to "acute scarcity of labor." In Tel Aviv £1,000,000 worth of

building had to be held up for the same reason. The story repeated itself everywhere.

At the identical time that it was beguiling world Jewry with the fiction that all was well in the National Home, the Executive of the Jewish Agency, irritated over the small grant of labor certificates, formally accused the Mandatory in a private memorandum of deliberately sabotaging the Home, finding it "impossible to reconcile this restriction of immigration with the declared policy of the Mandatory Power that immigration will be regulated in accordance with the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine."

The British had their authority in London where Sir William Beveridge³ had found after careful study that the irreducible minimum of unemployment was between six and eight percent. In Palestine the incurable nomadism of the Arab population would further increase this figure. But the Administration, nevertheless, religiously adhered to the almost impossible formula that physical proof had to be given of the permanent employment of every person in the country, plus an established job for the new immigrant, before he could be admitted.

The demand for labor was so urgent as to overpower even this evasion, forcing additional subterfuge on the Authorities. An instance is the demand of the Jewish Agency for 24,000 certificates to cover the period from October to March 1933-34. In their petition they appended the result of a painstaking survey, showing, in detail, jobs awaiting each of the new arrivals. As usual, without explanation, the Government agreed to allow only 5500 certificates, of which 2000 were summarily deducted as having "been used in advance." With other deductions following on one plausible excuse or another, all that was left was the usual face-saving handful. Far from manfully refusing this beggarly schedule, on the date this announcement was made Weizmann was capitalizing on the German excitement to raise funds for the "Zionist-German relief drive" of which he was head, and issuing a program full of high-sounding generalizations including "co-operation with the Mandatory Power . . . and the establishing of peace and understanding with the Arabs."⁴

As the 'absorptive capacity' of the country increased so tremendously under the stimulus of Jewish investment that any effort to deny it became ludicrous, the Government produced still other cards out of its sleeve. It announced in 1936 that seventy percent of the thirteen hundred immigration certificates available for the following six months were ear-marked for bachelors, ten percent for maidens, and twenty percent for men with families ; thus cutting down immigration without appearing to do so. Another able device was the refusal to allow the wives and families of employed residents to enter without the precious labor visas, though in many cases they were an actual charge on these same residents, who sent money abroad to maintain them.⁵ Such an obvious attempt was made to restrict the entry of women that the Jewish Agency flatly accused the Government in November 1934 of a mischievous and willful attempt "directed against any considerable development of the immigration of women into Palestine."

Many of the Administration's reasons for refusing entry permits would do credit to Herr Hitler, as witness the refusal to grant a visa to a refugee Russian rabbi on the excuse that "there were enough rabbis already in Palestine." Some of the regulations designed to restrict Jewish immigration are classic. One of these edicts, promulgated November 14, 1933, allowed only 250 immigrants "to enter Palestine from any one vessel." Its effectiveness rested on the fact that few of the ships touching Palestine ports could make a payload out of such a small number of travelers, forcing the cancellation of sailings.

Perhaps the outstanding example of official artifice was the schedule announced for the period between October 1, 1935 and March 31, 1936. 4350 visas were granted, over which the Jewish world press made the usual congratulatory ballyhoo. What was not mentioned were the following deductions made from this schedule in advance : 1000 certificates 'advanced' during the previous six-month period ; 250 reserved by the Government (for non-Jews) ; 1200 taken off to cover 'illegal' immigrants who could not be apprehended ; ⁶ and 1900 for dependents of employed residents (who in any other country would have

entered as a matter of course). If these deductions are added up they are found to equal exactly the number of certificates granted; so that the Administration was only perpetrating a crude joke on the Zionists and in effect *issuing no certificates at all*.

In the face of this ruinous procedure the Zionist spokesmen periodically issued reassuring statements to their followers, gloating over the increasing numbers of Jews entering the Homeland. They listed impressive figures to bolster their publicity.

Actually, something like 12,000 certificates was the greatest number ever allowed for workingmen in one year; and from this pitiful number the most unconscionable deductions were made on one excuse or another. An example of how the Zionist publicity bureau treated the matter is given in its handling of the entry figures for 1933, which according to official statements, came to 64,110. Stimulated from this source the world Jewish press headlined: "*64,110 Jews Entered Zion During 1933*," giving the impression that there had been that many immigrants. An analysis shows that the balance of recorded arrivals over departures during this period was 38,656 Jews, including 10,236 residents returning to the country after visits abroad and 27,862 actual immigrants. Of these, 'persons living on income,' minors, dependents, etc., totaled 15,653; and *working people* constituted a mere 2434 men and 568 women. Juggled around in the official figures somewhere, were 26,002 tourists who came to enjoy the sights, and non-permanents of other kinds. Of the 61,743 Jews who came to remain in the peak year of 1935, only 14,653 belonged to the working class group.

It is perfectly obvious that capitalist immigration will not serve the purposes for which Zionism was originated. It cannot relieve the centers of pressure in the pogrom areas of Europe where Jews are now in a state of starvation and panic. It can only serve to build Palestine ultimately into an Arab country. What Zionist leaders avoided mentioning, Adolph Hitler sarcastically called attention to, saying, "It is very kind of England to declare that she is ready to receive the Jews with open arms —

but why should she make the admission of the Jews dependent upon £1000?"⁷ Even neighboring Syria, seeing a fruitful source of capital, announced that it too would welcome capitalist Jews, without the necessity of any Balfour Declaration imprinted by the Powers.⁸

Everything in this business is made subject to cash. Even the boasted Hadassah *aliyahs*, by which a few hundred Jewish children were brought in from Germany, were made conditional on a substantial money deposit, much as would be charged if the children had entered a boarding school. The Department of Immigration is a paying business, showing in a typical year a net income of £333,200 against an expenditure of £209,100.

Not nearly so docile as the Zionist hierarchy, Palestine Jews have often made their resentment as plain as men living under a knout are able to. Irked to fury, they went out on general strike in May 1930, a matter which the Administration handled expeditiously, as it invariably does when it has only Jews to deal with.

In 1937 the Palestine press reported that an amendment to the immigration laws was in contemplation, jacking up capital requirements of prospective immigrants to £2000. This would eliminate 56% of those who had previously entered under this category. The time given a capitalist immigrant to liquidate his affairs in the home country had previously been one year. It is planned to reduce this to three months, obviously placing him under such duress as to considerably reduce his enthusiasm for emigrating.

The new stand taken by the Administration was indicated by Immigration Director Eric Mills, who informed the Peel Commission on November 18, 1936 that "immigration into the Holy Land involves political as well as economic issues." Just what these 'political issues' are may be learned from the astonished comments of Farago. Ignoring his statement that he was a Hungarian, port officials had demanded to know whether he was a Mohammedan, Christian or Jew. Long before, Colonel Wedgwood had also noted that "the first question an immigrant

is asked by the immigration inspectors in Palestine is, 'Are you a Jew ?' " This is much as if one were asked anywhere else, "Were you ever convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude ?"

TOURISTS

The Holy Land is perhaps the most magnetic spot on earth for sightseers, a circumstance which is probably its greatest single asset. It seems natural to suppose that tourists would be encouraged in every possible fashion and that every inducement would be offered to cause them to remain as long as possible. A large share of the national income of many states depends on just this source ; and countries such as France and Italy embark on extensive advertising campaigns in the foreign press to attract this desirable army of visitors.

The tourist is at once bewildered to find that exactly the contrary view is held in Palestine, where every possible obstacle is placed in his path. He is required to make a large cash deposit and it must be certified on his visa that he has purchased in advance a first-class return ticket to his point of embarkation. He is forced to pay \$10 for the little consular stamp, as compared with 35¢ in Egypt and 33¢ in France. Before he is allowed to land he is subjected to a cross-examination almost vicious in its import, and must file his living addresses with the authorities as if he were a paroled convict.

On paper, every tourist visiting Palestine must put up an advance deposit of £60, which is apparently his guarantee that he will not try to outwear his welcome. Actually, these strictures apply only to Jews. A consular officer who has just refused a visa to John Doe because he took him for a Jew, will grant the same request with profuse apologies as soon as Mr. Doe qualifies as a gentile. This was ineptly admitted by young Malcolm MacDonald, then new Colonial Secretary, under questioning in Commons on July 9, 1935.

Its actual workings are illustrated in the violent protest of Warsaw Jewry on March 20, 1934 because the English Consul

issued visas to all Polish Christians bound for the Holy Land, and at the same time refused permits to Jewish tourists even though the required £60 was deposited. Going beyond its own written measures, the Government often refuses admission to whole parties of tourists, even though their papers are strictly in order and they have made the required deposit. Instances are plentiful. On March 5, 1933, sixty such visitors were refused admission without explanation and were not permitted to leave their steamer. A few days earlier, a group of twenty-three sight-seers from Poland, all holding proper visas obtained from the British Consulate in Istanbul, were unceremoniously dumped into the Haifa lockup where they were badly treated. The Government had invented a new theory in this particular instance, alleging that they should have obtained their Palestine visas in Warsaw and not in Istanbul. In another case an Egyptian sea captain had his ship impounded and was sentenced together with each member of his crew to five months at hard labor for the crime of carrying a shipload of visitors to Palestine. The Authorities with remarkable clairvoyance insisted that the latter intended to overstay their leave, and unbelievable as it may appear, rested their case entirely on this psychic assertion.

Not altogether satisfied with results, the Administration attempted to put through a prohibitive tax on tourists in 1933, only frustrated by the indignant threat of Palestine Jewry to carry the whole business to the attention of Christian churches in every country. The Government now plans a drastic increase in the required tourist deposit; and has, since the middle of October 1936, enforced a complete ban on the general run of Jewish tourists, making exceptions only for those whose outraged squawk might draw attention to what is going on.

Even visitors of unimpeachable standing are refused permission to overstay their leave. A useful example is provided by the case of Weizmann who, though President of the Jewish Agency, was according to reports, picked up in Haifa for this reason in 1936.

The natural result of this determined persecution is that even

Egyptian Jews who have always, since Turkish times, spent their annual vacations in Palestine, now flock to the Syrian Lebanon instead.

It is worth noting that before the arrival of the British 'liberators,' Turkish law allowed Jews to come as pilgrims without restriction. When in 1887 Turkey, alarmed by the boasts of the Russian Consul that he "had more 'subjects' in Jerusalem than those of all the other consuls combined," attempted to limit the stay of foreign Jews in Palestine to a short period, the British Government led the procession of States whose vigorous denunciation of these regulations caused them to be abrogated in short order.

HUNTING DOWN ILLEGALS

A highly placed official once informed Horace Samuel, with evident relish, that "Jew-baiting was the sport of kings." To more or less degree, this remark is representative of the tone of His Majesty's Service in Palestine. Any hope that the pitiful plight of the fleeing, friendless Jews of Europe would excite compassion in the hearts of these men, evaporated rapidly. To officialdom these unfortunates instead assumed a nuisance value, and the old calloused attitude toward them hardened to icy hate.

It is true that these homeless creatures, hounded from border to border and rigidly kept out of their National Home, did attempt to enter in any way possible. Lacking the £1000 required to buy their way in, they often sneaked their way through without benefit of British sanction. Desperate men attempted to swim ashore from far outlying ships under cover of night. Some came nailed up in boxes of merchandise on the backs of camels, enduring indescribable suffering. Delicately raised girls braved the trip through the desert wastes, placing themselves at the mercy of savage Bedouins in an effort to cross unnoticed at some wild place. They came from everywhere, a horde of stranded, terrified Jews who arrived by steamer, by canoe and on foot. Most of them were young people in their teens or early twenties, desperate, hopeless creatures who were taking

their last gamble in life. Many were drowned, died of starvation, or were murdered on the way by the very Bedouins they hired to transport them.

The most heart-rending events took place daily. One such story is of five hundred Russian Jews who escaped from the Soviets to go to Palestine on foot via Baghdad and Persia. Many were arrested on the various borders. One hundred and fifty died enroute of incalculable hardships. Altogether five finally arrived in Palestine, where they were promptly thrown into jail at Acre. Another typical case held the fate of 318 young German and East European refugees, all under 25, who were marooned on the British steamer *Velos* in 1934. The Palestine authorities refused to admit them ; as did every port at which the vessel touched. Their meager funds exhausted, they were locked below hatches like so much contraband, which could neither be unloaded nor destroyed. Finally, after ceaseless wandering from port to port, these luckless outcasts were given temporary asylum by Poland.

Just how a Jew under the Mandate could be in Palestine 'illegally' has never been explained. If the beneficiaries of that document are not the entire Jewish people, whose immigration to the Holy Land is to be facilitated by every means possible, then the Mandate has no reason for existence. Ormsby-Gore admitted as much in 1925 when he informed the Permanent Mandates Commission that they "should remember that it is after all the Balfour Declaration which was the reason why the British Government is now administering Palestine." However, the memory of the King's spokesmen was conveniently suited to what their appetites seemed to demand. So the British gradually developed the peculiar thesis that Jews, under a Mandate directly formulated to facilitate their return to Palestine, could be there illegally.

Coincident with the advent of Hitler the business assumed the proportions of an out and out Jew-hunt. In a nice piece of collusion between the Colonial Secretary, Sir Phillip Cunliffe-Lister, and an M. P. named MacDonald, the Government 'admitted' that 'illegal' Jewish immigration existed but stated in

assurance that "practical steps would be taken to deal with the matter." The very next day Cunliffe-Lister announced stringent measures to prevent 'illegal' Jewish immigration into Palestine. The system of tourist deposits was instituted. Holders of Nansen passports, that pitiful army of *staatenlos* men, were not in future to be granted even tourist visas. An air-tight frontier control in collaboration with the agreeable French authorities in Syria was to be put in effect. On the subject of illegal Arab immigration the announcement was expressively silent.

Showing the extent of its preorganization, the campaign at once assumed the proportions of a large-scale pursuit of Jews over the length and breadth of Palestine. Ironically paid for out of Jewish tax moneys, a dragnet of airplane and motor boat patrols were detailed along the borders; while British and Arab constables, assisted by organized groups of fellaheen, enjoyed themselves in scouring the coast-wise territory. At Beirut and other Syrian cities British and Arab police questioned motorbus drivers, asking if Jews were among the passengers; carefully examining the passports of all suspected of being Jews, while others were as scrupulously ignored.

The pursuit of 'illegal' Jews was on in earnest, one of the great witch-hunts of modern times. Jews were picked up like dangerous animals everywhere and hauled to police stations. Weeping Jewish women were thrown into cells together with prostitutes, subjected to the obscene taunts of Arab jailers. The situation is made pitifully clear in the case of thirty-two young girls, arrested while out on a hike near Tiberias because an Arab boy denounced them. Thrown into the overcrowded jail at Bethlehem, they were kept on bread and water and refused bail. The Police candidly explained to indignant inquirers that "if they were released on bail, they may marry Palestine citizens and obtain the right to stay."⁹ On the same date three other girls were arrested on the streets of Haifa, jailed, and finally deported on an Italian steamer. Italian authorities would not let them land so they were shipped back and forth between Palestine and Italy until finally Jerusalem agreed.

as an act of international courtesy, to take them off the ship-captain's hands. Says the announcement : "They are now imprisoned in the Bethlehem jail."

Jews were expelled for any trivial reason the anti-Semitic mentality could improvise. Men were torn from their jobs and businesses and thrown like common offenders into the prison at Acre, a dank, forbidding structure ranking in terror with the famous French Bastille, where they were regularly beaten by Arab overseers. The attitude is shown in the case of one Isshak Kupetz, a respectable working man who was sentenced to the Central Prison in Jerusalem and escaped. Immediately an intensive police search was begun, and rewards prominently posted for "the escaped convict." Since no nation wanted them, a great number of these tragic sufferers were held long after their sentences had expired ; the Government not hesitating to vent its exasperation on their heads.

Hunting 'illegal' Jews became a major game, with illegal Arab newcomers enlisting gleefully in the chase. Savage Bedouins joined in under promise of a reward for any Jewish man, woman or child they could catch. Palestine was under a virtual reign of terror. Anyone who could not immediately prove his citizenship, or produce his or her certificate of entry, was tracked down, jailed and brutally beaten. The lives of these people became a daily horror. They became gravely endangered by falling ill. They did not dare travel. For years they have had to live without their wives and children and under constant fear of being discovered. The utterly savage attitude toward these people can hardly be grasped by a civilized mind. A characteristic case is that of the family Israel Ezra, tourists who overstayed their three months' leave. Ezra and his wife were sentenced to prison and fine, and in addition it was ordered that their twelve-year-old son be publicly flogged.¹⁰

Bad as existing regulations were, the inhuman meticulousness with which they were interpreted made them infinitely worse. A fair example is the case of a woman and six small children, who had arrived legally with the proper passport and visa, from Turkestan. On the way her husband had been killed at a rail-

way station. The whole family was arrested on the ground that the passport provided not for a woman and six children, *but for a man, a woman and six children*. On this pretext the woman and her children were ordered to prison.

The heat had grown so scorching that it was beginning to drive even the patient Jews mad. Nationalist groups rioted in protest. Serious clashes took place when Arab gangs invaded the Jewish colonies themselves in search of victims. After some of these invaders had been beaten within an inch of their lives, the use of civilian Arab bloodhounds was discontinued.

While all this was going on, the Jewish Agency, which had been to such pains to create a world-wide impression that "new Jewish arrivals were being eagerly welcomed," put out a timid protest. It verbosely pointed out that all this was a clear departure from the MacDonald Letter, which expressly guaranteed that no immigrants "with prospects of employment" would be excluded. The High Commissioner "took the matter under advisement" and immediately buried the 'protest' along with some ash-barrels of others, in the Jerusalem files. At almost the identical moment, he announced the appointment of a Commission under Sir William Murison to *investigate the police* for alleged severity in maintaining order during some Arab riots of a few weeks previous.

THE ARAB COMES IN LIKE A GENTLEMAN

Lured by stark evidence of labor scarcity and big pay, peoples from all surrounding states began to drift into Palestine. Though a huge corps of coast and frontier guards kept vigilant watch to prevent the entry of 'illegal' Jews, Arabs from anywhere entered without even the gesture of passport investigation. The Report of the Peel Commission admits frankly that the inhabitants of Syria and Transjordan "are free to enter the corresponding districts in Palestine without special formality." It is, in fact, by disguising themselves as Arabs that most 'illegal' Jewish immigration is accomplished. If they are lucky they will succeed in walking in boldly without challenge. A news

item of July 4, 1934 gives the circumstance more lucidly than pages of reference. It reads: "Five Jewish women coming overland from Damascus, attired in the traditional costumes of Moslem women, including the black veils, were apprehended at the border when police saw through their disguises. *They could not answer questions put to them in Arabic.*"

Not only is immigration from Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Yemen and other surrounding places unrestricted, but Jews from these same countries are as determinedly barred as their brothers from Poland or the Baltic. Casual examples of this condition are the deportation of Jews who fled from the Mosul district of Iraq because of religious persecution; and the demand of the Palestine Government on May 16, 1935 that Syrian Jews be given a special distinguishing passport when proceeding to countries on the Palestine border, a sort of Near Eastern 'yellow ticket,' reminiscent of Czarist Russia.

Though the Government solemnly estimates in 1937 a total Moslem increase by immigration of only 22,535 since the time of the British occupation,¹¹ evidence of a vast influx of desert tribesmen is obvious everywhere. As early as 1926, Colonial Secretary Amery cautiously conceded that despite the growth of the Jewish element "the increase of the Arabs is actually greater than that of the Jews."¹² Figures presented before the Peel Commission in 1937 showed the Arab population to have more than doubled itself in fourteen years. This admitted gain in half a generation must either be attributed to outside immigration or to the most astonishing philo-progenitiveness in medical history.

Forgotten in its archives, the Government itself acknowledged in 1922 the immigration of whole tribes "from the Hejaz and southern Transjordan into the Beersheba area," a fact which in itself must make its estimates of Arab immigration far-fetched.¹³ Other approximate figures are available from scattered but credible sources. One of these is the statement of the French Governor of the Hauran in Syria, that from his district alone, in the summer of 1933, thirty-five thousand people had left for Palestine as a consequence of bad crops.¹⁴

Whole villages in the Hauran have been emptied of their people, who are drifting into Palestine. Count De Martel, French High Commissioner for Syria, asserted in the summer of 1934 that even Arab merchants were moving from Damascus to Palestine because of the prosperity there; and in 1936 the head of the Moslem Youth Association at Beirut, Jamil Bek Basham, wrote that "there is a penetration into Palestine of an army of Syrian laborers."¹⁵

It is of course difficult to attain any adequate idea of the extent of this flood of non-Jewish immigration since officially it does not exist. In the absence of accurate canvass its size must be pieced together and surmised. Such calculations as are available show an Arab immigration for the single year 1933 of at least sixty-four thousand souls. Added to the acknowledged Hauranese infiltration are some two thousand who arrived from Damascus alone. *Mokattam*, leading Cairo daily, announced that ten thousand Druses had gone to the Holy Land; and according to *Al Jamia Al Islamia*, Arab newspaper of Jaffa, seventeen thousand Egyptians had come from Sinai Peninsula alone.

To these must be added considerable groups of Numidians and even Abyssinians, and a vast uncounted army from Transjordan about whose movement into Palestine not the slightest pretense of legality is maintained. The figures on this latter group must be very high, since economic conditions west of Jordan have been literally frightful, with scanty harvests over several successive years. In view of the fact that many thousands of these Transjordanian nomads may be met any place in Palestine, the Government reports themselves are amusing. In his statement to the League of Nations for 1936 the High Commissioner estimates that the total of persons arriving as immigrants from Transjordan during the entire year was three, of whom only one was an Arab (the two others presumably being Englishmen).¹⁶ Not eight months later we find the same Government openly repatriating thousands of Transjordanians because the slump which followed after the riots left them without jobs.

Farago, puzzled by these contradictions, calls attention to the fact that "one always finds in Palestine, Arabs who have been in the country only a few years or a few months. . . Since they are themselves strangers in a strange land, they are the loudest in the cry : 'Out with the Jews.' " ¹⁷

Exasperated by the Government's lack of good faith, which was illicitly converting the Holy Land into an Arab country, groups of courageous Jewish youths volunteered in 1934 to point out what apparently the Authorities were unable to see. Fourteen hundred of these illegals were quickly shown to be working at Petach Tikvah ; and 1200 in Haifa on road and house construction alone. Their probable numbers could be gathered from a test count of 357 Arab laborers in the buildings material industry, which showed 273 to be Hauranis illegally in the country. A check of Arabs employed in Palestine ports on December 23, 1936 showed that only 50 of the 750 workers were Palestinians. The remainder included 200 Egyptians and 500 Hauranis.¹⁸ Whole hordes of these people were demonstrated to be in the employ of the Government itself.

Without deigning to make a reply, the Administration pointedly told the Jews to mind their own business. When Jews picketed Jewish employers of this alien labor, the Government bared its teeth and sentenced the demonstrators to six months at hard labor for their pains. Undeterred, Jews again picketed a Haifa theater being erected by a contractor named Borovsky where illegal Hauranis were employed.¹⁹ Immediately the Authorities arrested fifty-three Jews and sentenced them to prison terms. That pretty well discouraged any further attempt to point out illegal Arab immigration.

Once in a while, for purposes of the High Commissioner's report to the League, a few Arabs are apprehended for being in the country without permission. Though bail, even in large amounts, is refused Jews held for the identical offense, Arabs are let go for £10. Considering this trifling sum a sort of premium for high wages earned, they invariably skip bail.

On one excuse or another every effort has been made to legalize non-Jewish immigration. The Administration had sent

up a number of trial balloons in this direction. Their first feeler was made on December 18, 1934, when unexpectedly they granted 150 labor immigration certificates to Arabs from Syria and Egypt. Another was the admission in 1936 of 214 German 'Aryans' who wanted to settle permanently in Palestine in order to "take advantage of the boom in that country." Highlighting this picture with all the potency of a floodlight was the Administration's attempt to grant a huge tract of land under homesteading rights to distressed Armenians, then in Syria. This was at the same time that Hope-Simpson was showing 'conclusively' that Palestine was suffering from 'overcrowding.'

BRITAIN PUTS ON THE HEAT

London's animosity for Jews can be discerned in every part of the Near East. Wherever Britain is influential she has drawn a fibrous cordon of anti-Zionist arrangements, edicts and influences. Where power lies in English hands the operation is direct, as in Cyprus. Elsewhere, a discreet hint to friendly States accomplishes the same result.

In Syria, one has only to gaze at the startling regulation issued in Beirut, refusing Jews proceeding to Oriental countries the right to make a stopover, a concession to the English allegation that many tourists stopped over in Syria with a view to slipping across the Palestine border at a subsequent date. On this ground, in the first week of February 1933, fifty-one men and nineteen women tourists were not even permitted to land in Beirut and were tartly told to disembark at countries not adjacent to Palestine. In the Spring of 1934, Syria, then in a desperate financial and economic condition, was anxious for an influx of Jews. This plan, backed by the Syrians themselves, was frustrated by direct British protest to Paris. Following these representations Syria obliged by announcing on May 3, 1934 that Jews might be allowed to buy land anywhere except along the Palestine border.

Pressure of the British legation at Athens, arguing that illegal immigrants were being smuggled into the Holy Land by way

of Greece, produced the edict of November 30, 1934, forbidding all foreign Jews henceforth to enter Greece except by special permission from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Greek Consulates were instructed to inquire by cable of the Foreign Office in Athens whenever a Jew applied for a Greek visa. Foreign Jews passing through Greece, *suspected* of wishing to visit Palestine, would not be permitted to pass the Greek frontier except with the stamped permission of the Palestine Government. The order established a virtual espionage system on Jewish visitors, affecting Jews of all nations regardless of citizenship.

Iraq, British dependency and protégé among the nations, was also quick to respond. Zionist activity of any kind was made a crime punishable by imprisonment, as in Soviet Russia. A wholesale ban on all Jewish newspapers and books entering the country was instituted. Following the lead of Palestine officials, Iraq postal authorities ordered the exclusion of the pamphlet *Hitler Terror* issued by the Board of Deputies of British Jews, as well as other anti-Nazi material; while such 'literature' as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was allowed a free sale.

Afghanistan, under British Foreign Office influence, moved against the Jews viciously. The present ruler, Nadir Khan, was financed and armed by Great Britain to overthrow the former pro-Russian king. Like Egypt and Iraq, the country is now ruled by British 'advisers,' as a practical appendage to the Indian Government. One of the first acts of the new Administration was to move against the Jews, who had all passports withdrawn. On a few moments' notice, in January of 1934, two thousand Jews were expelled from the border towns of Mazar, Ankhoi and Maimane, and thrown homeless in the desert. In May 1935 these persecutions were heightened by regulations compelling Jews to wear special clothes with red flags across their breasts and a rope around their hips. They were forbidden to shave or to ride in the streets. Jewish women must not appear in public markets and, like common harlots, must not wear stockings. In 1938 Jews were forbidden to engage in any business activities, the only occupation left open to them being that of bootblacks.

Persia, too, becoming practically a British protectorate, inexplicably put its nose into extra-territorial affairs by prohibiting the emigration of Jews to Palestine.²⁰ Jews were forced to wear a distinguishing badge. No Jew was allowed to walk in the open street in front of a Moslem, or to talk aloud to him, build a fine house or whitewash its rooms. He could not leave town, grow a beard or ride on horseback. The law stipulated that "Jews shall not be permitted to consume good fruit." It is certainly at least coincidental that when the present ruler, Riza Khan, denounced the treaty under which Persia was run by British advisers and army officers under English tariff control and financing, he abolished most of the more ridiculous anti-Semitic rulings.

Yemen, too, at the south end of the Arabian peninsula, prohibited the emigration of Jews to Palestine at a time when London could have broken its back by withdrawing its financial support. Jews attempting to leave for Palestine are brought back and executed. After an economic rapprochement with Britain, the Turks also made Zionist organizations illegal, in October 1934, going to the point of raiding Jewish homes all over the country in their efforts to stamp the movement out.

The attitude may again be seen in Egypt where an Arab daily paper appears called the *Mokattam*, known as the voice of the British Embassy. No other publication in Egypt attacks Zionism with such unrestrained violence. Though the country is completely dependent upon Britain for both defense and finance, it has lately become a center of anti-Zionist conspiracy and agitation, and during 1938 played host to an international Arabic conference, convened at Cairo, to fight Zionism. No one doubts that had these activities been directed against any friendly nation, or against such British dependencies as Iraq or Transjordan, they would have been swiftly outlawed.

A confirming view is given in Aden, owned by England outright, without bother of pretense. In June 1932, after mob attacks, the British slapped a blanket censorship on the news, even withholding cables of news services. Following the disturbances, the Aden Jews sought to emigrate to Palestine *en masse*.

Many were arrested, and many more deported to Hodeida, an Arab pogrom center then raging in a bath of Jewish blood. When the fanatical Wahibis swept into Yemen in 1934, Jews fled to Aden begging permission to be allowed to proceed to the Jewish Homeland. The Authorities instead issued an order prohibiting Jews from entering Aden altogether. Even those lucky Israelites with visas to Palestine, compelled by the only existing travel routes to pass through the Colony, are refused transitory entrance and returned to the waiting Jew-baiters at home.

Lying off the coast of Palestine, so that its outline is faintly visible on a clear day, is another English piece of property, the Island of Cyprus. Cyprus had been taken by Disraeli for the Empire because of its "propinquity to Palestine," a rare evidence of the great statesman's sentimentality. A number of Jews, unable to get into Palestine, settled here. The natives were delighted at the prospect of having someone to whom they could sell their almost valueless land at a good price. The average amount paid was £8 per acre — about a thirtieth of the price demanded in Palestine for similar land. Noting this, enterprising Cypriots filled the Palestine press with advertisements offering every kind of attractive acreage for sale cheap. Soon Jews held almost seven thousand acres in Cyprus, planting it mostly in citrus. The Island started to boom, and the stream of Jewish immigration began to swell.

Soon after, the Colonial Office sent down General Storrs (who had had some experience with similar problems in Palestine) to rule the Island. Acting expeditiously, Storrs issued an edict on December 13, 1934 announcing that in future no more foreigners could buy land in Cyprus; nor could they enter without the express permission of the Governor himself. It hardly needs mention that the only 'foreigners' attempting to come in or buy land were Jews, and that this ordinance put a summary end to all such 'attempts.'

CHAPTER V

CLOSE SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

SOIL HUNGER

The early Zionist thinkers instinctively grasped the direct relationship between a sound peasant class rooted in the soil, and the project of a national renaissance. The British, too, understood that a National Home without ownership of the soil was a misnomer. Their *Peace Handbook on Syria and Palestine* reads: "*The essence of the Zionist ideal is the desire to found upon the soil of Palestine a revived Hebrew nation based upon an agricultural life and the use of the Hebrew language. . . There is so much unoccupied land in Palestine that there is plenty of room for Zionist development without ousting the existing Moslem population.*"

The early colonists found the park-like country their ancestors had left, a treeless desert. Epidemics made even the raising of cattle impossible. The mountain slopes, once covered with a never-ending succession of vineyards and orchards, were now bare rock, washed clean by the torrential rains. The rest of the country alternated between swamp and desert. Crawling like dull maggots over these dried bones was a scanty population, scarcely less haggard, wild and unkempt than the land itself.

Land hunger rode on the shoulders of the returning Jews, driving them like a man with a lash. They came from the ghettos of the Russian Pale, men with soft hands, intellectuals, lawyers, writers, doctors and shopkeepers, inspired by the passionate dream of turning this pestilential desert into a blossoming countryside. They themselves, the dreamers of Zion, would erect its first peasantry with their own lives and bodies.

Their hardships were almost insupportable. Epidemic pestilences killed off so many that it became a byword that the graveyards of these settlements were more populous than the villages themselves. Undeterred, the new settlers pressed on

doggedly. They were living an epic ; and their eyes danced with it long after their bodies grew worn from a ceaseless struggle with a sick earth. This blazing emotion is beautifully described by the Hebrew poet, Uri Zvi Greenberg :

"In a sunburst of love we went up,
Boys and girls to Zion ;
Passionate faith from the roots of our hair
To the tips of the nails of our feet :
A boundless love for the mother earth of the Jews
That agonies could not quench,
Nor the teeth of the foxes destroy. . ."

Unlike the advent of European capitalism throughout the East, the only privilege these colonists asked was to be allowed to work the soil with their own hands. They consciously understood that the body of the Jewish nation had been maimed by a cruel destiny which had driven the Jews from the soil, had closed manual labor to them, and had crowded them into one thin stratum of the social pyramid. The renaissance of Jewry lay in this astonishing attempt to reverse a process consciously taking place in social adjustment, abjuring personal ambitions, to erect again by the national will what history had destroyed.

These Jews from the vitiated air of ghettos, men and women whose psychology and muscles alike were better adjusted to the counting room and *Yeshiva* than to heavy labor, made themselves over by the sheer force of their own idealism into the finest scientific farmers in the world. Their neat, well-painted houses went up surrounded by thriving green vineyards, healthy young orchards, flowers and shadetrees. In the eyes of believing observers it was a miracle, only to be explained in the light of Biblical Prophecy.

There has been no braver colonizing group in history, nor any who operated under more disheartening conditions. With a song on their lips these determined young people laid the groundwork for an agricultural prosperity which was to be the backbone of the coming Jewish nation. Their magnificent accomplishments were unhesitatingly acknowledged by the English after the War. "Every traveler in Palestine who visits

them," relates an official report, "is impressed by the contrast between these pleasant villages, with the beautiful stretches of prosperous cultivation about them, and the primitive conditions of life and work with which they are surrounded." ¹ Beverley Nichols remarks: "As I walked around, I became more and more astonished that any race of men, let alone intellectual Jews, could possibly tackle such an unfriendly soil. . . Yet over this wilderness the ex-clerks, ex-doctors, ex-shopkeepers swarmed like ants, staggering under the weight of the stones they were removing, panting as they wielded their spades." ² Father Alfred Sachetti exclaims in admiration: "What had been up to six years ago a wild unproductive waste land has been transformed into a fertile and productive country." ³ And the Rev. Dr. W. M. Christie reports: "When you see a green spot in Palestine today you may be sure it is a Jewish colony." ⁴

When with premature gratitude the enthusiastic Jews welcomed the British overlords who were taking the place of the Turks, they had no reason to suppose that in the near future the further acquisition of land by them was to be considered in the nature of a crime against humanity. The British were pledged to their cause. London had wholeheartedly acknowledged that "the immigration of Jews and their close settlement on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes, are integral and indispensable factors in the execution of the charge laid upon the Mandatory of establishing in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish People." ⁵

How far the Jewish position has *actually retrogressed* since the English came, may be estimated from the simple fact that the per capita land possession of Jews in Palestine has shrunk from approximately 8 dunams in 1921 to only 3 dunams in 1936. Of the total land area of 26,319,000 dunams, only 1,300,000 dunams are in Jewish hands, of which more than half was acquired before the War. In 1935, the peak year of investment, only 18,250 acres were acquired; but the price paid was the enormous sum of £1,700,000. Even at this uneconomic cost, less than 3% of the huge sums flooding into the country went into the establishment of new farms.

These figures mean that Jews numbering 33% of the population are sequestered on 5% of the land, forcing into existence a queer economy by which the Jewish farm population must mathematically decrease with the growth of the Jewish national structure. Even in the short period between 1931 and 1935, we find the proportion of Jewish farmers decreasing from 18% to 13.9%, making the Palestine Jews the most highly urbanized national group on earth.

Here you have the most unhealthy of all possible conditions : a land-hungry people attempting to build a sound national economy and owning, after decades of struggle, less than three hundred thousand acres altogether.⁶ On this fact is shipwrecked the basic principles on which Zionist planning was constructed. For all reasonable purposes, it forebodes the creation not of a free economy but of a new ghetto, this time in an Arab instead of an Aryan land.

The causative factors behind this condition are not hard to find. In the early period of Jewish settlement, around 1885, prices averaged ten francs, or eight shillings, per dunam for good agricultural land. By 1900 the price had risen to around sixteen shillings. By 1935 it was anything that anyone cared to ask. Taking 1932 as an illustration, we find 18,293 land transactions concluded by Jews ; whereas in 1926, when more than twice the area of new land had been acquired, there were only 11,821 such transactions.⁷ This meant that land-hungry Jews, caught in a trap, were reduced to buying land from each other, the price skyrocketing in accordance with the inevitable law of supply and demand. During the fiscal year 1933-34, when practically no new land was acquired by Jews, the Palestine Government received from them close to £200,000 in registration fees for land transfers. In many instances a parcel of land passes through eight or ten hands a year and its price is pyramided to the most unbelievable heights. "Nowhere in the world," comments the Royal Commission of 1937, "were such uneconomic land prices paid as by the Jews in Palestine."

The parent of this distorted condition was none other than the Government itself. A series of bold expedients flowed from

Jerusalem, directly formulated to prevent Jews from acquiring the soil of the country. As fast as one artifice proved inadequate, newer and more offensive ones were invented. The English set themselves up as the protectors and patrons of the Arabs, much as though Palestine were an endowed institution for the improvident and the inept for whose benefit all competitive factors must be excluded.

The keystone to the British arch was the alleged landless Arab situation. In his report, French had listed some thirty-seven hundred claimants. The extent of this fabrication was later conceded when, despite the prodding of the Administration, only five hundred Arabs could be discovered who even had a provisional claim. Just how there could be any 'landless' people in an underpopulated country suffering for years from an acute labor shortage, the Administration never attempted to explain. Major Cecil Quinlan answered the best part of the question with the laconic remark that "the so-called 'landless' Arab does not exist, except in disordered imaginations."⁸

The Mandate provided that Jews be given State lands for the purpose of "close settlement." Nowhere in that document is there anything mentioned about an opposed obligation to Arabs; but the Government, making its own interpretation, decided that this must have been a typographical error. It early handed the Arabs 140,000 acres of its most fertile holdings. Later to appease the Jews it gave them a consolation prize of some 18,000 acres, of which only 962 were actually cultivable.

The Administration's Annual Report for 1920-21 gives figures of 942,000 dunams of State land and two or three million dunams of waste lands. When the Zionists, grown restive finally, put a fierce demand on the Government to fulfill its obligations, it was dismally discovered that the two or three million dunams of waste land referred to had now vanished in thin air.

The technique under which this piece of legerdemain was accomplished was not involved. It consisted of simple nostrums and a characteristic method of dealing off the bottom of the deck. In reply to a pointed question by the Mandates Commission in 1926, His Majesty's spokesman, Ormsby-Gore, represented that

"the delay of the grant of Government land to Jews is connected with the question of survey which has not yet been effected." ⁹ A *Vaad Leumi* Memorandum notes in disgust that despite this excuse, "hundreds of thousands of Government lands . . . have been distributed among Arab fellaheen, in lots of such size that they could not work them properly." All Jewish demands for land were rejected — "even the claims of the discharged Jewish soldiers who had participated in the British military conquest of the country being disregarded." At the very moment Ormsby-Gore was offering his explanation to the League, a special Land Commission was carrying out a liquidation of the Government estates, "apparently instructed to hand them over to Bedouins."

Again in 1931, a *Vaad Leumi* protest to the League notes that the Government was distributing State lands to Arabs "in parcels of thousands of dunams per family," while Jewish demands were studiously ignored.

Pleased with these outright gifts, the Bedu had little intention of demeaning themselves by manual labor. They at once offered their new-found acreage to Jews at prices only limited by Bedouin ability to count. The indignant Administration put an end to this practice by attaching a string to further gifts, prohibiting sale of the land for thirty to fifty years. In other cases the Arabs were beneficiaries of paternal loans, never intended to be repaid, placing the Jews in the unenviable position of financing activities aimed directly at themselves. All a Bedouin had to do, to blackmail this singular Government, was to threaten to sell to Jews and a subsidy would be forthcoming.

The Administration's sympathy for 'landless' Arabs went an amazing distance. Four days before the 1936 riots broke out it gave the Dajani family 10,000 dunams in the rich Jordan Valley. The 'landless' Dajani family, as it happens, is fabulously wealthy, owning among other things, the site of 'The Last Supper,' for which they are said to have recently refused £1,000,000. The Government even handed out its land to foreigners who made no pretense of Palestine residence. To mention only a few cases, six Syrian families located in Damascus and Beirut received over 7000 dunams of the Ashrafiye lands. Of the 3579 dunams dis-

tributed in Tel-Es-Shock, 3469 dunams went to a family group of four brothers and sisters living in Egypt.¹⁰

Even when Jews bought areas on which the Government felt it had a lien, it exacted its pound of flesh. A case in point is the Huleh basin, consisting of 12,000 acres of miasmatic swamp. This suppurating area had polluted the country, for generations back, with malaria and dysentery. The job of draining it would ordinarily be regarded by any other government as a task incumbent on itself. Instead, the Palestine Administration granted concession rights for reclamation of the area to two Syrian merchants, renewing the concession in 1924 and again in 1927, though the Syrians made no attempt to proceed with the work and were evidently not in a position to undertake a development project of this magnitude. It was only after years of procrastination on the part of the Government that the Jewish Palestine Land Development Company was able to secure official approval to take over the concession rights. As the price of its consent the Government stipulated that when the work was finished, one-third of the new land would have to be handed over for Bedouin settlement. It was necessary to pay the original foreign concessionaires £200,000, a sum which could only be considered in the light of a gift. This was in 1935. In 1938 the Government was still quibbling over the text of the concession. It also has mysteriously withheld decision on a number of minor points arising from an engineering report made several years previously. These dilatory tactics have effectually prevented any progress being made in the work of reclamation, which is thus shunted into the indefinite future.

The huge task of draining this quagmire will take at least a decade. It will involve an outlay of over £1,000,000. To this must be added interest on investment, and amortization of principal, plus such baksheesh as must be paid to petty officials who would otherwise find a way to throw a sabot into the machinery, even after the work has been started. When the 16,000 dunams which must be given free to the Arabs are deducted, some rough idea is secured of what this much-touted enterprise will cost the Jews.¹¹

A FAMINE IN LAND

Having devised the 'landless Arab' thesis, it was only a short step to the principle that the Arab must be protected against himself and saved from exploitation by the Jew who would take his land away from him. For this purpose there was introduced a series of ordinances so plainly meant to prevent Jews from acquiring land in their National Home that were ten percent of them introduced into England, and directed at Englishmen, an armed revolution would follow.

But Zionist spokesmen had been used to the rope's end too long to be able to react with anything resembling normal indignation. They recognized helplessly that they were being victimized, but saw nothing else to it but to smirk ingratiatingly on their tormentors. Once more it is grizzled old Menachem Ussishkin who growls like a lone wolf to the British Government: "Since you have given your consent to the establishment of a Jewish National Home, you must have realized that it is impossible to build on anything but on the land. We have paved every field and marsh with gold, but you, instead of helping us, have piled stones in our way and have made the country into a hell." ¹²

As early as 1920 a Land Transfer Ordinance already read that "any person wishing to make a disposition of immovable property must first obtain consent of the Government," a statute which the Shaw Report frankly admits was introduced to prevent the easy sale of land. This was followed in 1929 by the Cultivator's Protective Ordinance, which demanded that buyers make an additional payment to tenants who might be occupying the land as well as to the owners. 1931 saw a new edict which provided that irrespective of any provision in the contract, land could not be transferred if there were "any tenants" cultivating it. A tenant was described as anyone who has access to the land by "right or custom, usage *or on sufferance*," ¹³ a person hired for agricultural work who is paid in kind, squatters of any and all types; anyone who cultivated the land by either express or implied permission, or who had been cultivating the land on the assumption that he had the right to do so for a period of two years; or any-

one who comes and grazes on the land or cuts reeds for basket-making, or *one who is a descendant of a would-be tenant under the ordinance*.

This startling piece of legislation derived its full force from the primitive nature of Bedouin life. While the Bedouin grazed his flocks wherever he pitched camp, he always made the same general circle of travel, returning year after year to the identical spots. Thus he automatically became a 'tenant' under the regulation. Most of the land purchased by Jews came from the tremendous estates of absentee landlords, a handful of land-barons who owned, for example, eighty percent of the soil of Galilee and at least half of southern Palestine.¹⁴ These vacant acres were trespassed on by all comers, and, by the very nature of things, were bound to harbor itinerant tenants, squatters and migratory Bedouins.

The other claw of the pincers lay in the fact that all the archaic Turkish land and tax laws were still operative.¹⁵ This meant that the verification of title went back to the old Ottoman religious law. The British had made no attempt to determine title, and the footnote to every *Kuhan* (title deed) contained the phrase: "The title is not deemed to be guaranteed." Under the new Cultivator's Ordinance *all titles* were placed in jeopardy as having been gained illegally, since they were subject to tenant's rights.

It now transpired that 'tenants' could be evicted only by the High Commissioner himself. This transfer of discretion to a political appointee, rather than to the courts, prevented any appeal and gave the frankly anti-Jewish officials of the Administration arbitrary powers of decision. These powers were further increased by the Land Disputes Ordinance enacted in March 1932. This remarkable edict empowered the District Commissioner, should he find that a trespasser was forcibly evicted by the rightful owner, to regard the dispossessed party as the possessor. Granted magisterial status, no appeals against the findings of this petty functionary were possible. The enactment additionally forbade interference with the 'rights' of invaders coming to graze, cut wood or reeds, or for any other purpose (even if the owner's

fences had been cut down and his crops destroyed), until in each case "a competent court ruled on the matter."

On July 25, 1933 the Administration released the Statutory Tenant Law, effectually freezing the ownership of large vacant areas in their present hands. Anyone who occupied or grazed the land for a year, with or without permission, became a "statutory tenant." He could not be evicted without being given a new piece of land in a nearby area approved by the High Commissioner.

These restrictions made it next to impossible to purchase lands on which claim could not be made by 'tenants.' The inevitable result was that Jews buying land had to pay for it twice: one payment to the owner and the other to his 'tenants,' in order to obtain their voluntary consent to leave the property. In many cases the sums given the 'tenants' were larger than the already inflated prices paid to the sellers. The whole intent behind this singular legislation is shown in the law affecting tenants where the land is *not sold*. Here the tenant is not protected in any fashion whatsoever, and may be evicted at the landlord's pleasure.

Even on land long owned by Jews, here is how this 'advanced' legislation operates. 'A' owns a piece of land; 'B' squats on that land, claiming the right to cultivate it. In the ensuing conflict, 'B' is not ejected from the parcel and allowed recourse to the courts, but instead *the cultivation of the land is stayed by both parties* until the determination of the courts. Since land cases are known to sleep through the Judicial chambers for five or six years, and appeals are seldom, if ever, heard under one year, the result is apparent. Nor does the final settlement of one trespassing case protect the owner against new ones. As fast as new trespassers may appear, new court orders must be obtained against them through the same lengthy litigation.

Here was an obvious invitation to blackmail which the Arabs were not slow to take advantage of. False claims were regularly manufactured against Jewish land with the object of extorting money from the owners. Arab tribes, often as not under the fatherly advice of the District Commissioners, turned this situation into a profitable business. They squat in the Jewish colonies,

taking over a piece of land by main force if necessary, claiming it on the basis of prior possession ; and then compromise on some compensation from the owner, who usually prefers a limited loss of money to prolonged litigation. The Bedu then drive their herds further on, looking for another opportunity to repeat this agreeable adventure. There are Arab attorneys in Jerusalem who specialize in causing squatters to do this sort of thing and who make a very good business out of it. As may be expected, Jews are the sole sufferers. "In not a single instance," declares the land expert Ussishkin, "has an Arab owner been pestered in such a way. Bedouins who would so intrude on an Arab parcel of land would be ejected by the police without further ado."

A few actual cases will show how these measures operate in practical application. A large parcel of land, in Jewish hands for forty years, was disputed by Arabs on the basis of an alleged document signed five hundred years ago granting the land to the Moslem Church. District Commissioner S. H. Perowne immediately declared the land under dispute and prohibited work there. Jewish farmers who tried to plough their fields were arrested.¹⁸ At the settlement of Tel Hai in Galilee, Bedouins brought their cattle to pasture in the colony's fields, destroying the crops. They claimed to be in possession of a document entitling them "to pasture anywhere." A fight ensued, the police were called, and the usual order issued to both parties to cease work in the colony "until the title to the land was established." At Hedera, where the land had been in Jewish possession for forty-five years, Bedouins came in, uprooted the crops, injured workers and killed a watchman. The police ordered all cultivation to cease "until the Court decides the dispute between the Jews and the Bedouins."

A typical case is that of the Wadi Hawareth land. After paying liberal baksheesh to the tenants and after reams of red tape had been unwound to secure title, the Jews were unable to take possession : the land had already been ploughed by Arab squatters. Similarly, at Haifa Bay, thirty-five hundred dunams legally bought and paid for by the Jewish National Fund were given to Arabs, by decision of the District Commissioner, after

they had driven off the Jewish watchman and taken the land by armed force. At Tulkarm, in a regular pestilence of squatter suits, the courts decided that thirty-six hundred dunams of land had been "purchased illegally" and directed that they be given, without compensation, to the squatters. While ignorant Bedouins were more than willing participants in this hilarious game of plaguing Jews, what lay behind their actions can be judged from the Kuskustabun case, where three Jewish farmers were badly injured by armed Arab invaders. Here it was conclusively proven that the Arabs "undertook to trespass and plough the land upon the advice of District Officer Lees." ¹⁷

Not satisfied with its previous measures in which Jewish ingenuity discovered more leaks than the Government considered supportable, it announced in 1936 a brand new principle in pro-Arab paternalism, this time swinging back to the Middle Ages for its inspiration. The present purpose is to anchor the peasant in the land irrespective of his will to change his status. In future "no land-owner shall be permitted to sell any of his land unless he retains a minimum subsistence area. As a safeguard against collusive sales this minimum area shall be inalienable and *shall revert to the Government if it ceases to be cultivated by the owner-occupier.*" ¹⁸

Many other, pettier schemes were originated by the Government of Palestine in its campaign of harassment. The Jews, urgently needing a source of cheap fertilizer for their groves, had been buying it from Arabs whose every village was literally built on an accumulation of century-old dung. Arabs are rarely known to even remove this filth from the vicinity of their dwellings, much less use it. In September 1937 the Administration published a Draft Animal Manure Ordinance vesting the ownership of manure in the proprietor of the land on which it is dropped. Any attempt to remove or sell it without official permission henceforth becomes an offense punishable by fine of £25 or six months' imprisonment, or both.

Another edict stipulates that the amount of damages which may be demanded from a seller who breaks his contract, cannot be included in the contract itself, but must be fixed by the court.

This 'Order in Council' was intended as a staggering blow to Jewish land purchases, since the only effective way of preventing Arab owners from changing their minds under pressure was to include in the contract a provision for damages to be paid together with the return of the buyer's deposit. Another decree released early in 1936 was "designed to protect water supplies from interference by private individuals." Special permission had now to be obtained from the District Commissioner before a well could be constructed or enlarged. Jews might own the land, but the water underneath it belonged to the Administration in Jerusalem. All water supplies, reads the Ordinance, "river, spring, or underground," may anywhere be declared public property at the discretion of the High Commissioner. Beyond serving to frustrate the irrigation plans of the Jews, this revolutionary measure has no plausible purpose nor has one ever been offered.

When other artifices proved inadequate, the Government has followed a system of 'loans' to Arab owners, in themselves often greater than the market value of the land. Sometimes its money is passed over outright on the score of 'relief,' whether owing to poor crops, damage caused by the elements, or the characteristic laziness of Arab tillers. It frankly finances and operates Arab agricultural cooperatives in competition with those of the Jew; and it maintains nurseries and other agricultural services of which Arabs are the sole beneficiaries.

The unremitting campaign of Arab leaders, clearly abetted from Government House, thundering against the 'crime' of selling property to Jews will be discussed again in Chapter I Book III. It may be remarked, however, that without the Zionist the market for Palestine land does not exist. Acreage in this corner of creation is worth next to nothing. In neighboring Syria it can hardly be given away. In Transjordan it is worth only a dollar or two a dunam. Holding a monopoly on the soil, the Levantines are having a royal holiday. "No one can doubt," says Broadhurst, "that the Arabs have exploited the Jews for all they are worth, fattening their pockets in the process."¹⁹ Despite the current campaign against land sales, Arab owners have been keeping a canny eye fixed on the price barometer. As we

shall see, the very leaders of this agitation have proven themselves as anxious, privately, to circumvent the Government's restrictions as the Jews. There is ample evidence, also, that Government officials themselves have not been above surreptitious speculation, while at the same time being a party to driving the prices up out of sight by radical legislation.

That official restrictions were designed to force Jews to pay through the nose for such land as they were able to acquire is conclusively shown by official figures. Buying in the open market for the purpose of "resettling landless Arabs," the Government paid £72,240 for 17,240 dunams, or an average of £4 per dunam. In the same period the Jews purchased in the same market, 62,114 dunams for which they paid £1,647,837, an average of £25 per dunam.

DOUBLE STANDARD OF TAXATION

In vivid contrast to this flood of radical legislation is Palestine's system of land taxation, beyond question the most reactionary in existence. Until recently the obsolete Turkish system, based on the economy of Mohammed's time, was retained intact by the Government as being perfectly satisfactory in all respects.

There were two basic taxes. One was the *Werko*, based on land valuations. The joker lay in the fact that the last appraisal, by which the tax was set, had been made in the nineties of the last century. New valuations were only made in cases of change of ownership. This meant that the old owners were paying a tax based on pre-War values, while the new owners were assessed on the basis of crazily inflated post-War prices. Thus the new proprietor paid twenty to thirty times more for each dunam in tax than the previous owner used to pay for the same land before it was sold, and continued to pay for the adjoining acres still remaining in his possession. "This unjust and abnormal position," complains the Jewish Agency, on March 10, 1935, "expressed itself in the creation of two classes of taxpayers paying different rates for similar property," of whom "the only sufferers were Jews." The relative difference in this levy was often literally

enormous. An illustration of the whole taxing scheme is provided by the village of Shattah, which paid less than £4 in tax, while the neighboring Jewish colony of Kfar Yehezkiel, owning half the area of land, paid £55.

The other main grouping was the *Osher* or tithe, amounting to 10% on all agricultural income. This was usually canceled in the case of Arabs, sometimes by personal decision of the High Commissioner himself, though District Commissioners were also authorized to grant remission at their discretion. The extent of this practice can be seen in the announced remission of seventy percent of the tithe due the Government in 1932, amounting to £173,000. In 1933 the total remission of tithes to Arabs was £193,500 out of an assessment of £1,245,000; and in 1934, £130,000 out of a total tax of £245,000. In 1935 the High Commissioner reported that of a tithe of £171,021, only £19,750 had been collected. The fellah's contribution to Government revenues (tithe, land tax and all other agricultural taxes) diminished annually, falling from 25% of the total in 1921-22 to 4.8% in 1934-35.

Though after eighteen years of effort the Government was seemingly unable to complete the survey for land registration purposes (which would have put an abrupt end to the plague of squatter suits), it had not the slightest difficulty in finishing the survey for taxation purposes within a year after deciding that a remodeled system was in order. The new Rural Property Tax Ordinance was placed into effect in 1935, substituting a single basis of levy for the multiple Turkish tithe, house and land taxes. Says the Royal Commission of 1937, pointedly: "This effected a large reduction, in some cases up to seventy percent, in the taxes payable by the [Arab] peasantry."²⁰

Though hailed as a simplified system it was, on the face of it, an intricate maze. It involved some sixteen brackets of taxation, varying from the highest to the lowest by several thousand percent, the brackets themselves divided into innumerable blocks in the various districts. Providentially, the highest tax brackets coincided exactly with Jewish enterprises and holdings and the lowest with those of the Arabs. As the lower grades of ground

crop land pay only a nominal tax, or no tax at all, the holdings of the fellaheen are practically exempted from impost of any kind. This type of acreage, coinciding with Arab agricultural undertakings, is divided into eight grades, the highest of which pays twenty-five mils per dunam, while the sixth grade drops to eight mils per dunam. The seventh and eighth grades pay no tax.

Irrigated land was divided into nine grades, seemingly in accordance with the districts where Jews may or may not be found, and was assessed accordingly. Fallow land, owned entirely by great Arab landlords, pays no tax whatsoever, putting an actual premium on land speculation and completely reversing every known process by which land policy in other nations is guided. In any other country infant industry is nursed along and protected. It is the pioneers who are relieved of taxes; and in places like Italy and Spain, the Holy Land's chief competitors in citrus, growers are directly subsidized. Under this latest arrangement it was the citrus industry, on which the entire export trade of the country depended, which was placed in the highest tax division, not even non-bearing groves being excepted. The tax here vaulted to 825 mils per dunam, the highest rate of taxation on this type of plantation in the world.²¹ Excluded specifically from this category, the all-Arab citrus district of Acre 'pays' 410 mils per dunam.²²

Under the same law, taxation on urban property is similarly gerrymandered. House property, including valuation of the site, pays a tax of $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the net annual value. Premises with an annual value up to £20, invariably Arab, are exempted from levy. In industrial buildings the Ordinance says that "the tax shall be at such a rate, not exceeding fifteen percent of the net annual value, as shall be prescribed by the High Commissioner. *The High Commissioner is empowered to apply the Ordinance by order to specific areas.*" One may easily presume that it is the Jewish sections alone which pay the fifteen percent, a circumstance glaringly evident in the exemptions granted in a list of mixed cities, which on examination turn out to affect only Arab blocks. Not even schools, clinics or village councils are excepted from these crushing levies.

The theory behind this entire performance is made unmistakably clear in the assessments charged to the German colony of Sarona, thoroughly Nazi in sentiment since the coming of Hitler. Almost surrounded by the continuously growing city of Tel Aviv, the fields of Sarona are now located in one of the most highly priced urban developments in the world, with individual holdings worth an average of £400,000 in cash. Yet the farmers of this colony continue to pay a tax as negligible as if their lands were located in the wilderness on the other side of Jordan.

There are still other tax schemes directed without too much disguise at the Jewish pocketbook, such as the Land Transfer Tax, Government Inspection Tax, and Animal Tax, all of them cut from the same cloth as the land taxes and all brilliantly successful in mulcting this stricken people who by international consent are returning to their homeland.

CHAPTER VI

BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW¹

SABOTAGING INDUSTRY

Practically all countries today take an eager if not anxious interest in the development of their own prosperity. It is invariably the government which points the way to methods for developing business, which seeks to attract capital and enterprise and to enlarge its commerce in every way possible. As backward as the Turks were made out to be in matters of government, they were happy enough to assist new industry in their domains. Under the Industrial Act of December 1912, newly established factories in Palestine received five dunams of State land free on application, were granted exception from import duties until they were well established, and were relieved of taxation for fifteen years.

The present mandatory for Palestine, however, appears to do everything possible to halt the development of business and to omit doing anything designed to help it. In view of its peculiar obligations under the Mandate, it would appear that the Administration should have favored the new settlers in every way, that it would nurse their industries sympathetically during the early and critical period, and in general lend its support by the usual means, favored taxation, protective tariffs, loans and subsidies.

That the Palestine Government is well able to understand this matter of elementary economy is shown plainly enough in the concessions granted to the Iraq Petroleum Company in an agreement signed January 14, 1931, to run for a period of seventy years. This convention between a private corporation and the Government of Palestine is one of the most remarkable ever penned, and is worth quoting *in extenso*. It provides that neither Palestine nor Transjordan shall derive any revenue from the pipeline passing through their territory. The Government agrees

that "no import tax, transit tax, export tax, or other tax or fiscal charge of any sort shall be levied on petroleum, naphtha, ozokerite or natural gases, whether in crude state or any form or derivatives thereof, whether intended for consignment in transit or utilized for the industrial operations of the undertaking." The Company is given the far-reaching right to bring in, free of duty, all stores, equipment, materials, etc., required for its undertakings, "including all equipment for offices, houses or other buildings," directly or indirectly required for the development of its business in Palestine.

Article VII of this compact gives the concessionaire the privilege of constructing one or more private ports in the region and of levying port, harbor or other taxes, as well as authority to determine who shall have the right to entry at such a port ; and the Palestine railroads are placed at the Company's disposal at a special schedule of rates. Article XVII entitles the Company to lease State lands at a nominal rental. Lands privately owned are to be expropriated by the High Commissioner for this purpose if the Company cannot come to agreement with the owners. The Company may bring in cheap labor at its own discretion to compete with the higher-priced local labor. Finally, this document frees the Company from any kind of land tax, income tax, or any other toll or liability. Thus this foreign corporation is presented with all the benefits of a tax-supported community, and is at the same time released from any possible levy or demand, in what is altogether the most amazing concession ever granted by a modern State. On February 11, 1933 the Palestine Government handed this concessionaire, free of charge, 2250 dunams of valuable land in the industrial Haifa Bay area to build a terminus for its oil line.

In return for all this, the Company did not even allow casual favors to the local market, so that a four-gallon tin of gasoline, which might sell for 40¢ in Iraq, retails for \$1.90 in Palestine. Neither does Palestinian trade derive any benefit from the large oil tankers which sail from Haifa. Everything connected with the petroleum trade, from the time of its boring, through its trans-

portation down to the tanker and retail marketing, is in the hands of foreign trusts.²

When it comes to the Jews, for whose benefit the Mandate was supposed to have been framed, another view is taken entirely. Their industries, instead of being welcomed, are discouraged. Practically nothing is done to assist them. The Government's attitude can hardly be described as being other than antagonistic. Tariffs and duties are levied in topsy-turvy fashion, as they would be in a lunatic asylum; and whatever caters to the needs of industry, such as mail service, telegraphic system, railways, ports and roads, is maneuvered so as to place it at a disadvantage.

The Government has a tariff on old shoes imported into the country; but bases its customs policy on the theory that tariffs lead to a high cost of living. It considers it immoral to deprive its citizens of the benefits of low-cost merchandise dumped in from everywhere by subsidized foreign trusts; yet it does not hesitate to levy prohibitive import duties on all raw materials required by its own industry.

The only authority the Administration regards as competent to dictate the needs of business is the Customs Department, headed by a pompous official who starts with the idea that the local manufacturer must prove that he is producing a superior article at a lower price than those dumped in the Palestine market by outside competitors, before he can be regarded as anything but a public enemy. Such foreign trade statistics as exist are not only badly jumbled but published long after they can do anyone any good. Drily, the President of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Chamber of Commerce advised the Administration that "the movement of trade is a matter of some importance to those who are responsible for the conduct of the country's economic affairs, and it should not be treated as a departmental secret reluctantly disclosed to the public."³

By what is at least the strangest of coincidences, whenever a Palestine factory competes with English goods, even for the home market, it is sure to find all protective tariffs taken away from

it and impossibly high duties leveled against the bulk materials and machinery necessary to turn its finished products out. These cramping tactics may even go the lengths of a *carte blanche* refusal to allow the contemplated enterprise to operate on any terms.

An example of this condition is contained in the several attempts to establish brewery enterprises in the Holy Land. The first project was started by a man named Delfiner, who intended to produce, besides beer, certain chemical products out of the waste materials of alcohol production. A capital investment of £80,000 was made, a location bought near Mikweh Israel, and machinery ordered. Innocently, the founder of the factory applied for exemption from duty on the ferments and malt required in beer-making until these materials could be produced locally. The Government did not even bother about a response; and after eight months of patient waiting, Mr. Delfiner, beginning to see the light, gave up his project and took his loss.

In the meanwhile a group of French capitalists, headed by a Mr. Dreyfuss, leased a portion of the wine cellars in Rishon L'Zion and started reconstruction for brewery purposes. Turned wise by Delfiner's experience, before going into production they applied to the Government, asking that the existing excise tax on spirits of five mils per liter and the customs duty of twenty mils per liter be not changed after the setting up of their business. On receipt of this request the Administration immediately did the opposite. It decided to raise the excise tax on spirits (which had not yet been begun to be manufactured) to fifteen mils per liter and committed itself to an arrangement admitting Syrian beer, on which not even an excise tax was levied, free of duty. Reconstruction work was stopped and negotiations entered into with the Government, which stated off the record that it considered this enterprise an unwarranted attempt to compete with the import of English beer. So in March 1934 the Dreyfuss group, having had an object lesson in Near Eastern politics, gave up the ghost.⁴

In every branch of trade the same tactics are to be seen. A fair illustration of what takes place is given in the iron wire in-

dustry, a business calling for a great outlay of capital. Here a heavy tariff is slapped on raw material, which Palestine does not produce, and no duty whatsoever placed on the finished article.

Another example is that of the aluminum industry. Imported raw aluminum was taxed at the rate of three cents per pound ; while the levy on finished aluminum goods was six cents. When a factory was set up in Haifa, it was quickly discovered that the tariff was insufficient to allow for competition even in the home market. The owner asked for an increase to ten cents per pound. The Government took this request under the usual advisement and promptly *reduced* the duty on finished aluminum ware to three cents a pound.

An even more graphic illustration is provided in the tax on automobiles. A newly industrialized land is bound to develop a voracious appetite for cars and trucks of all kinds. But the Jews made the mistake of showing a preference for American cars, which they considered more suitable to the terrain than the lighter English makes.⁵ The Government then placed a *per pound* tax on incoming motor vehicles of forty mils per kilogram.⁶ This enormous impost would add to the normal cost of a small American car the fantastic sum of \$2700 for duty alone, with the same toll on old cars as on new. In a desperate effort to circumvent this assessment, the Jews opened up a car-assembling plant in Tel Aviv. Jerusalem at once retaliated by placing a duty on bodies and parts, twenty-five to fifty percent higher than that on complete vehicles.

The attitude of the official Zionists to all this is incredible. It is reflected in Weizmann's declaration that "one hears complaints of alleged injustices with regard to protective tariffs. People do not want to realize that if a Jew from Schnepeshok [a touch of humor] comes to Palestine and manufactures inferior buttons, the British Government is not obliged to secure this button by a protective tariff."⁷ The manufacturers of Palestine, caught in a very real web of economic peonage, were far from impressed with the philosophical ruminations of the Zionist orators in Europe. There were not wanting individuals who declared themselves boldly. One of them was the silk manufacturer, Sachs,

who found himself paying a prohibitive duty on raw silk, with no protection whatever against the dumping of Japan and other countries.⁸ Shortly before he was compelled to shut down his factory, Weizmann and the High Commissioner Wauchope strolled through.

"How do you like it here?" asked Sir Arthur politely.

Sachs: "Very much indeed — but I would like it better if we had a decent Government."

Weizmann, hurriedly: "Excuse him, Excellency — Mr. Sachs cannot ably express himself in English."

"Pardon me," replied Sachs, looking straight at Weizmann, "but I speak English very well!"

Part of the situation this manufacturer referred to showed glaringly on the cost sheets. A meter of Japanese cloth sells for 12½ mils, while the labor alone costs 15 mils in Palestine and the raw material 20–25 mils. The factory production cost of a simple article like cotton sports shirts came to a total of 150 mils in Palestine, while the corresponding Japanese article was laid down in Haifa for 80 mils. In 1936 it cost a Palestine manufacturer 430 mils to make a pullover, while the identical article brought in from Germany or Austria retailed for 320–350 mils.

Agricultural products found their competition fully as severe. Syrian shipments are able to consistently undersell locally grown vegetables in all Palestine cities. Practically the whole of Syria's exports in this line are concentrated on the Holy Land. Syrian eggs retail in the Palestine market for eighteen cents a dozen, while Palestine eggs cannot be sold profitably for less than thirty-six cents a dozen. In 1935 the local production of table fowl was 1,860,000. Imports for the same year came to 2,000,000, all free of duty. A heavy impost, levied on practically all feed, made it a physical impossibility to produce commercial poultry as cheaply as it could be shipped in from abroad.

Adding to the miseries of business, the Government's immigration policy caused all industrial plans to become a matter of hazard due to labor uncertainty. In all Jerusalem there are only a handful of qualified electricians and carpenters. One has to wait interminable periods for even the simplest installations — yet

the Authorities refuse to grant visas to skilled workmen now refugees from Germany or starving in Rumania and Poland.

The transplanting of a higher standard of life into the medieval setting of the Near East has invited still other troubles. In Egypt, woman and child labor is obtainable in large quantities at two or three piasters a day, and in the Syrian factories children are employed at almost no pay at all. It is obvious that either of two simple factors can cut the heart out of an unprotected Palestine industry in a realistic world: the mass production of States with strong industries and vast local markets, and the extremely low wage scales in the surrounding agricultural countries of the Near East.

In such a thoroughly destructive situation, industry can only hope to secure and hold isolated and unique markets, and even these, as we shall see, are not safe from attack. Though Palestine's industry has shown a striking development resulting from the headlong rush of Jewish investment and enterprise, it has been able to penetrate only a fraction of its home market and is in extreme jeopardy everywhere else. What this condition adds up to in figures is seen in the problem of Japanese dumping. In 1929 the Holy Land imported £7000 of Japanese goods. By 1935 this figure had skyrocketed to £646,000, while during this same period Japanese purchases from Palestine held at the ludicrous amount of £5.

Certain favored groups are saved from a portion of this disabling condition by Governmental exception. All of the various missionary institutions and enterprises are exempted from tax or toll of any kind. Under this immunity the churchmen run hotels, farms, manufacture wine on which no excise duty is levied, and engage in other flourishing businesses under favorable conditions. Also relieved of tax and imposts are "all members of His Majesty's forces" and all officers of the Palestine Government. So is the great Iraqiian-owned trans-desert transport service between the Holy Land and Iraq, which thus escapes the exorbitant levies placed on motor vehicles, tires and gasoline.⁹

Specific Arab industries are also shown generous consideration. An eloquent token is the exemption of the Arab soap industry of

Nablus from the high tax on olive oil for industrial purposes ; and the grotesquely contrasting customs protection given olives themselves. Study of the agricultural products protected by Government impost discloses them to be almost exclusively Arab. Such fellaheen crops as wheat, barley and seminola are safeguarded by high duties and a rigid regulation of imports under a system of licenses.

On scattered occasions Jewish industry participates unavoidably in these advantages. One such instance concerns the shoe industry. After dumping practices almost succeeded in wiping this business out of existence, the Arabs made such a howl that the Government was moved to remedy the situation in 1932 by protective duty. The net result shows in sharp relief the viciousness of the open door system : there was an immediate decrease in imports, dropping in two years from £80,000 to £40,000, and an equalizing increase in the sale of local manufactures.

The Jews have also been the beneficiaries of other favors not meant for them. The result of glutting the Palestine market with foreign goods inadvertently gave Japan and Germany a foothold from which they were invading the entire Near and Middle East, ousting Britain from her favored position. In printed cotton goods, one of Britain's pet specialties, Japan took first place as leading exporter to Palestine, more than doubling English sales in the same market. In 1936 London was shocked to discover that Germany had jumped to first place as seller to the Palestine market, with English goods losing position steadily.¹⁰

This dangerous piece of backfire shocked the Bureaucrats into action. As a result, quickly imposed tariffs have bettered the situation considerably and a number of closed Jewish factories have been able to reopen.

It is an error, however, to assume that Whitehall has suddenly suffered from an attack of conscience. This was poignantly demonstrated during the recent *Tozareth Haaretz* (favoring home products) campaign. In this 'Buy Palestine' movement, the Jews literally put on a volunteer tariff of their own, deliberately buying home-manufactured goods though they had to pay a large premium for the privilege. This enthusiastically sup-

ported crusade was a considerable factor in enabling Jewish industry to survive, and bespeaks the almost unique patriotism of Palestine Jewry. Its effectiveness was evidenced during the three months' campaign early in 1937, when Jewish leaders estimated it was worth £4,000,000 in increased sales of local products. Out of this campaign grew a typical frenzy of official harassment. Jewish stores advertising the sale of 'Palestine Goods Only' were visited by Government agents seeking an excuse to make arrests. At the same time, street peddlers selling 'Only Palestine Products' were hustled off to police stations to explain why they preferred to limit their wares to those made in their own land.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

Due to all the disabling uncertainties, the credit situation in Palestine is a severe one. It is further complicated by an archaic credit system which the Authorities refuse to alter. So the financing of industry lapses into an impossible stalemate ; with the banks on one side, so full of money that they are loath to take on new accounts, and on the other, an aggregation of puzzled industrialists who are wondering from day to day what the Government is going to do next. Finance in Palestine has consequently developed into something like a roulette game, with all bets called when the wheel stops.

Apart from trivial quotas, the banks grant no real long-term credits. No security market is in existence, a particular blow to moderate-sized new undertakings. These are, in general, precariously financed, the limited capital of the owner being eaten up early by bloated land prices and building costs. The Near Eastern expert, Dr. Alfred Michaelis, states that consequently "numerous moderate and small-sized factories are in danger of closing down for financial reasons." ¹¹

The legal interest rate is 9%, but this is vastly exceeded in practice ; while the banks pay 1½% interest on deposits. Despite the favorable circumstances provided in Palestine's swift growth, the hostile attitude of the Government makes industrial and agri-

cultural mortgages most difficult to obtain, even at the gouging interest rates prevailing. The establishment of adequate mortgage banks is hampered by the Administration's land legislation and attitude generally, frightening off interested financial institutions in London and New York. The Arabs fare a little better. Looking out for its self-selected wards, the Administration has established an agricultural bank out of the public funds with a capital of £400,000. It grants Arab farmers long-term credits at nominal interest rates. The Jews, however, must contend with the existing credit situation as best they can.

The Palestine pound is based on the British pound sterling. The setting of its money values at this artificially high level automatically exposes Palestine to the paralyzing competition of surrounding nations whose devaluated and blocked currencies give them an immeasurable advantage in all markets.

Due again to the Administration's own strictures, the banks of Palestine are mainly branches of foreign institutions, with no particular interest in the welfare of the country. Barclay's Bank, an offshoot of the institution in London, has offices in Jerusalem and six other towns and is banker to the Palestine Government. The Ottoman Bank (Anglo-French) has five branches, and the Italian Banco di Roma, four. In Tel Aviv is found the Polska Kasa Oszczednosci (Polish). There are a few local Jewish institutions but, with little exception, they are of trivial importance. This circumstance is all the more remarkable since the great bulk of the money on deposit everywhere belongs to Jews. The savings of the Arab fellaheen are usually kept in jars and similar hiding places.

It is apparent here, too, that the British are determined to hang a millstone around the neck of Palestine industry, and that if equivocation and quibbling will not accomplish this purpose they are prepared to strike directly at the heart of the country's financial structure. This is conveyed in the draft ordinance of April 1936, deleting from the law the provision requiring banks to publish annual balance sheets. Thus not only was industry deprived of any adequate insight into the country's financial situation, but it was placed hopelessly at the mercy of foreign wire-

pulling. This was made uncomfortably clear during the unsettled condition which followed after Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, when apprehensive withdrawals threatened the collapse of Palestine's whole economic structure.

In February 1936 the Government published notice of impending legislation which speaks volumes. This regulation proposes that "no company or cooperative society shall carry on a banking business without obtaining from the High Commissioner a license to do so, *and the High Commissioner may grant, refuse, or revoke such license without explanation.*"

CITRUS

Pride of the *Yishub* is the Jaffa orange, reputedly the finest in the world. An incident occurring in Paris a few years ago spoke more for the quality of this fruit than a mountain of figures. A fruit vendor had made a charge of two francs for a single orange, which the writer considered outrageous. After having been so informed, the vendor shrugged his shoulders and said testily: "*Mais, M'sieu — c'est un Jaffa !*"

Before the advent of the Zionists, oranges were scarcely a factor in the Palestine economy and grapefruit were unknown. By 1931 the Holy Land was producing five percent of the oranges for sale on world markets, jumping in 1938 to the unbelievable proportion of eighteen percent. Nowhere else in the world is scientific farming brought to such a high point in perfection. In some of the larger groves complete filing systems are used in which the case history of every tree is charted with all the thoroughness of a medical clinic.

Citrus is the heart of Jewish agricultural enterprise and the keystone to the National Home's prosperity. In 1934 it represented eighty-three percent of all Palestinian exports. Unlike competitor countries, where a healthy home consumption provides a secure back-log for this industry, Palestine with its small population has only a negligible internal market. A falling off in foreign sales would necessarily place its citrus growers in the most precarious of situations, serious enough to snap the back-

bone of the country's commerce. Here is an imperative which would automatically dictate the commercial policy of any other government. But in Palestine, declares S. Tolkowsky, General Manager of the Jaffa Citrus Exchange, this key industry "remains like a fatherless child, whom everybody is free to kick and exploit and whom nobody will protect." ¹²

In the Old World, oranges come within the luxury category. The arc of production is, moreover, rapidly climbing everywhere, making competition for existing markets very difficult. The acuteness of this phase is amply demonstrated in Palestine production alone. In 1936 it was some eight million cases, whereas in 1940, when the young groves come into full bearing, it is estimated that total shipments will reach twenty-two million cases. What this situation will result in can be discovered from the overwhelming hardships already crucifying the industry. Impassable trade restrictions are robbing it of existing foreign markets. Exorbitant taxes make the planters' lives a nightmare. In general, the obstructive tactics of the Mandatory are shooting them head-first into catastrophe.

At Jaffa, where the industry is situated, there is neither a port nor sufficient storage space. At Haifa, the transit sheds, under the control of the Government, are pathetically inadequate and become more congested each season as the new orchards begin to bear. The single railroad between the orange section and Haifa is a Government monopoly. It is short of cars and locomotives, and during the turbulent rains which fall at the height of the picking season it often does not run at all. Following nerve-wracking delays, shippers are compelled to load their fruit in open wagons ordinarily used for the transport of manure. Since the orange is highly perishable, many thousands of boxes are lost annually at the railway stations. Fruit is inspected outside rather than within the dock warehouses, adding to the spoilage, in a scene of indescribable congestion and confusion. Galling delays frustrate every step in the attempt to export. The net result is that full shiploads often reach their markets with as much as fifty percent of waste fruit.

The alternative possibility of truck hauling did not exist until

recently. Over the sixty miles of sand dune between Haifa and Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the most important commercial centers in the country, the Administration had obstinately refused to construct a road. It was only when the present war-beclouded horizon made the building of this artery an inevitable military necessity, that it was undertaken.

In practically all European countries, quotas, currency restrictions, or prohibitive duties make the situation more precarious with every passing year. The principal competitor nations, Spain and Italy, overcome this hazard by favorable commercial treaties and clearing agreements negotiated with the countries in which they market their fruit. Such intercession as the Palestine Government attempts is almost inevitably in the nature of cavalier interference. One single rule costing the growers over a million boxes of fruit was the order excluding oranges from export which count more than one hundred to the box. The Administration refuses to introduce any uniform inspection system and calmly ignores the demands of distracted Jewish growers for compulsory spraying and smoking of disease-ridden groves — practically all of them Arab. The desperate Jewish growers have had to establish their own inspection service on roads leading to the Colonies to keep their trees from being ravaged by the black scale and other destructive pests.

Over the objection of the Arabs, also, Jews are making a strenuous effort to create a voluntary, all-inclusive citrus exchange for the maintenance of high standards of sizing, packing and shipping. They hope to win the better prices fetched by well-selected, well-advertised and well-marketed fruit. The Government, however, seems to regard this effort as an extravagant irritation of Arabs who wish to keep to their old ways.

In the matter of trade agreements the Administration lays exaggerated stress on formal difficulties, which it pretends cannot be overcome. Yet Great Britain itself levies so heavily on Palestine citrus that the tariff represents as much as half of the actual cost of production. The only value this high duty could have is to protect a British island in the West Indies, whose sole export amounts to twenty thousand cases. The desperate Palestine grow-

ers offered to buy this whole crop at attractive prices in exchange for relief — but their offer met with no response.

A reasonable reading of this mystery is offered in the deliberate British effort to develop Cyprus, where Jews are now practically excluded, into a direct competitor to Palestine. The Jaffa orange has made such a great European reputation that the market it has established becomes a most desirable plum for anyone who can steal it. The bureaucrats have set themselves to take over this lucrative industry if they can. Cyprus oranges have been exempted from customs duty in the Empire. Land is cheap, labor is cheap, and the Palestine competitor is being frozen in his tracks by tariff walls. The Island is now being systematically advanced as "a place of settlement for retired Colonial officials of all ranks" and other Britons looking for a good thing. In the official British press it is provocatively described as "practically undeveloped."¹³

That the tragic troubles besetting the citrus growers cannot be credited to merely lackadaisical administration is shown by a host of other circumstances. An illuminating example concerns the boxes in which the fruit is packed, which the growers had been buying in Poland and Rumania. When these countries placed severe import tolls on Palestine fruit, to favor Italian and Spanish oranges, the Palestinian growers retaliated by setting up machinery to make their own boxes. This was the signal for the Government of Palestine to act. It promptly plastered a high tariff on box-wood, so that they could not be produced locally except at prohibitive cost.

The result of this official persecution is not slow in showing itself. Jewish groves, established at extravagant prices, bearing the entire cost of advertising and marketing Palestine fruit, and harassed from every source, are losing their hard-won position, even in Palestine. Isaac Rokeach, President of the Jaffa Citrus Exchange, estimates that at least one-third of the Jewish citrus growers have been unable to meet the interest on their debts for the last two years.¹⁴

In his 1935 Report, the High Commissioner candidly calls attention to this end result of his policies, saying: "A decrease of investment in citrus plantations was also observed owing to de-

cline in profits and fear of over-production. Arab farmers, however, *with little or nothing to pay for their land and their larger margin between receipts and costs, have placed large additional areas under citrus.*"¹⁵ The simple figures tell the rest. Citrus, once a Jewish monopoly in Palestine, is gradually passing into Arab hands. The Arab area increased during 1935 by 20,000 dunams — the Jewish area, by 10,000.

ECONOMIC INSANITY

Practically all countries today maintain a strict control over their exchange transactions, and also supervise the search for new markets. Their rulers are prepared to bargain for each minute advantage at the drop of a hat. This is accomplished by a direct manipulation of currency, noteworthy in the case of Germany, and special agreements of various kinds, most common of which is the 'favored nation' type. Under this arrangement a mutual exchange of purchase value is arrived at, cemented by tariff discriminations in favor of the preferred party.

Without exception, industrial nations follow the rule of buying only where they can sell, and view with serious misgivings even the slightest upset of their trade balance. The United States, after studying the bewildering list of *marks* introduced by Dr. Schacht, each with a different value and all manipulated to Germany's trade advantage, came to the conclusion in July of 1936 that they constituted discriminatory trade practice and promptly placed a retaliatory duty on German goods.

On June 10, 1937, Commons listened to Lieutenant-Colonel Amery, former First Lord of the Admiralty, threaten a sharp increase in duty against American products. "It is impossible," he said, "to get back to the gold standard as long as that great creditor nation still is forcing us to take an excess of imports." Echoed by the whole British Cabinet, Foreign Minister Eden stated that an agreement with the United States "for the reduction of customs duties on a most-favored-nation basis," was one of the main objects of His Majesty's Government.¹⁶ The Colonial Office, too, is not oblivious to these rudiments of economic good

sense. In a recent report it expresses glowing gratification because Cyprus was able to show a small favorable balance for the three months ending June 30, 1936, with imports of £305,087 against exports of £305,351.

Alone in the world, Palestine's trade policy is characterized by an entirely negative attitude. There the Government considers that the Mandate rules out the possibility of trade agreements, quotas and compensations, though these are regarded by other countries as the sole means of establishing satisfactory trade relations. Though it seems to levy tariffs and imposts as it pleases under the less imposing name of 'taxes,' the Government officially takes refuge in the position that its "obligations under the Mandate" prevent it from 'discriminating' against countries belonging to the League, from whom the Administration of Palestine theoretically derives its authority.

It is obvious that Germany and Japan, two of the worst offenders in the dumping process, are hardly entitled, even under this interpretation, to continued privileges. Officially they have retired from the League and all its obligations. In Syria, under similar mandate, the French slapped a prompt surtax on German goods, and forced both Germany and Japan to conclude favorable trade agreements which included adequate guarantees of payment in Syrian currency.

Palestine is one of the few countries restrained from taking counter measures when a foreign government leaves the gold standard and spills its depreciated wares on the market, or even directly subsidizes some of its exports. Latvian butter shippers, for example, receive such generous grants-in-aid from their Government that they are able to sell their product cheaper in Jaffa than it can be produced on neighboring farms. The Holy Land is literally flooded with goods from a large number of countries, sold at a price with which no industry depending entirely on its own resources can hope to compete. Much of this dumping is accomplished through organized cartels which are able to maintain their home prices at such a high level that they can accept payments on export goods barely sufficient to cover the cost of materials and transport. Recent years have witnessed a vast in-

crease in the dumping of goods by highly organized countries, effected through export premiums, subsidies to industry, etc., by which the State endeavors to balance its payments without reference to the home cost. In the case of Egyptian sugar, prices in Cairo and Alexandria are exactly double those prevailing in Palestine where competition has to be met from Czechoslovakia and other beet-sugar producers.

All nations, without exception, enjoy preferential treatment in regard to Palestine, turning it out, a little ewe lamb, to pasture among the wolves.¹⁷ The Holy Land has consequently fallen heir to a dangerous condition where it buys infinitely more abroad than it sells. The result of this policy showed in 1935 when Palestine had the staggering trade deficit of £13,800,000, representing the difference between imports of £18,000,000 and exports of only £4,200,000, a fatal disproportion which has risen yearly. In 1936 the situation became still more serious. Imports for the first quarter show a reduction of 14.2% over the corresponding period for 1935, while exports for the same period declined by 18.5%. Not only is the present deficit the largest in the world, reckoned per head of population, but it was created at the very time when every country was making the most strenuous efforts to balance up its trade accounts either by diminishing imports or increasing exports.

Under some circumstances these huge arrears might not be cause for overwhelming anxiety. It could be argued that in the development of a young and progressive country the import of large quantities of production equipment is a vital necessity, which must be considered as a capital investment rather than an expenditure. It is undoubtedly significant that the largest single import in 1935 was industrial machinery, valued at £992,000 as compared with £967,000 in 1934 and £467,000 in 1933. Other items of producers' materials showed similar pleasant increases. Despite this optimistic circumstance, the facts as we have seen them are not conducive to so liberal an interpretation. State policies which allow for a constriction of foreign markets, and make possible a condition where a locally manufactured blouse costing 270 mils to make, has to compete with an identical blouse

imported from Austria which retails for 250 mils, hardly make an assumption of this sort acceptable.

A picture of what is occurring can be gained from the increase in egg imports from 11,000,000 eggs in 1929, to 76,000,000 eggs in 1935, a frightening clue into real condition, when it is considered that Palestine is still in the main an agricultural country. The import value of food, drink and tobacco alone in 1935 was £3,646,877, while manufactured articles were £10,789,934. These are certainly forbidding enough figures, fully justifying Jabotinsky's dour warning that "the Jews are not settlers in Palestine—they are just tourists!"

Certainly nothing but ruin can come to the infant industry of this small land by turning it into a stronghold of free trade while all the countries, including Great Britain itself, operate on the principle of commercial treaties, mutual preferences and protective tariffs. It seems obvious that the boasted 'prosperity' of the National Home is a delusion, since it depends upon the continued import of funds, and not on the sound mechanics which trial and error have proven to be the only operative media anywhere. To become economically independent, the National Home must find a way to produce within its borders, goods and services with which to pay for the supplies it is compelled to buy from the outside world. Otherwise the difference between imports and exports must be charged off out of capital; which meant that the country had to pay out more than twice as much in 1935 alone than was brought in by all the immigrants of 1936 put together.

The actual fact is that the four hundred thousand Jews in Palestine find themselves in a grim economic battle with the world, unprotected and prevented from protecting themselves. Since the Zionist enterprise in Palestine represents a plunging investment on the part of scattered Israel, desperately attempting to salvage its remaining resources, Zionist Jewry, despite mutual self-delusions, must be living largely on its dwindling capital. Such, indeed, must inevitably prove to be the case. If no other factor than the customs system operated, Jewish industrial position would still remain dangerous and unhealthy, its catastrophic ferments sure to expose themselves the instant the river of money

pouring into this tiny area abated. That Jewish ingenuity has succeeded in partly circumventing these determined disabilities is of little real importance, as it can be assumed that new restrictions will constantly be invented to take the place of those which have proven ineffective.

In the matter of currency alone, imports from such countries as Germany, Rumania and Poland have to be paid for in full, whereas when these States purchase from Palestine, the sums owing are placed in blocked accounts, or goods which have to be taken in lieu of money ; and it is a long time, if ever, before the exporter collects on his debt. Such a condition would be laughable in any other country, which would insist at once on being paid in local currency under pain of excluding the offending States from its markets.

All these signs of economic insanity are the more remarkable since the mere existence of a great excess of imports over exports should place the National Home in an ideal bargaining position. The very weakness of her trade position would provide a club with which to secure important concessions from foreign nations the instant a quota system was set up. Under an interested Government, Palestine's trade would become a fat prize for which all commercial nations would angle. It is almost four times that of Egypt, six times that of Syria and five and a half times that of Iraq.

Turkey, one of the prime offenders, sold Palestine in 1935 a total of £ 338,807 and bought in return, £ 6646. Governed under a system of strict State control over foreign trade, the Turks put a virtual embargo on Palestine products. They ended by banning all Palestine citrus in 1936.¹⁸

Rumania, another typical illustration, sold Palestine £ 1,208,204 in 1935 and bought from her during that time a total of £ 30,000. Despite this enormous advantage, Bucharest insisted that sixty percent of the oranges it buys from the Holy Land had to be shipped in Rumanian boats. To obtain the present import licenses for two hundred thousand cases of fruit, Palestine exporters had to purchase from Rumania fifteen orange cases for every box of fruit sold. The same method of box-wood against

citrus fruit was forced on Palestine by Russia, whose balance of trade with the Jewish National Home is twenty-three to one in Russia's favor. In this policy these countries aped a similar one announced in Poland. Taking full advantage of the defenseless position of Palestine, Warsaw uses it as a dumping grounds for cheap Polish goods, selling the Holy Land £400,000 annually, and buying £40,000 in return.

Another of this unending list of examples is Hungary which sells the Holy Land in the neighborhood of £120,000 every year, and buys about £1000 worth of its goods in return. Like many of her neighbors, Hungary has a complete embargo on Palestinian fruit, out of deference to trade agreements with other orange-growing nations. Even in such countries as France and Belgium, the sale of Palestine fruit is dropping consistently due to the presence of new trade agreements by these countries with other orange producers. Palestine is mulcted from every direction. In order to sell Germany, last season, 216,000 cases of fruit worth less than £100,000, she had to buy German goods of specified classes to an equal value, notwithstanding an adverse trade balance of £2,000,000.

Whatever specious legality the Administration might take refuge in to justify its present course, Article XVIII of the Mandate specifically empowers it to conclude special agreements "with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia." One of these States is Iraq, which in 1935 exported to Palestine £237,000, and managed by discriminatory duties to hold imports from that country to £10,000. The ratio of Iraq's sales to, and purchases from, Palestine is now about thirty-one to one. Another is Syria whose cheap labor and abundant irrigation facilities offers a destructive competition to the fruit and vegetable growers of the Holy Land. Syria sold Palestine during 1935, £1,310,363 and bought only £302,988 in exchange. The exports of Palestine to all the countries of the Near East amount to only seventeen percent of its imports from these same States, showing a deficit of £2,290,000 in 1935. This may be compared with the Iraqi balance

of trade for the same Near Eastern countries including Palestine, coming to 890,000 dinars in imports against exports of 1,113,000 dinars. In the identical sphere of Near Eastern trade, Syria shows imports of 5,763,493 Syrian pounds against exports of 7,121,693 Syrian pounds.

Under the stimulus of an interested Government, Syria has started an impressive industrial development of her own. Industrial exports, which a few years ago were far smaller than those of Palestine, now exceed Palestine's by sixty percent. Even more astounding is the fact that most of these are being concentrated on the Holy Land. Syrian industrial export to Palestine for 1935 added to £520,000, as against an industrial export by Palestine to Syria of £110,000. In the trade relations between Egypt and Syria we find a wholly different condition. After a brief tariff war in 1934, a mutual trade agreement was reached between the two countries leveling off the disproportion under which Syria had suffered, to the point where Syrian and Egyptian exports practically balanced each other.

As if playing a practical joke, the sole trade arrangement approved by the Administration was made with Germany in 1933 during the world Jewish boycott of that country. Here Palestine agreed to take double the amount of German goods for the value of all oranges shipped to the Reich. Zionist politicians with their hands out, had set the example in August 1933, by an arrangement for the transfer of German-Jewish capital in the form of German merchandise, thus flooding the whole Near East with German goods. This scheme, which seemingly had the full blessing of the Palestine authorities, resulted in a tremendous fillip to German trade. German exports leaped from £780,000 in 1932 to £2,035,000 in 1936. How the trade wind blew as a result of this policy is illustrated in the drop of Palestine's sales to Germany from £600,669 in 1934 to £131,000 in 1936.

The whole sum and substance of the Government's attitude can be seen in its failure to provide for a Palestine trade secretary in any of the British Consulate-General's offices — even those in neighboring countries. Such arrangements as are made in the

name of Palestine are literally fantastic. One is the treaty granting free zones to Iraq and Iran in Haifa port. Iraq, despite its anti-Jewish attitude, is given complete facilities for landing, warehousing and transshipment of goods and the Zone is placed under the absolute control of Iraq customs officials. Under this curious 'commercial agreement' Iraq also receives concessions "in respect of local taxation," and is allowed duty reductions in favor of her produce averaging from fifty percent to eighty percent. In return for all this, Palestine receives privileges which add up to a collective zero.¹⁹ The result of this 'agreement' has merely been to aggravate Haifa's already serious problem of congestion.

The effect of this stultifying process was recently described by Dr. F. Rottenstreich, Palestine member of the Zionist Executive.²⁰ In 1937, he disclosed, Jewish workers in Palestine industry had decreased by twenty-eight percent from the previous year. He flatly accused the Government of boycotting Palestinian products, asserting that it even went abroad for goods not manufactured in Great Britain rather than patronize local manufacture. Something of the same condition was described by the Palestine Arab Congress back in 1925, which sarcastically mentions a special Stores Department existing only to buy from Europe such articles as "a thermometer, for instance, at PT10, when similar thermometers of the same sort, manufacture and patent, are sold in Jerusalem pharmacies at PT3." ²¹

While everything connected with Jewish interests is being booted around like a football, the usual solicitousness for Arabs continues. This is shown handsomely in the case of the Arab specialty of wheat growing. When a high tariff proved ineffectual, the flour trade was placed under a system of rigid licenses, with Jews allowed an annual import of only ten thousand tons though the Tel Aviv demand alone was estimated at seventeen thousand tons. Finally the High Commissioner stopped the imports of wheat altogether during May, June and July of 1935. This policy was continued to the actual point of an acute flour shortage, notwithstanding the fact that it represented a 'discrimination' against members of the League of Nations anxious to dump their excess produce into the Holy Land.²²

'HEADS, I WIN — TAILS, YOU LOSE'

Though Palestine is under the direct control of the British Colonial Office, London takes the stand that to grant it Imperial preference would be in some obscure fashion immoral. Palestinian exports to Britain are hence taxed for all the tariff will bear.

It is significant that Imperial preference has been accorded all other mandated territories assigned to Great Britain, without too much fuss being made about it. In the cases of Togo, Cameroon and Tanganyika, it was decreed by Order in Council, October 13, 1928, that these areas should be considered part of the British Empire for tariff purposes under Article VIII of the Finance Act of 1919. International precedent is also offered in the preferential tariff granted by France to the protectorate of Tunis. The United States did the same for the benefit of Hawaii before its annexation; and in 1903 allowed Cuba a customs reduction of twenty percent on the basis of "moral obligations existing."

All authorities on international law agree that the Covenant and the Mandate were devised for the protection of the mandated areas, and not for the benefit of foreign powers. Even the open door, in principle, is primarily intended to prevent the exploitation of these territories. That economic isolation was certainly not meant by the Powers is proven in the Mandates Commission's demand that Mandatory rulers and all other States "which have concluded special treaties or conventions with the Mandatory Powers . . . extend the benefits of such treaties or conventions to the Mandated territories." ²³

Britain does just the reverse. In no case where she has commercial treaties embodying the most-favored-nation clause has she bothered to arrange that the benefits be extended to Palestine. At the same time, the National Home is bound by all the obligations of existing trade agreements between England and other countries. When a speaker in Commons demanded that duties be imposed on German and Japanese imports into Palestine, the Colonial Secretary replied that "this was impossible as long as Palestine remained a party to the Empire commercial treaties with Germany and Japan." ²⁴ Despite this contention, the British Gov-

ernment has not applied the Anglo-German payments agreement, in which Palestine is legally included, to the balance of payments between Germany and Palestine.

The shrewd hypocrisy of London's position is emphasized by the voluntary action of Stockholm, which removed all import duties on Holy Land grapefruit to "promote trade relations between Palestine and Sweden."²⁵ In the same friendly gesture, the Dominion of Canada allows free entry to Palestine citrus during the principal season of export from December to May of each year. Yet Britain itself doggedly maintains prohibitive tolls on everything that comes from the Holy Land.

At the same time London insists on being credited with the amount of Palestine imports in its trade deals with the various countries, as in the Commercial Agreement signed with Poland on February 27, 1930. In the Anglo-Lithuanian Treaty, signed to maintain a balance of trade between the two countries, the same business was repeated. Here, too, the British claimed credit for all Lithuanian goods sold in the Holy Land.²⁶

ON AIR AND SEA

The irresistible force which drew the city-bound Jew to the hard, challenging soil, also beckons him to the sea. Zionist thinkers saw in advance what the Asiatic hinterland is rapidly discovering — that the sea borders of Palestine form the gateway to international traffic. Strategically located at the sea cross-roads of three continents, the land of Israel must inevitably become a prosperous maritime country.

The Nationalist leader Jabotinsky was among the first to grasp the full significance of this situation. There has long been a Revisionist marine school at Civitavecchia, Italy, where ship-building, fishery and navigation are taught to eager students from the recesses of European ghettos. The Palestine *Histadruth* has its own society called Nachshon, Ltd., and in Haifa there is a non-partisan group, the rapidly developing *Zebulun* Society,²⁷ where enthusiastic youths acquire nautical training and a love for the sea.

In 1934, goods to the value of £17,000,000 were transported to and from Palestine by water, and nearly three hundred thousand travelers came or left. Jews alone spend for shipping an estimated £3,500,000 each year. Yet for all the revenue Palestine derives from its own fishing and shipping industries, it might just as well be tucked away in the middle of Africa.

Several Jewish companies have made determined efforts to capture a part of this sea traffic for the Jewish people. When the first Hebrew steamer, the *Atid*, made its maiden voyage in 1933, manned by a Hebrew-speaking crew, observers commented wonderingly that "there was an air of unreality about this venture." Today there are three Jewish shipping corporations in Palestine, with half a score of vessels plying between the ports of the Mediterranean. For the most part these craft are of low tonnage but the new Jew looks at them with pride.

The difficulties faced by Jewish shipping are far greater than those usually connected with an attempt to establish a new merchant marine. It must compete unaided against the subsidized shipping industries of other nations. More, it suffers from the actual animus of its own home government. It does not even get preference in port clearance and wharf facilities. It is handicapped by its inability to get itself included in the pacts between shipping companies, so that a balanced payload of merchandise could be arranged for its vessels between their various ports of call. Since the amount of shipping originating in Palestine is considerable, a simple expression of interest by the Palestine Government to foreign lines which touch at its ports would easily bring about this desirable result. Far from betraying such an interest in the country's merchant marine, the Authorities actually prompted Egypt to forbid entry into her waters of Palestine *steam* vessels (specified so as not to interfere with Arab sailing skiffs) of less than one thousand tons. This, of course, hit the Jews alone. Similar difficulties were encountered in British-owned Cyprus; and Syria, too, was prevailed on to take discriminatory action against the struggling Hebrew companies.

The Administration has declared Sundays and Christian holidays the only days of rest in Palestine ports. On those days cus-

toms is closed and the work carried on at port extremely limited. Employees engaged in it must be paid 'overtime.' The Jewish Sabbath and holidays are not recognized. This obviously places Jewish shipping under costly duress, causing it to lose patronage and cargoes.

In 1936 the largest of the Jewish steamers, the S.S. *Tel Aviv*, finally had to throw up the sponge due to State-subsidized competition of foreign companies, and the ship was sold to a corporation in Japan.

A growing number of Jewish vessels are engaged in deep-sea fishing, though local fisheries are discouraged by special legislation prohibiting trawling, and by the granting of "exclusive licenses to fish." The High Commissioner dictates the industry personally, with powers to issue licenses as he sees fit. It is noteworthy that foreign fishermen are subject to none of these disabilities when operating in Palestine waters.

No appropriation exists for the fisheries service, even though Palestine imports a great amount of seafood every year. Iraq finds it profitable to transport large quantities of fish all the way across the scorching desert route. This export of fish from the Tigris to the markets of Palestine's coastal towns is as ironical as bringing the proverbial coal to Newcastle. Practically the only experimentation has been that done by private Jewish enterprise. Dr. Sklover, former official in the Fisheries Department of the German Government has proven, for instance, that the yearly cycle of sardines takes them all the way from South Palestine to the Syrian coast. Were the Government's attitude not a factor, a great export of sardines, packed in native olive oil, could easily materialize.

This uncompromising indifference to the fate of its entire maritime industry on the part of a Government, is, to say the least, unique. Not even in the section of the coast around Jaffa Harbor is there an official sea-chart. Apathy extends in every possible direction. The ports themselves are pathetically inadequate to care for the enormous growth of shipping. Facilities are so badly jammed that shippers who can possibly avoid Palestine, do so. For years the Jaffa customs area has been so badly

overcrowded that arriving steamers often have to stand by for a week or more before they can unload. Sometimes in the height of the orange season the situation becomes so impossible that the whole import and tourist traffic has to be rerouted through Haifa. Storage facilities are so poor that port authorities have had repeatedly to proclaim a respite week, during which no merchandise is accepted from incoming ships and no products loaded on outgoing steamers. What all this jockeying means to anxious growers whose perishable product is decaying in the sheds and rail-terminals need hardly be explained.

Haifa Harbor has been modernized to make it suitable as a military-naval base. From time to time it is substantially rumored that all civil shipping is to be discontinued, and beautiful Haifa Bay turned into a purely military preserve. Here oil, which pays no taxes, is the fair-haired boy of the Administration, and its transportation takes precedence over all else except the cardinal business of His Britannic Majesty's great gray sea dogs. With superb unconcern, the Authorities watch everything connected with private shipping pile into a hopeless jumble at these two ports, a mess which grows crazier with each passing year.

The ideal spot for a harbor which would relieve this congestion is Jaffa-Tel Aviv, with a combined population of well over two hundred thousand and the great bulk of Palestine's citrus groves within easy reach. For twenty years the irritated Jews have remonstrated with the Administration over the neglect of Jaffa Harbor. Not even a breakwater exists. Jagged rocks line the shore, making it necessary for ships to load and unload from lighters manned by ruffian Arab crews whose mood is always unpredictable. Steamers must anchor at least a mile out, and in bad weather have to stand by and pray for calm.

Unable to enlist Government support, the city of Tel Aviv had a brilliant idea: it would build a harbor itself, at its own expense. The juncture of the River Yarkon and the sea lent itself admirably to such an enterprise.²⁸ Its success seemed guaranteed by its location at the very nerve center of the country's commerce. The Government's answer was a flat 'no.' It is doubtful whether in the history of responsible government, the right of a city

situated on the seashore to build its own harbor at its own expense has ever been contested ; but Palestine officialdom was willing to set this amazing precedent. Its views were that such an improvement on the coast of the all-Jewish city *would constitute an encroachment on the vested rights of Jaffa Arabs.*

For years the Jews tried to secure at least unloading rights, and for years their petitions were ignored. In 1936, after four weeks of violence and isolation had sealed up Jaffa Port, the Authorities finally granted the city of Tel Aviv a limited right to unload. What the Government agreed to, in view of the emergency, was that the Jews be allowed to build a temporary jetty one hundred yards long with money raised by private subscription.²⁹ It not only refused to participate in the financing of the 'port' but also expressly forbade the Municipality of Tel Aviv to do so. With fine meticulousness it limited the cargo which could be discharged to eleven categories of merchandise. Vessels with anything else to unload, be it only as big as a dime, had to steam up the coast to Haifa or to one of the Syrian ports.

With usual exuberance, the Zionist press over the world hailed the moment as historic and the 'port' as a great concession. However, what exists at the present day is a board pier with a couple of wooden shacks serving as customs houses, and a big sign, "No Admittance to Port Area."³⁰ Certainly present omens are at least dubious. One appeared on the jubilant 'Sea Day' which Tel Aviv arranged to celebrate the triumphant opening of its 'port' in June of 1936. The great event of the day centered on three Jewish steamers which were to sail proudly into harbor as living evidence of Jewish might on the sea. Jerusalem, however, ordered these vessels out of the vicinity, announcing that anchoring in Tel Aviv waters was "permitted only to ships unloading cargoes, not for display purposes."

Actually there is no deep-water harbor in Tel Aviv, nor has the Government granted any permission to construct one. The 'port' has none of the rights which are granted even such minor places as Acre and Gaza.³¹ Officially it has no independent existence. Ships calling at Tel Aviv must receive their quarantine certificate from Jaffa. More ironic still, though the Jews of

Tel Aviv put up all the money to construct its wharves and quays, the Government takes all the income from wharfage and storage fees in addition to the revenue derived from customs duties. The Mandatory's attitude is well covered in the *Report of the Royal Commission of 1937*. It comments in regard to the projected harbor that "this would undoubtedly be disastrous to the prosperity of Jaffa, and, in justice to the Arabs, the Administration has been unable to consent to such a proposal."³²

In that more modern type of navigation, over the air lanes, the story is much the same. Private flying is practically forbidden. When a young Jewish aviator who had been a former executive in the Fokker Airplane Works attempted to lay out a field he was all but ordered out of the country.

There are three important air bases, at Haifa, Gaza and Lydda. The Sea of Galilee is also being used as a permanent landing base for Imperial Airways flying to and from India and Australia. Palestine is on the schedule of the Royal Dutch Airlines' East and West service as well as the Italian Ala Littoria and the Polish 'Lot,' connecting it up with the most important airports of Europe, Asia and Africa.

A number of years ago, Tel Aviv with usual enterprise suggested that a piece of ground could be acquired at the northern end of the city for a commercial airport. It brought forward the fact that the existing civil airport, located at the extreme southern tip of the country in the Arab town of Gaza, was far from all business centers and thoroughly unsuited to serve commercial interests. Leading officers of the Royal Air Force were induced to survey the site and they agreed that it was the best in the country for the purpose. As expected, the Government made no response. Tel Aviv then made another proposition, offering to share the expense of purchasing and maintaining the port. The Government now replied immediately with an icy refusal, stating categorically that it would neither participate in the construction of this air field nor allow the City of Tel Aviv to build it at its own expense.

It must be noted, however, that recently a company in which Jewish as well as prominent English figures are interested has

been allowed to use the airport at Lydda for civil aviation purposes.³³

ROADS AND RAILROADS

The question of roads, touched on briefly before, is well worth additional examination.

The major part of Jewish investment is made in the coastal plain and in the valleys around Haifa and Tel Aviv. Scores of Jewish settlements are located here. This district is the backbone of Hebrew colonization.

Despite the frequent pleading, practically no roadways have been built to relieve these colonies of their isolation. Colonel Wedgwood called the turn in Commons. Replying to his "honourable friend Mr. Isaac Foot" who thought "the roads were beautiful," he observed that "if he goes there and looks again he will see that the roads which he mentions are all roads leading to Arab villages and that it is very difficult to get to the Jewish villages." In January 1930, S. Ettingen, lecturer on road and railway engineering at Jewish Technical College in Haifa, directly accused Jerusalem of mapping the roads deliberately so that they would not pass through Jewish settlements. This charge is substantiated in the single experience of the colony of Hedera, largest and wealthiest in the country and center of the orange-growing section. Not only did the Administration refuse to construct a road but the colonists themselves were denied permission to build one at their own expense. Only after interminable, heart-breaking delays, and determined pressure from the Jewish Agency in London, was this permission reluctantly granted. Considering even this miserable concession a great stroke of luck, the sturdy men and women of the settlement turned out under the broiling sun to do the road construction themselves, stopping all other work.

In striking contrast are the beautiful highways existing in all parts of Palestine, leading to obscure Arab villages or isolated military stations. An example of official competence, which speaks for itself, is the beautiful automobile highway built in

1936 at breakneck speed from Gaza to the Red Sea over a sparsely settled region where any kind of wheeled vehicle is a rarity. Another is the really brilliant engineering feat involved in the great broad artery constructed in 1937 to serve British military needs along the thinly settled northern border.

At the same time that Jewish towns were wallowing in surrounding mud, Imperial self-benefaction announces that two main roads are to be extended from Palestine through Transjordan and on to Baghdad, at an estimated cost to the Palestine tax-payers of £3,000,000. The principal function of these highways is political, guaranteeing the communications of England with her Indian Empire and protecting that all-but-sacred instrument, the pipe line to the oil fields of Mosul. Their sole commercial value will be to give Iraq a convenient artery for the export and import of its merchandise through Haifa.

Military necessities have also given the Jews a left-handed benefit, through the construction during 1937-38 of the coastal road between Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Haifa. For two decades Jewish colonists pleaded to deaf ears, issuing volumes of protest memoranda that would fill a library. In 1936 Mussolini inadvertently became the Jew's good angel. The Government realized that the need for facilitating speedy movement of troops was more pressing than its strictures against Jews. Without further ado, the highway was completed with such dispatch as to come under the head of an engineering miracle. Jewish growers will now be able to transport their fruit and vegetables overnight to Haifa port. They will be relieved of making their meandering way in heavy mud to the railroad which hauls their produce by a circuitous route to the docks. Hardly less important, since it passes mostly through Jewish territory, the new road will be safe for travelers.

The Palestine railways are reminiscent of nothing so much as Fontaine Fox's old comic, the Toonerville Trolley. Today they remain in almost the same disreputable condition as they were when Palestine was nothing but a decrepit Turkish province.

The main line is largely a war-time product, and exhibits all

the short-comings of its improvised military origin. Instead of continuing on a straight course down the coast, the line loops suddenly inland at the very point where the barren stretches of the south give way to the economically important citrus belt with its great urban centers of Tel Aviv and Jaffa.⁸⁴ Just how many miles of line the Palestine Government operates is an open question. The Royal Commission of 1937 estimates a little over 1000 kilometers, of which 203 kilometers are in Sinai Peninsula, 323 kilometers in Transjordan, and 477 kilometers in Palestine itself. A part of this system is the Hejaz Railway, a Moslem religious property used largely to transport pilgrims to the desert shrines. Most of it lies outside of Palestine territory, and the only section which pays for itself is that which serves the Jewish colonies of the Emek. Its annual deficit comes to about £45,000, which Palestine shoulders as one of the shackles hung around its neck by the Administration. The Young Turks of Kemal Pasha would have sold it as scrap iron long ago.

One of the characteristics of these railways is their varying gauges, requiring a multiplicity of reloading operations to reach different parts of the same lilliputian country. The personnel consists of inept political appointees of the Government, who treat this business with all the sporadic glee that a spoiled child does a mechanical toy. The management does not bother to coordinate and adapt its services, so that shipment by rail is liable at any point to turn into a comedy of errors.

An analysis of revenue demonstrates that Jewish freight and passengers supply at least two-thirds of the income of these roads.

Since these lines were constructed they have always been in bad shape. The Mandatory's 1920 report to the League of Nations describes them as "entirely unballasted, scantily bridged, needing repairs to earthworks, drains, fences and ditches . . . and liable to be closed to traffic by washouts." For their length the Palestine Railways are the most expensive in the world. From year to year the losses of these hungry white elephants increase, aggravated by the growing preference for highway transportation where Jews are relieved of Governmental incom-

petence and obstructiveness. The railway deficit charged to Government expenditure in the fiscal year 1935-36 was £124,159, as compared with £33,805 in 1934-35.

When the roads were taken over, more than £500,000 was paid to the Jerusalem-Jaffa Line concessionaires alone. The Palestine tax-payer was asked to refund an additional £2,000,000 to the British Treasury for railway expenditures of the Military Administration. This makes the initial cost £2,500,000, apart from subsequent capital expenditure of £785,000 and an increasing list of deficits. The charge on the Palestine tax-payer per kilometer of line is conservatively estimated at £10,000.³⁶ The cost of constructing a modern railway system with full equipment, in other countries with similar traffic, does not average over £4500.

To reduce effective competition, the Government puts every possible obstacle in the way of motor traffic. Some of these have already been mentioned. Others are a drastic restriction on driving licenses, and such curious devices as an ordinance which allows only *one* person to ride in the front seat of a touring car.

To cap the strange state of affairs, Tel Aviv, the most important metropolis in the country, does not have a railway terminal. It has only a little way-station, a small, ramshackle wooden shack suited to some obscure Arab village. To catch a train its people must go by motor to the little Arab town of Ludd. Nowhere in the whole British Empire is there a town half of Tel Aviv's size which has to contend with such a condition. And nowhere in known creation is there another public utility which could deliberately avoid the chief commercial city of the country without having its management made the subject of a lunacy commission.

CHAPTER VII

DUAL OBLIGATION TO TWO PEOPLES

THE TAX MONEYS

Before the Zionists threw themselves into the picture, Palestine was a millstone around the neck of every nation that governed it. It was always in the red, produced nothing of any value, and was considered an all-around liability. On a cost accounting basis the new British acquisition seemed a pretty dismal proposition. A great economic collapse had settled like a bleak fog over exhausted Europe. The British Exchequer itself was being bled white by incessant demands from every possible quarter.

Soon Jewish money began to gravitate toward the National Home. This was one part of the Zionist adventure the London politicians could approve wholeheartedly. The prospect of having someone to tax in Palestine was a pleasing one. We find Colonial Secretary Amery begging the Zionists, in January 1928, not to withdraw their financial support since "it would be very unfortunate if that support were not forthcoming just because there is a temporary depression." *Great Britain and the East* speaks of the Zionist Organization as a "hen that lays golden eggs." It was evident that in the Mandate for Palestine the British had fallen into one of the best paying businesses they had ever encountered.

Despite generous squandering, the public moneys flowed in like a golden river. Nothing like it has ever been seen in the modern world. A deficit of £41,000 in 1931, converted itself into a surplus of £6,267,810 in 1935. By the beginning of 1936 this accumulated hoard was already equal to more than two years' normal expenditure and was piling up rapidly.

This was far and away the most respectable surplus that any Government in existence could show ; but nothing daunted, the Palestine Administration went about the business of both expend-

iture and taxation as if it were skating on the thin ice of bankruptcy. In 1934, though the Treasury was already groaning under the weight of a huge accumulated reserve, with income gaining over expenditures with every passing month, the Administration attempted to put through an income tax, and was only deterred from this measure when it was discovered that the Arabs refused to keep books.¹

Now began a performance which Lord Strabolgi sarcastically described as "the policy and economics of bedlam." The Palestine Government, its pockets already bursting with unused money, commenced to borrow huge sums in London at high interest rates, *using its own money surplus as security for the loans!* Completely rounding out this strange condition, the Administration placed all but £10,000 of its surplus into low-interest English stocks and bonds, for funding British Colonial development in such places as Ceylon, Natal, Uganda and Guiana, an investment whose collectibility is more than doubtful, if only in view of the defaulted amounts Great Britain owes the United States.

It is interesting to examine one of these loans to discover just what purposes the Palestine Administration had in mind. A typical borrowing was made in 1934 for £2,000,000. Included among its items were £133,000 for Arab schools (no provision at all for Jewish schools), £250,000 for the resettlement of 'displaced' Arabs; and £200,000 for agricultural credits (Arab). £210,000 is asked for a berth and reclamation scheme at Haifa (for the benefit of the Iraq Petroleum Company). £933,000 is sequestered for water and drainage development schemes. Of this amount, the provision made for Water Resources Survey (a life and death matter in view of the claim that Jewish immigration must be restricted for lack of water) was only £60,000. (Two years later only £7000 had been used, wasted in bureaucratic functions, the balance spent almost entirely for Arab villages and British administrative necessities.) The only benefit the Jews received from the entire water and drainage project came inadvertently from improvements made in the mixed towns of Jerusalem and Haifa.

The final item in this loan was £407,000 for public buildings and post offices. In the application of this provision the Jews were again ignored. Tel Aviv, bearing by far the heaviest part of the country's tax burden, was not given a farthing out of the total loan and went along as best it could with its antiquated telephone, postal, sewage and drainage facilities.

Analysis of the Government's expenditures for any period shows a good deal of marauding in the interests of the Mandatory itself. The League's Council had ruled that "while a mandated territory may be expected to pay its own way, it may not be burdened with obligations not directly connected with its own administration." We have already seen surreptitious violations of this principle in the amazing deals made with Iraq and the British petroleum companies. But the English were prepared to go much further: they dipped their fingers directly into the till without bothering too much about ceremony. They compelled Palestine to pay over to the British treasury £1,000,000 as a refund for a *military railroad built during the War through Sinai Peninsula*. At a time when London itself defaulted on war debts, it collected in full from Palestine, treating it as conquered Turkish territory. In addition to these reparations paid direct to the British treasury, the share of the old Ottoman public debt fastened on Palestine by the Treaty of Lausanne is regularly paid, though all other countries affected by this provision ignore it, regarding it as a dead letter.²

The great bulk of all expenditures made by the Palestine Government are conditioned directly on the military needs of the Empire. Says Broadhurst without mincing words, "Troops have to be kept somewhere, and although it costs more to keep them in Palestine than in Egypt, India, or other British possessions, the Palestine Government pays the extra money, and the expense does not fall on the British taxpayer."³ According to the Shaw Report thirty percent of all public expenditures were made on the military and armed forces of Great Britain.

In addition to sums handed directly to London, are other expenditures, designed for the same purpose but buried in the jumbled double-ledger bookkeeping followed by the Administration.

One has only to compare the disproportionate figure of £842,487 for military and police during 1935, with £313,597 allowed the combined Departments of Health and Agriculture, the latter amount itself hiding such expenditures as those for military roads. Just as Jewish money was used to build the best military harbor in the Mediterranean at Haifa to protect Britain's way to India, under the pretext of 'riots' Jews are now expected to pay Britain's huge military costs in safeguarding that same highway from the menace of the Italians. It was decided by the Palestine Government in July 1936 that "in principle" it shall be liable for the whole cost of army troops stationed in Palestine, plus the capital cost of works services there.^{3a} According to a statement published in March 1936 in the official *Palestine Gazette*, the expenditures on the military garrison alone during the year came to £1,333,000.

An inkling of where this sweet flood of golden rain comes from was given by the Colonial Secretary in Commons on March 24, 1936. The fat Palestine surplus, he acknowledged, "in itself is a magnificent tribute to Jewish enterprise — in the main it is Jewish money." Official figures of the Palestine Administration show the Jewish share in Government revenue to exceed seventy percent of all collections of direct and indirect taxes. On the basis of these estimates the per capita burden of taxation amounts to about £13 a year for Jews, and £2 a year for non-Jews. As far back as 1930, the economist, Hoofien, proved by careful computation that Jews contributed per head directly to the Government, £9 per annum, against a revenue from non-Jews of £1.75 per annum.

The figures from Jerusalem give a fair comparative index into the situation throughout the country. In 1936 the municipality had a budget of £100,000. Of this, £80,000 was received in rates and fees, of which £70,000 came from Jews. A great share of the balance arose from the wealthy Greek and Armenian Patriarchates, and such foreign-owned enterprises as the giant King David Hotel.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES

"I think," said Colonel Wedgwood, his stern blue eyes snapping, "the feeling is that the Jews ought to look after the Jews and the Government ought to look after the Arabs. . . Under this bill we are providing for a post office in Jerusalem. We have already put up with national money, not municipal money, a magnificent post office in Jaffa. . . We were told the other day that if the people of Tel Aviv wished they could raise a loan and build a post office. Of course they could, but it is not just that the Government should provide post offices for Arab towns and leave the Jews to provide the public buildings in their own towns."

In thus referring to the postal situation as a symbolic example, Wedgwood did not overstate the case. Jews contribute seventy-four percent of all postal revenues, most of it from Tel Aviv. When the palatial new post office was erected in Jaffa, Tel Aviv was already posting eight letters to Jaffa's one. With this disproportion vastly enlarged in recent years, the Tel Aviv Post Office is still housed in a rented, ramshackle building, staffed with only two officials compared to Jaffa's ten. Broadhurst informs us that "a visit to the post office at Tel Aviv will show a queue as long as that at a Labor Exchange, waiting for stamps." ⁴

It takes three days for a letter to travel the thirty-five miles from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. Parcels are not delivered at all but must be called for. In the villages this applies even to letters. And should a business man attempt to be smart and send his letter by bus-driver, a warrant is promptly issued for his arrest for contravening the Postal Regulations.

All public services can be measured by the same yardstick. The work of drainage and reforestation, so vital to the needs of an enlightened European community, has been dumped into the lap of the Jews themselves. Expenditures on health, education and agriculture are limited mainly to administration costs with the exception of small subsidies to the Arabs to keep them quiet. If the Jews themselves had not drained the malarial swamps, the land would still be subject to pestilence and disease. One of the

learned reproaches of the Jewish Agency informs the Government that "in most countries the protection of public health, the promotion of education, the construction of highways and drainage of large areas, are regarded as governmental functions." ⁵ Considering the fact that in Palestine the Jews had to undertake all these functions on their own, with funds begged from scattered Israel the world over, this quaint remonstrance is no less bizarre than the circumstances which gave rise to it.

There is little in Palestine, as we shall discover, which is not controlled by the Authorities with an iron hand. They have their fingers in many of the country's most important business activities and have taken over even such minor functions as are generally conceded to the Municipalities by the most highly socialized States. Despite this, they maintain no offices in the chief commercial city of the country. Citizens of Tel Aviv in need of Government services are compelled to go to Jaffa. During the riots, when it meant death for any Jew to venture into the Arab town, the Government opened up a few temporary services in Tel Aviv ; but transactions *not involving a contribution to the Exchequer* had still to be carried out in Jaffa ! Fretful at being compelled to go to Tel Aviv to collect its taxes, the Administration plastered an increased assessment on the Jews for this 'convenience.' In the temporary Customs Clearing Office, for example, an additional sur-charge of two hundred and fifty mils was levied, apparently, as one observer remarked, "for the privilege of not having to penetrate into the closed port area of Jaffa at the cost of a broken head."

CHEATING CHILDREN WITH COCKLES ⁶

Since the educational system is generally considered to be the foundation of the State, it is important to see just how this public institution operates in Palestine.

Official reports for 1935 show the number of Jewish school pupils as 52,030 ; Moslem, 45,894 ; and Christian, 18,175. This unexpected proportion is due to the peculiar age brackets of the Jewish immigration, as well as the aversion of Moslems to educa-

tion, which they consider destructive to the true faith. If it were left up to the British alone, the Jewish National Home would be the most illiterate spot on the globe. Only 6.2% of the Government's budget goes into education, and of this small sum, the great bulk is deflected into Arab channels. The attitude toward Jewish schooling is something like that found in some of our Southern States toward Negroes. Roughly, the State allots \$5.45 for the education of every Jewish child, and \$26.68 for every non-Jewish child.⁷ Of the £900,000 spent from 1921 to 1929, less than £60,000 went to the Jewish school system. For the school year 1935-36 the expenditures of the Department of Education ran to £237,000, of which £37,916 was allocated to Jewish schools. These comparative figures are even more striking than they appear, since they do not contain other amounts which must be credited to the Arab side such as expenditures of the Public Works Department in building of schools, and general administrative overhead.

With no exception, the Government School System is purely Arab in character. The language of instruction is Arabic. Hebrew is not even taught as a foreign tongue. When in 1937 a rumor circulated that the study of Hebrew was to be introduced, it only evoked incredulity and rendered the Government's hasty denial superfluous. "Apart from scientific subjects," the Peel Commission acknowledges, "the curriculum is almost wholly devoted to the literature, history and tradition of the Arabs; and all the school masters from the humblest village teacher to the head of the Government Arab college, are Arabs."⁸ Arab school masters in Palestine appear to have been recruited from the ranks of the most exaggerated pan-Arab agitators. The result, as Lord Peel candidly admits, is to turn the children out as violent "Arab patriots." "The schools," he tells us, "have become seminaries of Arab nationalism."⁹

During the whole period of British occupation *there has never been a single Jewish school built in Palestine out of the public funds.* The only consideration shown Jewish children is in the form of the usual face-saving maintenance grants. As early as 1926 the *Vaad Leumi* was complaining that though Jews pay

taxes for the maintenance of national institutions, "the entire burden of the education of the Jewish children is laid on the shoulders of the Jews themselves." ¹⁰ In the year 1933, which may be taken as an example, the Jewish educational budget was £250,000. The Government's grant was the ludicrous sum of £23,626. The balance of the money had to be provided by opulent Americans, and by the many poor European Jews who were cajoled into donating their meager possessions to the various Zionist funds. The Administration nevertheless does not hesitate to impose its will on the Jewish-supported system even in small matters. An instance, more than amusing under the circumstances, occurred in February 1933, when it informed the *Vaad Leumi* that it considered the salaries paid to Jewish teachers excessive and demanded an immediate reduction.

These marauding operations show even more cruelly in the handling of the Kadoorie legacy. Kadoorie was a Baghdad Jew who died in China, leaving a million dollars to the Government of Palestine for the establishment of an agricultural school. He died in the serene belief that a Jewish State was in the process of erection. Says Wedgwood, describing what ensued: "The bequest was, of course, made for Jewish education; but it was divided, and half was spent on building an Arab school *and the other half has not yet been spent at all*. And when the Arab school was opened they avoided even mentioning the Baghdadi Jew's bequest." The Jewish school was built some years later, after the Government had been prompted into action by the glare of publicity this remarkable arrangement elicited. In accommodation and size it was, as may be imagined, vastly inferior to the Arab institution.

HEALTH AND SANITATION

The attitude toward public health is substantially that man must not presume to interfere with the inscrutable will of Allah. Only inadequate attention has been given to the needs of the Arabs, and none at all to those of the Jews. Determined to build their land so that civilized human beings could live in it, the

Zionists have diverted tremendous sums, desperately needed for other purposes, to sanitation work, meeting as they went along not the gratitude of officialdom but its undisguised resentment.

Though it bars the municipal corporations from acting on their own, the Government has not made the slightest effort to develop adequate sewage systems in the cities. There is no serious milk and dairy inspection; and nothing but the sketchiest provisions for controlling epidemics or isolating contagious disease. No provision is made for tubercular patients and little more for the insane. The single small Government hospital for mental diseases is reserved for Arabs. Broadhurst mentions that lunatics "wandered loose about the streets, ignored by the passers-by. If they frightened people, or attacked them, the nearest policeman was called"¹¹ and the lunatic was jailed in great cells containing thirty or more, together with illegal immigrants, and criminals of all descriptions. Even lepers are not segregated. Says Duff, "I can show you a half dozen any day in the *Suq*" (the general market place).¹²

We find the Jewish Agency remonstrating with the Government in 1930 because it was "steadily reducing its expenditures for health" despite the great growth in population and revenue.¹³ Again, in 1936 the Hadassah Report bitterly informed the Peel Commission that appropriations for public health, meager as they were, had declined materially since 1922.

Taking the initiative, the Jews have done a magnificent job. "Next to the great sanitation work carried out in Panama by American genius," wrote Senator Copeland, "there has been no greater achievement in the field of public health anywhere in the world than the sanitation program put into effect in Palestine by American Jews."¹⁴ In 1927 the Zionist medical budget was already double that of the Government for the entire country. For years expenditures of the Hadassah institutions alone exceeded those of the Health Department.¹⁵ Hadassah keeps a whole system of hospitals, clinics and infant-welfare stations, open to Arabs as well as Jews. Unpublicized, still other voluntary bodies play a brave part in this terrible struggle to redeem the National Home from the morbid infirmities of the Near East.

As a result of their effort, infant mortality in Tel Aviv fell to 74.75 per thousand, compared with 209 per thousand in neighboring Jaffa and 242 per thousand in Gaza. For all this, officialdom has artfully usurped credit, though in his 1935 report the High Commissioner is not ashamed to list the munificent sum of £1038 as the Government's grant for infant welfare work.

Out of the anemic amounts which constitute the country's health budget, a scarce ten percent has been spent on Jews. The Government's preventive medical services are carried on exclusively for Arabs. All hospitals it has built or supports are in Arab centers. In Jerusalem itself, where Arabs are far in the minority, less than five percent of the in-patients treated in Central Government Hospital were Jews. These are generally refused admittance and told to go to the Jewish hospitals. The grimmest efforts of the *Vaad Leumi* finally succeeded during 1935-36 in securing grants for Jewish medical services totaling the ridiculous sum of £17,703. At the same time the Government contributes lavishly to hospitalization in Transjordan, as in February 1938 when it announced a gift of £56,000 to the projected hospital at Amman.

The matter of national health is one of the innumerable crises with which the *Yishub* is faced. Despite the great achievements of voluntary health work, unsettling world conditions have diminished the funds once so willingly donated by Diaspora Jewry. As these shrink, the old perils revive in proportion. Such enterprises as the draining of Esdraelon's great swamps rid Palestine of the major part of its dysentery and malaria ; but similar work cannot be continued for want of money. Malaria has consequently assumed epidemic proportions in parts of the country, and dysentery is considered such an acute danger that housewives use permanganate of potash on all uncooked fruits and vegetables as a precaution.

Even in sickness and death the malice of officialdom pursues the belabored Jews. Jerusalem Hadassah Hospital, largest health institution in the city, is charged for water at the same exorbitant rate as if it were an ordinary industrial undertaking, the Administration admittedly taking a hundred percent profit ; while Arab

hospitals, built and subsidized by the Government itself, do not pay for water at all. A sorrier state of affairs was recited in Commons on July 11, 1935 by Captain Strickland, referring to the condition of Municipal Hospital in Tel Aviv. The only institution serving the two hundred and fifty thousand Jewish inhabitants of this district, it had barely one-fifth of the accommodations normally demanded in civilized communities. With a long list of patients on the waiting list, it was so overcrowded that beds had to be put in the corridors. Facing the Colonial Secretary, Captain Strickland asked the astonishing question, "*Has the Government yet decided to allow the Municipal Authorities of Tel Aviv to provide necessary additional hospital accommodations?*"

The reply of the King's Officer was the usual skillful evasion — "It would be very unwise for me to forward *ex parte* statements to the High Commissioner, who as the House knows, gives most careful consideration to these matters." Here we have something approaching the ultimate in human enormity: though the Government's Department of Health contributed almost nothing to the support of Jewish hospitals, the Municipality of Tel Aviv *is forbidden to provide improved hospitalization even at its own expense.*

In matters of health, too, the British relentlessly squeeze this little country for profits. When the Municipality of Haifa came to an arrangement to buy its sewage pipes from a reliable Tel Aviv factory in July 1931, the Government stepped in and squashed the agreement, demanding that it purchase them in England instead. As a result of this kind of exploitation it was shown in 1935 that over seventy percent of the pipes in Jerusalem's newly laid water system were so defective that they all had to be torn up again. After a decade of mysterious engineering, Jerusalem is still so strictly rationed on water that a bath is a rare luxury and its people are often reduced to cleaning their teeth with soda water.¹⁶ It has been reliably estimated that the entire reserve supply would not last three weeks in emergency and that most of it is totally unfit for drinking purposes.¹⁷

A perverse pleasure seems to be taken in keeping all abomina-

tions intact. One of these is an open sewer which runs from North Jerusalem down the whole valley, poisoning the air with a nauseating stink. This plague-spot has been in existence for at least fourteen years. Despite protests, not the faintest attempt has ever been made to cover it. However, on occasion the Administration can take an aggressive interest in 'sanitary' measures. One of these, announced in July 1930, was a drainage project for Jerusalem — unaccountably routed so that it cut directly through the Sephardic cemetery, crossing the last resting place of Shimon Ha'Zadid, whom orthodox Jews regard as a saint.¹⁸

LAWS, BENEFITS AND PUBLIC SERVICES

There are more useless officials quartered on the back of this unfortunate country than can be found in any other administered area on earth. Officials crawl over the land like flies. In 1925, when they were not nearly so numerous, an Arab Congress did not hesitate to declare that "the Turkish régime administered Palestine with no more than one-eighth of the present Administration and, from several points, more effectively and satisfactorily."¹⁹ Some of these men are capable and efficient. Most are thoroughly unfitted by both experience and psychology for their posts. With few exceptions all of them avoid work as much as is decently possible.²⁰ In their train is an assisting horde of native politicians who need no introduction to the somnambulant venality of the East.

It is a normal experience to go to one of the Government offices day after day seeking some small service, such as having the water turned on in a newly leased apartment, only to be told that the only person who can attend to your matter, is 'out.' To get anything done at all, it is the common practice to hand one of the native politicians an inducing sum on the side, which invariably helps. Duff's admirable book *Galilee Galloper*, barred in Palestine, gives a relentless description of the greed and corruption of these men. Their hand is everlastingly out, and nothing can be moved without the passing of a proper bribe.

Despite its hostility to Marxism, the Government of Palestine

has put into effect a practical socialism of its own. It owns railroads, telephones and other public utilities, and keeps a close control over every kind of major enterprise. The attitude was explained in a sentence by Mr. Johnson, the Palestine Treasurer, when he was asked directly why it was so difficult for Jews to obtain any concessions. Johnson replied tersely: "What do you s'pose *we're 'ere* for!" Meaning that if any of the proposed concessions were any good, 'they' would operate them for themselves with the public moneys, creating more jobs for worthy Englishmen out of work. This procedure is, however, held in check by lack of experience and the enervating climate. Ordinarily things touched by officialdom wither — or proceed at a snail's pace.

Very little that is lucrative escapes their attention. Jewish firms rendering a public service sooner or later find Englishmen in control of their businesses; or their charters are canceled outright. The Jewish Hasolel Company, first to generate electricity in Jerusalem, may be given as a case in point. Its rights to operate were challenged and the concession was finally taken away from this firm by a simple maneuver. An obscure Greek named Mavromatis with an ancient 'charter' from the Sultan, was dug up and his claims were shrewdly advanced at the Hague Tribunal. Mavromatis, whose support hinged on an under-cover agreement to sell to British interests, got the concession; and in September 1928 the powerful London Power Security Company²¹ owned the business so bravely started by the little Hasolel Corporation. Scarcely half a year later, a boycott was being threatened against the new owner for its policy in refusing to employ Jews.

All public utilities seem to operate on the theory that in one way or another life must be made miserable for the Jews. The phone service is a case in point. Jews are the great majority of all subscribers. According to Hoofien's estimate, they are more than seventy percent of the subscribers even in Arab Jaffa. In a rapidly industrializing country, telephone communications are an urgent necessity. Nevertheless, applicants for new phones were informed that these could not be installed under three

years' notice. The expressed reason for this delay was that the Government did not like the existing telephone building and, apparently, had been spending all these years trying to decide on an acceptable location for a new one. The ownership of a phone in Palestine is now worth a substantial sum of money, often changing hands like a seat on the stock exchange.

Though Tel Aviv is the commercial center of the country, trunk calls to and from that city have to pass through the Jaffa Exchange. If a subscriber wants to put in a call during business hours from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem or Haifa, it will take him from two to three hours to get through.²² Even this is sometimes an improvement over the local service. Jerusalem's main post office has two call-boxes, one for local and one for trunk purposes. "If the local box is occupied," says an English political writer, "the wise man calls a friend in Haifa, delivers a message, which he asks to be put through to the required number in Jerusalem, and steps out of the trunk-box elated over the comparative perfection of the long distance service, while his neighbor in the local box is still trying to extricate himself from wrong numbers."²³

All communications of any kind are in the hands of the Government. Wires must be brought to the Central Post Office in person and must be called for in the same way. The Government fixes the charge, no matter which cable or wireless company is to handle the message. The press rate for sending a cable from Jerusalem to London is 21 mils a word, and it takes an average of two hours in transit. From Cairo, Egypt, where the distance to London is almost the same, the rate is 11 mils per word, and the time in transit is a half-hour.

All but a negligible proportion of telegrams are forwarded by Jews. The revenue of this Department in an ordinary year amounts to around £300,000, against an average expenditure of £198,000.

Until very recently, messages were accepted only in English and Arabic. A stream of violent protests from Jewish telegraph users bombarded Geneva in protest. Replying to the League's question the Government asserted that its lawyers had made a

careful search of the Mandate and *were unable to find any specific provision for the sending of telegraphic messages in Hebrew.*²⁴ After a protracted struggle, this farce was ended when the Permanent Mandates Commission ordered that the discrimination cease. The Government then installed Hebrew telegraphy in only a few cities, so that its use became, in effect, impossible.

The Mandate for Palestine guarantees the rights of the Hebrew language, though these are constantly infringed in State institutions and in public life. Throughout the Government Service an accurate knowledge of Arabic is demanded, but no understanding of Hebrew is expected from either Arab or Englishman. Commander Oliver Locker-Lampson brought out on December 3, 1937 that only two percent of the Senior Officers in Palestine had even a passing knowledge of Hebrew. Even in Jerusalem itself, regulations were issued by the Commandant of Police requiring a working knowledge of English and Arabic of all officers and constables in order to be eligible for promotion. No mention of Hebrew was made at all. This discrimination against Jews in a Jewish city received such worldwide publicity that a knowledge of Hebrew was hastily included; but in practice the original force and purpose of the regulation remained intact.

Identical strictures operate against the showing of the Jewish flag. Its public use is treated as a virtual encroachment on public morals. This was demonstrated convincingly during the celebration of the Maimonides Octocentenary in April 1935.²⁵ Spain, the great philosopher's birthplace, declared the occasion a public holiday. Other powers, including the Vatican, joined in honoring his memory. In Palestine the thousands of Jewish pilgrims to his tomb were greeted by police with batons, who busied themselves, among other activities, in tearing down all Jewish flags they could find.

The present flag of the National Home is the Union Jack with the word 'Palestine' inscribed in a small circle in the lower right hand corner. Its adoption was precipitated late in 1934, when a Japanese sea captain gave the Zionists their cue (which

with customary ineptness they ignored) by refusing to fly British colors when in Palestine port, maintaining that the National Home was an independent country under League Mandate.

Quite in keeping is the Government Broadcasting Service, launched with much fanfare at the beginning of 1936. After operating but a few days, officials forced the Hebrew speakers to eliminate the name *ארץ ישראל* (*Eretz Yisroel*) when referring to Palestine, and to substitute the phrase's initials, *א"י* (*Aleph Yud*), a childish piece of malice which is even carried over to the country's postage stamps.

Several typical incidents will show the uses this public service is being put to. During the last week of September 1936, a famous Arabic legend was being retold. The story revolves around the classic loyalty of the Jewish poet-hero, Ishmuel (Samuel) Adaya HaCohen, who had protected a valuable shield entrusted to him by the Arab hero Alkis, even when his little son was being tortured to death to force him to yield. To this day HaCohen remains so traditional a symbol of absolute honesty that an Arab when speaking of outstanding loyalty and trust will say, "faithful as Ishmuel." As told over the Government broadcasting station by the announcer, a public official, the explanation was added that "Samuel behaved as he did from love of wealth, as the shield that Alkis had left was a pledge for money Samuel had loaned him." Thus the speaker demonstrated that so great is the avarice of the crafty Jew that he would even sacrifice his own child to it. On another occasion, in February 1937, a visiting English M.P. named McGovern had his scheduled talk over the Palestine Broadcasting Service cavalierly canceled at the last moment. The acknowledged reason was that McGovern had made the mistake of lauding Jewish accomplishments in a newspaper interview the day before.

Radios practically come within the contraband class. The tourist is astounded to discover that he must make a special journey to Jerusalem and cut his way through a swathing of red tape to get his radio out of quarantine, where it is impounded on sight. Though Jews require a special permit even to possess one, hundreds of sets have been supplied without cost by the Gov-

ernment to Arab villages so that they might listen to the propaganda sent out from London and Jerusalem. (The English have been lately horrified to find that the Arabs have been tuning in instead on the anti-English incitement broadcast from Italian Bari.)

Even the priceless antiquities of the Holy Land are not sacred to the ruling caste and may be exported unhindered; though such 'backward' nations as Honduras prohibit similar ravishment as an offense against the nation. Much connivance goes on to enrich individual pocketbooks. In one representative instance, certain of these priceless objects were disposed of to a 'speculator' for £500, who promptly 'resold' them to a Chicago museum for £2000, a price in itself far below their real value.²⁶

In other respects the regulation of life is minute and drastic. The most revolutionary enactments decorate the statute books, often promulgated without notice or publicity. One of these empowers a police officer to stop a touring car and order the driver to do such a thing as transport a live cow to the municipal slaughter house.²⁷ Another entitles the Authorities to shut off the water supply at any Jerusalem address where a resident has contravened any municipal law. Still another of these edicts empowers the Government to revoke the citizenship of anyone whose utterances might be displeasing to it, without explanation and without recourse. Here one is reminded of the story of the Berlin Jew, Horowitz, who wrote to a friend in America saying that everything was fine with him under the Hitler Government, putting at the end of his letter the following P.S.: "Abe Cohen, who complained in a letter to his brother that things were not so well here, was shot yesterday." No one needs to explain to the Government of Palestine what it means for a Jew to be without a country and without a passport in the present world.

'NO JEWS NEED APPLY'

Had the Government seriously wished to pursue the policy of the Mandate, it would have engaged itself in training Jews

for its administrative and executive departments against the day when the manifest purposes of that document had been fulfilled. Simple logic would have recommended the appointment to high position of only those Arabs who could be relied on to carry out the policy to which the Mandatory was pledged. But the official cabal had quite other ideas. Hence we discover, among the other 'benefits' conferred on Jews in Palestine, their derogation to a sub-human species who at all costs must be kept out of the Government itself.

As in Nazi Germany, virtually the only Jews who can get Government positions are the old soldiers — and their lives are made so miserable that they prefer anything else if they can get it. Though European Zionists proclaimed their happy relationship with Britain, local Jewry suffered from no such illusion. The *Vaad Leumi* Memorandum to the League of June 15, 1931, referring to the exclusion of Jewish workers on all governmental projects, declared pointblank that "this exclusion, which is in effect a boycott, provides additional evidence of a Government policy calculated to ignore the interests of the Jewish community in all its needs. . ."

When Samuel came after the 1920 pogrom which almost lost the Mandate for England, a number of high-ranking Jewish officials had been appointed with him as evidence of London's good faith. The most important of these was Norman Bentwich, the Attorney-General. As was true of Samuel, Bentwich leaned over backward so far that he favored the Arabs like the other officials. But this did not save him and he was retired by 'comrade' Passfield because he was a Jew, eight years before his pensionable age.²⁸

The resignation in 1932 of A. M. Hyamson, Director of the Department of Immigration, eliminated the last Jew who served as a department head in Palestine. Hyamson had managed to hold on to his job by outdoing even the English in severity to Jews. This did not save him either. The Administration simply did not want anyone remotely suspected of being a Jew in a position of authority. The Jews, who had come to detest this man, were also glad to see him leave. Said the Hebrew press

politely at the time : "Mr. Hyamson's departure from Palestine will not be viewed with regret." ²⁹

British policy has turned Palestine into a paradise for petty Arab officials, who have been encouraged into bold disloyalty to the very Mandate which feeds them. To understand all the implications contained in this shoddy situation, the character and training of the average Arab must be borne in mind. Like the Igorrote of Luzon, he is still in the tribal stage of development. He still lives in the atmosphere of the *Ghazzu*, the night raid. Lawrence, and everyone else who has had any experience with him, was quick to grasp his hopeless inadequacy for any kind of modern organization. In all of Palestine but 73,000 Moslems are able to read and write. To these may be added 43,000 Christians, making 116,000 non-Jews who can sign their own names.

Against this miserable showing, almost one hundred percent of the Jews in Palestine are literate. They not only possess a heavy majority of the trained and educated population but have in their midst some of the greatest minds in the world. Included in their ranks is a vast amount of ability that has fled from oppression, a concentration of so many scholars, engineers, economists, thinkers and distinguished figures generally, that they probably represent *the highest group level of culture and ability in existence*. Here was apparently the perfect source to draw on, in this land inexperienced in self-rule, for the purposes of efficient government.

Actually, we find bias against these people so great that they are allowed to serve only where their appointment could hardly be prevented — as in the case of translators, or in the municipal Jewish institutions. The Government's Works and Plans Department provides an excellent illustration. Some of the ablest engineers in the world now live permanently in Palestine but are studiously ignored. Whenever competent engineers or architects are needed, advertisements for the purpose are inserted solely in the London papers. That 'Aryans only' need apply, goes without saying.

In the whole Government service, Jews, who constitute one

third of the population and contribute the bulk of the State's revenues, hold less than 5% of the public jobs. Even this fraction is in the nature of a sop, thrown irritably to keep them quiet as one does a bone to a yelping dog. A bird's-eye view of these complaints tells a vivid story. A wild cry from the Jewish Agency reveals that the percentage of Jewish labor employed on public enterprises was 1½% in 1925, as compared with 6% in 1922.³⁰ In the five-year period ending March 31, 1927, the average was less than 3%. The Agency avers that in Haifa where Jews were half the population, and at Jaffa where their numbers were considerable, extensive public works programs were undertaken without employing a single Jewish workman or clerk. It declares that less than 4% of those employed on public works in Jerusalem are Jews.

As early as 1926, various departments of the Government had already been made *Judenrein* (free of Jews). A list of official appointments published October 11 of that year, shows the railroads, post office and police departments to be practically without Jews, though a few were appointed in ensuing years to keep a decent face. No Jews at all were named to the strategic Land Courts or to the Frontier Force. In 1930 a Customs Department investigation disclosed that in the head Government office, of thirty-five officials, one was Jewish. In the Haifa office, of thirty-two officials, there were two Jews. Since these offices were all in strong Jewish areas, it does not require saying that in the Arab sectors there were no Jews at all.

By 1935 the condition was hardly improved. In April of that year the Hebrew press was complaining that Jewish officials in Government offices averaged less than one-half of one percent. Not a single Jew was employed in the vast Haifa Harbor extension and improvement works. There were only ten in the Government works in Jerusalem, including the Printing Press, Post Office and Police School, and only five on Jerusalem municipality enterprises. Thousands of illegal Arab newcomers were being used on these projects, but no Jews were wanted.

Evidence presented to the Peel Commission in 1937, proved that though they contribute directly sixty-five percent of the

railway revenue, out of the 4300 employees in the Government railway system only 365 were Jews. The annual budget of £130,000 for road maintenance and public works was spent almost in its entirety with Arabs.

Though Jews are responsible for seventy percent of customs receipts, they are virtually excluded from labor in the ports. At Jaffa the porters are all in direct Government employ. Lighter men and stevedores must be licensed by the Authorities, who flatly refused to issue licenses to Jews. At Haifa a considerable proportion of the porters work for private firms, which hire Jews. Of the three thousand laborers regularly working in the two ports, at the beginning of 1936 only three hundred were Jews, all of whom were in the employ of Jewish importers.³¹

Where a proportion of Jews is used the difference in treatment is impressive. Even the Peel Commission was compelled to remark that Jewish scavengers in Jerusalem were not supplied with winter clothes as Arab scavengers had been.³²

Partisanship of the most indefensible kind is always in evidence. Tel Aviv, with one hundred and fifty thousand people, is allowed only twenty-six postmen, who work twelve hours a day for £5 a month. Side by side with these Jewish mail-carriers are imported Englishmen who are paid four or five times this amount. The Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress comments that "salaries of Government servants are a matter of wonder and ridicule. . . A customs cashier in Jerusalem station, for instance, gets £E25 per *ensem*.³³ He is transferred and his successor is given only £E12, though he is held equally responsible. A clerk in a department gets more sometimes than his chief who is even responsible for his own work ; as for example is the case in the Werko Department of Jerusalem where the director of that section gets £E16 and one of his clerks gets £E22, though the former is his senior in age and service, and though other clerks who carry on the same work get between £E10 and 15."³⁴

Sometimes official bias goes to such lengths that it backs up against itself. An amusing instance concerned a contract for a £60,000 British military camp near the Jewish settlement of

Nathania, assigned to a firm in Egypt. Unable to handle it, they promptly sublet the job at a profit to Jewish contractors in Palestine.

Still others took their cue from the Government and refused to employ Jews. One of them was the already mentioned Jerusalem Electric Company. Another was the important Shell Oil group, beneficiary of the tax-free Iraq Oil Company agreement. A particularly flagrant case concerned the famous King David Hotel, one of the largest enterprises in the country and a favorite rendezvous of Government officials. On September 23, 1934 it became entirely *Judenrein*, the last remnant of a once-large Jewish staff having been dismissed to be replaced by *imported foreign labor*. Bellowed the manager: "We want no Jews in this hotel. We shall keep it clean." ³⁵

AN ANGLO-SAXON SYSTEM OF JURISPRUDENCE

The average Englishman believes religiously in the incorruptible quality of "British justice." He will tell you that the Englishman takes his whole system of equity with him wherever he goes, and that it is a great, moral, cleansing influence in the lives of the backward peoples who inhabit the far reaches of the Empire. But whatever it may be elsewhere, the British system of jurisprudence in the Holy Land has little to recommend it.

The men sent down from London to rule this martyred country proceeded at once to put into effect a number of kinds of justice for a number of kinds of people. Lowest in the categories of caste by which equity was meted out were the Jews. The Arabs followed, a few notches ahead in favoritism. Perched on top of the heap were the English, who were practically a law unto themselves.

Widespread corruption degrades every department of the Judiciary. Graft, baksheesh and rake-off are constantly in the background as in the worst days of the Roman yoke. Everything connected with either the police or the courts is for sale. Even the black-list of persons to be kept under particular police surveillance at the time of the 1929 outbreak (a document so

confidential that it was even kept secret from the Parliamentary Commissions sent down later to investigate), appeared in photostat, with admitted accuracy, in the columns of the *New York Vorwärts* and in other papers throughout the world. Thoroughly disgusted, Detective Chief Broadhurst came to the conclusion "that to put anything on paper at all was simply 'to blow the whole gaff.'" ³⁶ He candidly concedes that it would be impossible to operate a jury system in Palestine. Bribery and corruption infest all processes of law to such a degree that to introduce it would mean a complete end to even the bare pretense of legal justice.³⁷

The great bulk of appointments to the Magistracy has been drawn from clerks and interpreters, some of them semi-literates. The Government benevolently allows these incompetents ten years to pass an examination, meanwhile authorizing them to serve in a judicial capacity. "There was only one man on the High Court Bench who had any real conception of criminal law," states Broadhurst laconically, "and he was in a district where his knowledge was only of use locally." ³⁸

To the outsider it is incredible that Tel Aviv has no Court. All matters involving more than £150 have to be heard in Jaffa. A court sits in such Arab villages as Jenin, Tulkarm and Acre, but the largest city in the country has no court. And if you speak anything but Arabic to the notary of clerks in the Jaffa District Court, you will be stared at as if you were some strange animal. The record of proceedings in almost all courts is kept in Arabic. Basic law is still the old reactionary Ottoman code, long ago discarded as obsolete in Turkey itself.

The prosecution of crime is almost wholly in Arab hands. The Government Advocate is an Arab. His assistant at headquarters is an Arab. With the exception of one Jew, who does only office work, all the Junior Government Advocates are Arabs.³⁹

The Criminal Investigation Department is so desultory in its service that it can hardly be said to exist in practice. Here, too, official perjury is an expected occurrence and influence and baksheesh are part of the formula of justice. It is notorious

that the police 'investigators' who compose the original 'report' before cases come to the examining magistrate, will prepare these documents in any way that is wanted if a proper payment is made. As for the courts, "it was possible," says Broadhurst, "to obtain a *habeas corpus* for a few piastres in order to short-circuit proceedings."⁴⁰ The style of British officialdom itself can be convincingly grasped in the trial of a Georgian Jew named Turshoili, for arson, in November 1932. Declared States Attorney Elliot for the Government, before the highest tribunal in Palestine: "Jews are necessarily arsonists."

The police are merciless to prisoners who meet their displeasure. Their tone may be judged from the reappointment to high position in the Police Force of Kheir El Din Effendi Besesso after he had been found guilty by the High Court, on August 9, 1928, of kidnaping a witness for the defense on the eve of a criminal trial. Says Duff who should know: "Torquemada, or the Court of Star Chamber can have had little fresh to impart to your Palestine policeman determined to extract a confession." The arrest of two Jewish children, Simon Mizrachi, aged 9, and Haham Jacob, aged 10, on March 7, 1931, provides a ghastly example. Without their parents having been informed of the offense, the 'criminals,' charged with throwing stones at an Arab's house, were flogged so unmercifully that one was reported near death.⁴¹ The brutal medieval custom of whipping is actively followed in the jails, a matter which received some airing in Commons in June 1928, where the Colonial Secretary learnedly backed this cruel usage with the opinion that "flogging was a proper punishment."

Not even the concentration camps of Germany can surpass in pure horror prison life in Palestine. The jail at Acre is a good example. It is the principal prison of Palestine, a massive, forbidding structure inherited from the Turks. Its foul dungeons, in which light and air rarely enter, are a relic of ages past.

The prison food is supplied by a concessionaire, the lowest bidder receiving the concession. It is of the poorest kind and consists of a small amount of rice, rough bread and a handful of green olives. A great many of the prisoners are growing boys

in their teens (especially those held as illegal immigrants), and very often remain crippled for life after a year or two of this diet. "General weakness, stoppage of growth, ulcerated stomach, anemia and chronic dysentery are prevalent among the younger Acre prisoners," writes Malkah Raymist.⁴² There is no distinction made between petty offenders, illegal immigrants, tourists who overstay their leave, murderers, prostitutes or the insane ; all of whom are crowded into the same filthy cells, where at times it is almost impossible to breathe. The prisoners have no beds and must sleep directly on the earth floor. Until early in 1938 they were not even entitled to blankets.

There is no adequate medical service and no dental service at all. All of the prisoners (including those awaiting trial) are put on hard labor and regularly kicked and beaten if they are unable to do the heavy work demanded of them. At the slightest sign of disobedience they are severely thrashed or thrown into a tiny windowless cell called the 'sensane,' a foul cubicle where a man can neither lie nor stand, but only crouch. Sanitary conditions are nil and the stench is described as unimaginable. Clothes are seldom issued and often prisoners have to go about in rags. Cigarettes are not allowed. Inmates may write or receive letters only once a month, so that they are virtually cut off from the world.

Under these terrible conditions unfortunates of all kinds may be kept for years awaiting trial, and must then serve their sentences in addition.

Suicide and attempted suicide are a common occurrence, particularly among the illegal immigrants held here. Often the prisoners collapse in fainting spells or develop fits of wild hysteria, screaming, tearing their hair and knocking their heads against the stone walls. Those who have been kept here for any considerable period invariably emerge physical wrecks.

Palestine is the only country where the old law of imprisonment for debt still holds. Another novelty of Palestine court procedure permits witnesses to give testimony behind a screen so that the accused cannot see them.⁴³ An even more startling introduction is contained in the Laws of Evidence (Amend-

ments) Ordinance, introduced in 1936, which "abolishes the necessity for corroboration in criminal cases generally." ⁴⁴

Fully as abhorrent to any civilized mind is the practice of levying collective fines on whole villages for the misdeeds of a single culprit ; or still more horrible, of blowing up entire blocks of houses with dynamite *on suspicion that a yet-untried law-breaker made his home in one of them*.

What was taking place under good British Government may be aptly judged from the fact that in an ordinary year there were three hundred and sixty reported murders in Palestine, with only eight offenders hanged. Hundreds of additional homicides were not reported at all, "while highway robberies and cattle thefts were higher even than they had been in the laxest years of the Ottoman régime." ⁴⁵

Duff gives a graphic account of the officially condoned reign of terror against the Jews in the sector where he was ruling police officer. "It was a most trying situation for me," he writes. "I dare not do much against the Arabs, even though I knew they were guilty, as Jerusalem frowned on anything that would annoy the 'Nationalists,' as these self-seeking, cynical *effendis* called themselves." In his district a hurricane of outrages battered the Jewish settlers, ranging from wanton destruction of trees and animals, to murder and assault — yet, he writes, "in no single instance was I able, through the restrictions placed upon me, to bring the offenders to trial, though I knew who the guilty persons were, and they knew I did." ⁴⁶ It was a contemplation of this sort of thing which caused Wedgwood to cry out in Commons that "the Government at the present time is anti-Semitic and is a disgrace to England."

It appears to be a principle of common equity here that thieves and vandals may not be injured when they are caught red-handed at their work. Hundreds of Jewish watchmen have been imprisoned for doing bodily harm to Arabs who came to steal or commit other depredations. A simple example is the case of an 18-year-old watchman named Solomon Jacobson who was badly injured during a raid by a gang of Arab thugs organized for purposes of theft. In an effort to discharge his duty

and defend his life he mortally wounded one of the invaders. For this 'crime' he was sentenced on May 2, 1935 to seven and one half years at hard labor. Another typical case occurred February 24, 1933, when a group of thirty Bedouins attacked a small Jewish colony, killing an ex-Legionnaire and wounding several others. Police who stood watching a short distance away did not attempt to interfere ; but four of the raiders were captured by members of the colony. At the Nablus Court, a few months later, the Bedouins were acquitted for 'lack of evidence,' an item which appears with tiresome repetition on Palestine court records.

The amazing legal principle making these decisions possible is indicated in the case of Naftali Rubenstein, a watchman of the Bath Galim settlement, who was sentenced to prison at Haifa for "attempted murder" (the wounding of an Arab). The judge, in pronouncing his verdict, stated that it was intentionally light because "*there were extenuating circumstances*" in that the Jews of Bath Galim were being assaulted by Arabs at the time ! ⁴⁷

An even more revolutionary precedent is written in the case of Achmed Said, an Arab burglar who had killed a watchman of the Jewish colony at Petach Tikvah. The Jerusalem Court sentenced the man to six months, justifying this nominal punishment on the score that "*the crime had been unpremeditated*," in that the thief had killed the watchman only to escape being caught.⁴⁸ However, when an Englishman is killed, also "without premeditation," the death penalty is unhesitatingly invoked. This double application of the law is nowhere better shown than in the trial of one Sadik Altamini, indicted for inciting a Hebron crowd with the cry : "Kill Police Inspector Cafferatta and the Jews !" For inciting to kill Cafferatta, the man was sentenced to four years at hard labor. At the same time, the second charge, that of inciting to kill Jews, *was dropped* "*for lack of evidence* !" ⁴⁹

Offenses against womanhood are regarded almost casually. "Young girls no longer may venture forth safely alone on the streets," writes the correspondent for the National Catholic Wel-

fare Council.⁵⁰ The Government's attitude speaks for itself in the dismissal of a Jewish sub-inspector of police named Ben-Yehuda for "communicating to the press and some friends" the fact that an American girl had been violated on the streets of Jerusalem.⁵¹ Cases of unpunished criminal assault reached such proportions that the American Consul General in Jerusalem was forced to make strong representations on behalf of the United States Government.⁵² As if by magic, three assailants of an American girl were promptly apprehended and sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor — the heaviest and practically the only punishment imposed for such crimes up to that time.

In addition to the deluge of rape cases against women were many degenerate attacks on boys and men. The Palestine penal law does not prohibit homosexuality and its practice involves little social stigma among Moslems.

The official attitude is brought home in revolting detail in the case of a Jewish boy and girl named Stahl and Zohar who disappeared in the Winter of 1931 while out for a stroll. A series of earlier outrages had excited the Jewish community to a fever pitch of feeling; and since the Authorities would do nothing, private investigators were hired and a big reward posted. This initiative brought accusing witnesses from Bedouin villages near Herzlia, who led investigators to a shallow grave where the bodies of the unlucky youngsters were found. The boy had been stabbed to death defending his companion. The girl, according to witnesses, had been violated by five Bedouins.

Though the culprits were thus openly named, the police made no effort to arrest them. Here a new factor entered. The murdered pair were nationals of Germany and Poland and their consulates insisted on at least a show of justice. Under these representations, the Government took the five accused into custody, where three were promptly discharged and the other two held on the familiar charge of "unpremeditated murder" — *the fact that the killing had been incidental to an attempt at rape apparently being considered a mitigating circumstance.* To make the police less eager for private rewards in future, an officer

named Kabra was given three years for having lodged "false information" against the Arabs who had been released, though they had been identified by a score of people of their own tribe.

Now followed galling, interminable delay. Finally, after angry representations from the Polish and German Consuls, the Bedouins were committed to trial. Though the case against each of them was identical, only one was found guilty and he was sentenced to fifteen years. The same Court which made this decision sentenced an Arab named Mustafa Jeebawi to death for the murder of Mrs. Thomas Miller, wife of an English engineer, while bent on rape.⁵³ Apparently 'unpremeditation' did not apply when it came down to typical Arab crimes against the families of British officials.

It has been shown time and again that culprits arrested for physical attacks on Jews were rescued by the public prosecutors themselves. Apparently this corrosion reaches into the highest places, as was clearly demonstrated in the case of an Arab (a suspected murderer) caught *in flagrante delicto* with four rifles and some bombs, early in 1937. The prosecuting attorney immediately asked that the case be thrown out of court. Guilelessly, the presiding magistrate asked why it should not at least be pressed according to normal regulations on illegal possession of arms. "I am acting on instructions," snapped back the Government attorney.⁵⁴

In addition to the civil and criminal courts are an unending multiplicity of ecclesiastical tribunals whose jurisdiction is legally recognized. These perform civil functions ordinarily considered to be the prerogative of the State alone. The judges who sit in the Moslem Shavia Courts are considered servants of the Administration, which pays their salaries — yet the courts themselves are completely removed from any supervision by the Government's Legal Department. In the usual contrast, Jewish courts must pay all their own expenses by a voluntary tax on the Jewish community. The privileges of the various non-British Christian communities are intermediate between those of Jews and Moslems. However, Christians are allowed certain unique,

overall privileges in compensation. One is the right of monks, European or native, to serve sentences of imprisonment in the spiritual seclusion of their own monasteries instead of in the squalid promiscuity of a Palestine lockup.⁵⁵

THE WOLF NAMED SHERIFF TO THE LAMBS

One may well pity a people who are placed at the mercy of an alien police. The Irish, with centuries of wretchedness behind them, could tell you something about that. Jews who remember the Kishineff massacres in Russia, when uniformed gendarmes led the howling hooligans over the barricades, could tell you more. From their experience in Palestine they could add terrible pages to that record.

Shocked by the course events have taken in the National Home, Colonel Patterson grimly referred to it as a "National Death Trap." Echoing the same disgust and revulsion, former Colonial Secretary Amery sarcastically informed his Government that the Home could not be regarded as a Home "unless those living there were allowed to play a part in its defense."⁵⁶

Since the disbanding of the Jewish Legion it has been known that Jews were not wanted in the Palestine military or police force. Part of the strategy in this high game of dissimulation was to make it impossible for the Jews to protect themselves, and then, by encouraging attacks upon them, pose as the faithful, disquieted custodian who was being badgered from all corners for his good offices. Thus the Jew is placed in the traditional role of a craven interloper foisted on an innocent people, who too cowardly to defend himself, calls on the harassed Briton to do this for him while he slinks out of harm's way. It is this interpretation that London has so painstakingly palmed off on puzzled world opinion.

The modern Jew has proven himself to be a good soldier. In the World War he won his full share of citations in all countries. The present French Foreign Legion, so famous for its exploits in North Africa, has so many Jews in its ranks that whole sec-

tions of it can almost be designated as a Hebrew force. The same is true of the plucky International Brigade of Spain which held up Franco's advance for so long.

In Palestine the Jews were at all times prepared to defend themselves and were perfectly capable of doing so, had they not been rendered impotent by the Government. The Hebrew in his National Home is far from a milksop. The military of Palestine would be literally swamped with Jewish recruits, were they accepted. Before the British came, the Jewish colonies were considered the safest places in the Near East. Their *gendarmerie*, a force of hard-riding, reckless horsemen known as the *Shomrim*, had long since won a reputation for everything that was fearless and gallant. The Turks freely acknowledged it to be the most skilled police force in the Near East. In those days Arabs did not attack Jewish colonies, preferring to pay their night-riding respects to other Arab tribes and villages where they would get off with a whole skin.

One of the first British acts was to quietly disband this efficient constabulary, and to organize one of their own from which Jews were excluded. They were disarmed as if they had been a conquered enemy, and were not even allowed to possess the small arms and dirks habitually carried by all Bedouins. A lurid light is thrown on this circumstance in an anecdote concerning an irreproachable physician who had been attacked by an Arab assassin. When the police called to inquire, the doctor informed them in a sad voice: "I was afraid you had come to arrest me."

"Arrest you?" said the officer. "Why?"

"Well, because it is known that I carry a weapon."

"A weapon? Where do you have it?"

"Here," answered the doctor, turning around, "it is a knife, stuck in my back." ⁵⁷

The expenditure for military and police in the Holy Land amounts to more than a third of the total revenues. The immense constabulary this infers is hardly required for the policing of Jews, who foot its bills. The trial of Jews for crimes of violence is practically unknown. Even on such minor charges as drunkenness, only 52 Jews were among the 724 convicted

during 1935; and out of 415 sentenced in 1936 for the same offense, 27 were Jews. Commenting in Commons, Wedgwood cried: "You say that the money spent on the police force is spent to protect the Jews. . . . If you go to any police station, you will find that the crimes of violence, and the crimes against which the police are provided . . . are committed by Arabs and not by Jews. . . . So far as the police and the defense of Palestine are concerned, if you gave the Jews arms and allowed them to defend themselves, it would not need so much defense, even from the excellent British police."⁵⁸

The present percentage of Jews on the police force is just large enough to be reasonably circumspect. One is surprised to discover that Tel Aviv itself has few Jewish policemen. The surface excuse is that Jews do not care for this type of work. The hidden stratagem which makes this condition possible lies in the amazing scale of salaries. There are few Jewish men who are able to live on the £7 a month the Administration is willing to pay a Jewish policeman. At the same time, imported Englishmen are given £35 a month for precisely the same police work. Even common labor averages £24 a month.

The Frontier Force is no better. When it was formed in 1926 the Authorities decided to exclude Jews from it on principle, as well as from the Border Patrol Force. All sections of Palestine Jewry rose in furious protest. The Zionist Executive itself was passive, Weizmann going so far as to declare that "from the political standpoint it is unimportant whether in Palestine a bigger or smaller number of Jewish *gendarmes* would be employed." This pedantic outlook did not deter local Jewish opinion, which finally forced the Colonial Office to voice the empty assurance that "Jews would not be excluded by principle."⁵⁹ In 1930 the Jewish Agency was again remonstrating that the Frontier Force "was to all intents and purposes an Arab Force."⁶⁰ In 1937, out of a total of 1039 men there were only 35 Jews.

While Jews were thus practically forbidden to join this national legion which their tax money keeps, Arabs, who are both poor and unwilling soldiers, have not responded in sufficient

numbers. The Arab likes fighting but he detests drilling and routine. So it became necessary to draw on outlanders from everywhere. The *London Daily Telegraph* describes the result, calling the Force "a veritable Foreign Legion of the Near East," containing among others, Britons, Austrians, Germans, Armenians, Circassians, Chechans, Druses, Hejazis, Kurds, Russians, Serbians, Sudanese and Syrians.⁶¹ According to the Peel Commission's Report in 1937, the Force contained more Sudanese than Jews and almost six times as many Circassians alone. It is thus apparent that almost anyone is welcome in this defense force except the Jews whose National Home it ostensibly exists to protect.

It must be perfectly plain that this hot-blooded *gendarmérie* is a poor guarantee of security. The police themselves are described by Broadhurst as a queer, unruly lot. "Annual meetings of officers," he writes, "generally resolved themselves into discussions on the best methods of entering police horses for the local races. . ." ⁶²

In each of the previous pogroms it was the police themselves who were found to be the leaders of the mob. What may be expected of them in the future can easily be guessed from a few passing incidents. One was the storm raised in Parliament in June 1934 over the report that police detailed to cover the Levant Fair in Tel Aviv wore swastikas on their arms. It is no secret that the recent rebellion itself was started with arms and ammunition stolen by the Palestine *gendarmérie* from the Central Government Arsenal in Jerusalem. Whatever clarity the position lacked was provided in June 1936, when the police stood in ceremonial silence, on public parade, in honor of the desperadoes whose rifles had touched off the revolt.⁶³

NUMERUS CLAUSUS AND CENSORSHIP

In Jerusalem where there are not more than one thousand Germans, there is an avowedly Nazi daily newspaper. It seems fair to ask under whose auspices this pogrom-inciting literature is published. And how can it be issued in a Jewish city, and in

a country ruled by an all-powerful autocrat with complete powers of censorship which he does not hesitate to use whenever it pleases him?

In Jerusalem also, Nazi handbills of the most scurrilous type are openly distributed without interference by the police.⁶⁴ How can this be done in the capital city of the Jewish National Home? At a moment when England itself is expressing violent indignation over Nazi excesses, a Jewish youth is arrested *and sentenced to the degradation of a public whipping for picketing a Jewish shop which was selling German goods*. Why should this be a commendable expression of spirit in England, but a crime in the National Home?

The Jerusalem Y.M.C.A. is a favorite retreat of the High Commissioner himself and its Board is certainly dominated by Government officials. Yet its General Secretary, an American named Waldo Heinrichs, was summarily discharged when he attempted to exclude Hitler's Jew-baiting *Voelkischer Beobachter* from the general reading room. Why is this so?

There is a book published in England called *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror*. It is a factual history of the first months of the Nazi inquisition in Germany. No one has ever challenged its accuracy. Yet when it comes to Palestine it is banned, together with other anti-Hitler literature. But Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, a venomous collection of canards against the Jew, is not banned.⁶⁵

Everyone who has ever been in the Near East knows what British censorship in Palestine is. Newspapers may be forbidden to mention the very name of a notorious murderer on trial for his life. The control is so strict that a story which doesn't sit well with the Administration, just isn't cabled. Nor is the reporter informed about it. His first hint that anything is wrong is generally in the form of a communication from his home office, inquiring into his silence. When the Government wants to clamp down, relates a foreign correspondent, "it just shuts off telephone, telegraph and cable service completely."⁶⁶

Sometimes foreign Jewish newspapers are proscribed, as they are in Germany and Iraq. In 1934, for example, the *Moment*

of Kaunas, Lithuania, was barred for a year and *Unzerzeit* of Kishineff (now part of Rumania) was outlawed permanently. Even such publications as the *New York Times* are occasionally confiscated when they contain articles favorable to the Jews.

Local Hebrew papers are consistently harassed and closed, though they exercise admirable restraint, foment no civil war and circulate no inflammatory manifestoes urging civil disobedience. Where they are not ordered stopped entirely, they often go to press with huge white spaces in their columns, representing material ordered deleted by the Government censor. Perfectly representative of the Government's style is the suspension of the Hebrew papers *Doar Hayom* and *Haboker* in July 1936 for the remarkable reason that they urged the Authorities to put a halt to the rioting and murder. Yet at the same time the censors permitted the radical Arab Journal *A-Diffa* to publish a poem by Ali Mansour which read: "We Arabs are all Abu Jildas [a notorious cutthroat and terrorist]; we shall drive Cohen [a name for the Jew, Mansour acquired from the Nazis] out of the country." Confident of its immunity, the Arab press kept the sledges of hate pounding in a clamor of extravagant invective only limited by the imaginations of its authors. In few other countries, concedes the Peel Report, would such a campaign of vilification and incitement have been tolerated for a moment.

It is no exaggeration to state that everything pro-Jewish is either directly forbidden or discreetly frowned upon. Duff's books debunking the Arab terrorists are permanently banned in the Palestine he loved and served so long. Even Colonel Patterson, commander of the very legions which conquered this area, is made to suffer for his pro-Zionist views. During a visit in 1937 he was filmed in Tel Aviv inspecting some Jewish institutions. This bit of news-film, titled *Colonel Patterson in Palestine*, was banned by the Film Censorship Board on the single score that *the film could not be shown with that title!*

This singular custodian of Jewish aspirations, the Palestine Government, has introduced still other innovations, modeled after the notorious European *numerus clausus*. Feeling his way in December 1933, Government Officer Harkness announced

that the Administration was viewing with concern the preponderance of Jews, especially in the medical and dental callings; and that it was considering the introduction of *numerus clausus* in the professions. This was followed by the Medical Practitioners Ordinance. Thinly disguising its anti-Jewish bias, it placed a severe limit on the number of physicians who could be licensed in future.⁶⁷ Thus is laid the groundwork for a whole new plague of repressions against the Jews returning to their Home.

CHAPTER VIII

TRANSJORDAN THE JUDENREIN

LEGALITIES — 'MADE IN ENGLAND'

We now return to another of those strange enigmas of British administration — the territory of the Jewish National Home east of Jordan. The shrewd manipulation by which it was filched from the Zionist pocketbook has already been referred to. Just what its status is today remains a dark mystery. The territory is called an independent Emirate, yet remains part and parcel of the Mandate for Palestine. The same High Commissioner rules both. The Emir Abdullah, its nominal ruler, is granted an ample personal subsidy straight out of the Palestine treasury. The deficits of his stagnating State are taken care of from the same generous source.

When in 1922 London secured the League's consent to set up a separate Administration east of Jordan, it was granted only with the stipulation that "the general *régime* of the Mandate for Palestine" would be maintained there. To this London agreed, assuring the League "that no measure inconsistent with the provisions of the Mandate for Palestine would be passed in that territory." All of this, *in words*, was carried out in the 'treaty' with the Emir, and incorporated in the 'Constitution' of Trans-jordan as well.

In 1924, officialdom still acknowledged that Trans-Jordan was an integral part of the Jewish National Home. On May 27 of that year, during a Palestine debate, Lord Arnold, then Under-Secretary for the Colonies, declared: "During the war we recognized Arab independence within certain border limits, and supported it. . . There were discussions as to what territories these borders should take in. *But there was no dispute as to Trans-Jordan. There is no doubt about the fact that Trans-Jordan is within the boundaries to which the Declaration [Balfour] during the War refers. This is the Government's point of view relative*

to the political status of Trans-Jordan and the character of our relations to the land."

Under the Turks there were no restrictions against the settlement of Jews in Trans-Jordan. A number of colonization schemes were attempted. The largest was undertaken by Baron Edmund de Rothschild in 1894, who bought seventy thousand dunams in Golan for a large-scale resettlement project. This, however, was sidetracked in favor of the coastal development where Zionist effort was then concentrated.

Whitehall early banned Jewish penetration into this territory. Its expressed reason was a deep solicitation for the returning settlers, who allegedly would not be safe in this lawless, turbulent sector. The migratory tribes of Transjordan could enter Western Palestine freely, however, since the question of their safety did not arise.

Soon these strictures became iron-clad. The eastern two-thirds of the National Home was not only hermetically sealed to Jewish settlement but Jews could not possess property there or practice a profession. Transjordan became the first and remains the only completely *Judenrein* area on the earth's surface. Apparently they are the only immigrants prohibited. Examination of the official British Report to the League for 1936 shows a large group of foreigners ranging from Syrians and Egyptians to Germans, Italians and Turks who have taken residence there. Says the Report succinctly: "The classified and unclassified officials of the Transjordan Government other than British, including the officers of the Arab Legion but excluding other ranks, numbered 683" of whom only 422 are Arabs born in Transjordan.¹

When the Mandates Commission sharply commented on this condition, London assured it that "there was no *legal* prohibition to prevent Jews from entering" Transjordan. In other words, on *paper* everything was in order. When the Commission bluntly demanded that these restrictions be abrogated, the British spokesman Dr. Drummond Shiels replied with unctuous regret "that that was impracticable because the existing Legislative Assembly in Transjordan would frustrate such inten-

tions.”² Scarcely more than six months later we find the same Drummond Shiels declaring to an impatient Commons that “when Transjordan is freed from the irritation of raids and counter-raids by warring tribesmen, an opportunity will be given for its settlement and development.”³ Here we have two diametrically opposite lines of reasoning. One, that the normal processes of orderly government forbade an immigration disturbing to the country’s economy. The other, that since no orderly government existed, it was unthinkable to allow civilized immigrants to enter.

Faced with a *fait accompli*, the League in some meretricious hair-splitting came to a curious decision: Jews who were natives of Palestine and hence not nationals of a State member of the League, could not claim the equality stipulated in Article XVIII of the Mandate. These could be excluded. However, any Jews in Palestine who were not Palestinians, must, according to the terms of the Mandate, be allowed the right of free access to Transjordan.⁴

In actual practice the British went whole hog down the line, barring English Jews as rigidly as their brethren from Poland. Gentile Englishmen, however, retained indisputable rights of settlement. Even if one chooses to ignore the maneuvers by which this section of the National Home was handed outright to some ambitious nomads from the Hejaz, how may this circumstance be explained? It was not so long ago that the world applauded when the United States broke off its commercial treaty with Czarist Russia because of a discrimination much the same as this and less inexcusable. Recounting an identical incident when Turkey attempted the exclusion of Jews in 1888, official British *Peace Handbook No. 60* thunders that “the Powers refused to accept discriminatory legislation against their nationals, Hebrew or others,” and the Turks had to drop the offending statutes like a hot potato.

Dexterous as their performance was, the Bureaucrats ran up against the hard fact that legerdemain has its absolute limits. They could swindle the eyes by appearing to separate the body of the National Home into living fragments, but no amount of

black magic could endow the operation with reality. Transjordan was inalienably a part of Palestine, and must immediately expire, if cut off from it in fact. M. Rappard of the Permanent Mandates Commission contemptuously called it "a parasite State" with a budget fed by grants from the Mandatory Government. Its total income is forty-five percent less than that of Tel Aviv alone.

Transjordan has practically no industries of any kind, and only a few of the most primitive homecrafts. According to the British Report to the League for 1936, the total assessment for land tax was only £88,000 of which £53,507 had to be subsequently remitted because the bankrupt villagers could not pay it.⁵ The Emir Abdullah's attenuated income includes "Transjordan's share in the imports duties of Palestine."⁶ Palestine is also Transjordan's principal market, selling goods there valued at £208,993 as against £36,088 which she buys in return.

Examining the High Commissioner's Report for 1935 we discover, weighted beneath a load of words, that Transjordan's income was £276,258, while its expenditure was £369,395. Its budget for 1937-38, reduced to skin-and-bones, still showed a thirty percent deficit. In other words, Transjordan has been perpetually bankrupt — kept alive only by the munificence of its rich uncle Israel. If it were divorced from Israel's household it would simply die of malnutrition. Out of the lush Palestine treasury, the Emir has had an endless flow of 'loans,' subsidies and outright grants. He has been provided with free Army and Air Force assistance in quelling the recurrent rebellions of his own tribesmen and in preserving his boundaries against Wahabi aggression. As early as 1927 it was pointed out that the National Home would show a deficit of £90,000 for the yearly period "due to the fact that the Palestine Government is covering the deficits in Transjordan — otherwise the budget would show a surplus of £80,000."⁷

Transjordan comprises an area of about 35,000 square miles — more than three times as large as the country west of Jordan. It is an area of great resources but no effort has been made to develop them. A census has never been taken, but the popula-

tion is reliably estimated to be around 275,000. The majority are nomad tribesmen to whom even boundaries are incomprehensible. Some of these, like the Aneezeh and Sherârat, have their main camping grounds in Arabia proper. The only towns of any consequence are Amman, the capital, with 38,000 people, and Es Salt with 18,000.

The limitations of this country lie in the nature of the human material composing its population. Turbulent, destructive, inefficient, seemingly incapable of any but the most elementary creative activities, their stamp is imprinted wherever one turns in this favored land. Bizarrely enough, one factor that has contributed to the permanent poverty of the Bedu is the ruthless suppression of predatory excursions, drying up their chief source of revenue.

There are only fifteen doctors in all Transjordan. The rate of infant mortality is the highest on earth. Its poverty is terrible and crushing. The correspondent of *Al Jamia Al Islamia*⁸ describes hordes of people "who snatch hungrily at any refuse which by a stretch of the imagination may be edible. . . At night these creatures, men, women and children, with no roof to shelter them, huddle for warmth and sleep in the streets." Reliable English sources describe the country, after fifteen years of Arab rule, as infinitely worse off than it was under the Turks. Says the *Crown Colonist* of June 1934: "The farmers are plunged in the starkest conditions of poverty, and the nomads are frequently on the verge of starvation." Cattle die off by thousands, and epidemics, droughts, grasshopper and mice plagues, which the fellaheen are incapable of coping with, reduce them to a state of abject deprivation. *The result is seen in the total lack of any natural increase in population since the British occupation*; while directly across the Jordan, their brother Arabs are showing the most remarkable gain of births over deaths on medical records.

No part of this discourages Whitehall from broadcasting the usual pæan in 1936 to the beauties of existence in this "peaceful and contented country, blessed with an Arab Emir and Government, and being without a Jewish problem."⁹ Calmly shift-

ing gears a few short months later, it acknowledges that "the Emirate of Abdullah is poor, *miserably poor*, but it does not want the wealth of the Zionists." ¹⁰ This in itself was flatly contradicted by the British statesman, Herbert Morrison, who on returning from a visit to Palestine and Transjordan in 1936, told the House that Jews were being kept out of Transjordan "by the wish of the British Government." ¹¹

The fact is that Transjordan is a colony which Great Britain got on the excuse that it was to be part of the Jewish Homeland. The Commander of the Arab Legion is a blue-eyed Englishman named Peake Pasha. The *most prominent agent of the all-important British Intelligence Service*, Major J. B. Glubb, is *stationed there permanently* in charge of the desert patrol which keeps the turbulent tribesmen under control. Here in itself is proof of the importance London attaches to ownership of this area. British officials rule as in any other colony, and the word of the High Commissioner is final. Says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "A considerable increase in the number of British officials and the transfer of the Palestine *gendarmierie en bloc* to Transjordan resulted in fact in the carrying on of the Administration on Crown Colony lines; and the local Government existing as a façade, exercised little or no independent authority." ¹²

The 'treaty' between Great Britain and Abdullah covers all of this nicely. "His Highness the Emir agrees to be guided by the advice of His Britannic Majesty in all matters concerning the granting of concessions, the exploitation of natural resources, the construction and operation of railways, and the operation of loans." The Emir may not "raise or maintain in Transjordan or allow to be raised or maintained, any military forces without the consent of His Britannic Majesty." The 'independent Emirate' agrees "to the employment of British officials." England may keep a foreign army on its soil, and has its power of attorney in all matters of international relationship. Laws affecting the State budget, currency, *land grants*, succession to the throne and changes in the 'Constitution' are to be referred to the advice of Great Britain. Signed March 20, 1928, this 'treaty' completed the strategical moves by which Transjordan was to be

purloined from the Jewish National Home and stuffed in the pocket of Great Britain. Today the Emir Abdullah is a dummy who sits on the knee of a ventriloquist known as the British Resident. It is Abdullah's lips which move, but it is the voice of Downing Street which comes forth.

Calling a spade a spade, the *London Times*, in its issue of March 29, 1928, declares: "Transjordan therefore has the status equivalent to a protectorate, the only difference being the status of Great Britain, *because whereas a Mandate is provisional, the present relationship is permanent.*"

The latest plan is to separate the Aqaba region from Transjordan and declare it a separate English colony. This move is forestalled only by the vigorous claim of Ibn Saud to that port as part of the legitimate spoils grabbed from old King Hussein. Saud now demands it as the price of his consent to the Palestine partition scheme. To settle this annoying question, negotiations have been going forward for some time. They will undoubtedly end in the classic manner, with Aqaba created a Crown Colony, and Ibn Saud handed part of someone else's territory to compensate him.

ABDULLAH PUTS HIS HAND OUT

The Emir of Transjordan owes his success entirely to English patronage. His one military campaign was staged against Ibn Saud, when that gentleman with tacit British approval chased Abdullah's father, Hussein, off the throne of Hejaz. Abdullah himself was disastrously routed and had to flee for his life into the desert.

The Emir is an excellent chess player and indifferent poet. He has only one legal wife, but enough concubines of every color and nationality to suit the most capricious taste. In April of 1931 he attempted to make the use of automobiles illegal in Transjordan, but was overruled by the British. Christian Arab papers in Palestine have attacked him regularly for his hostility to Christians. His son, Tallal, attempted to assassinate the royal father in May 1936, and has since been imprisoned in what passes

for the Palace. The Emir is wise enough to know the limitations of his power. With the external affairs of his country he has little to do, even nominally. Its internal affairs are supervised with autocratic powers by the smart British Resident, Colonel Cox.

His administration proved so erratic and extravagant that the English finally deprived him of the administration of even his own estates and put him on the civil list like a pensioner. The balance is reserved for the payment of his debts.¹³ He is known to privately favor a great Semitic State made up of Jews and Arabs with himself at the helm. Publicly he is more circumspect. Once he is said to have declared: "Why should we not allow the Jews to come into our country? We shall take their money and then drive them out again."

He is a realist of the first water, who would not hesitate at any time to cut His Britannic Majesty's throat if anything could be gained by it. Lord Raglan, former British political officer in Transjordan, informed the Lords on February 21, 1922 that he himself "had heard Abdullah with his £5000 in his pocket¹⁴ hold up Sinn Fein as an example to the Arabs of Palestine. The inhabitants are disgusted with Abdullah and they are still more disgusted with the British Government which has forced him upon them."

During the Winter of 1935-36 the Emir wrote the French Foreign Minister offering France the annexation of Transjordan to Syria on condition that he become king. "If for no other reason," says Ernest Main, "than that they suspected Abdullah of being a tool of Britain, the French had nothing to do with this scheme."¹⁵

The Emir's country is so pathetically undeveloped that "even a horse tied to a tree is a wayside event."¹⁶ Kenneth Williams, accompanying the Peel Commission during their 1936 visit, describes the greater part as inhabited "only by wandering tribes. Only one-fifth of the total area of the Emirate, in fact, is cultivated."¹⁷

Impelled by their extreme poverty, the Tribes have long gazed with envious eyes at their lucky brethren across the river, now

prosperous enough to own many wives and all the good food they could eat. Even Abdullah himself, usually so tractable, could not restrain his cupidity. He began to regard himself in the light of a land-owner whose vast stretches could be given a fabulous market value, though at the time they were not worth the taxes paid on them. His cronies among the land-owning effendis also began to grow restless despite hand-outs and patronage. They smelled bigger game; and, mouths watering at this tempting stream of yellow metal pouring before their eyes across Jordan, they acted at times like a dog teased with a bone that has a string attached to it. Much to British disgust, the patriotism ready-made for them by Whitehall began to look phony to all sections of the Transjordan population.

Back in 1924 Jacob De Haas had already been offered 100,000 dunams at "about a dollar an acre, on condition that the sale was not disclosed to the British officials in Jerusalem."¹⁸ Then and since, the Emir has been anxious to sell to Jews, but the British have persistently interfered. In 1926 they forced the dismissal of Premier Rikabi Pasha for "favoring Zionist immigration." By the end of 1932 the Emir himself started negotiations with Jewish political circles and arranged a 99-year lease on 70,000 dunams near the Allenby bridge.¹⁹ The exultant crowing of some members of the Jewish Agency, who could not resist premature publicity over this 'stupendous victory,' killed the deal. Becoming really annoyed at what they considered Arab 'rapacity,' the British stepped in and smashed the proceedings.

But the Arabs were not to be put off. On January 17, 1933, Mithkal Pasha, most powerful sheikh in Transjordan, offered to lease one hundred thousand dunams. Heads of other tribes approached the Jewish Agency with similar propositions. On January 20 a great meeting of sheikhs at Amman resolved to support Abdullah up to the hilt. Three days later, in an interview carried by the entire Arab press, Abdullah bluntly accused the Palestine Government of forcing him to rescind his agreement with the Jewish company.

Events tumbled over themselves in swift succession. On February 6, a group of the most influential tribal leaders drew up a

petition demanding the right to lease or sell their land. Pointing out the terrible poverty and underpopulation of the country, they declared that salvation could come only through the Jews. Under the direction of the Government propaganda officer, the Palestine Arab press accused Abdullah of having engineered the petition himself. Undeterred, Abdullah banned offending Arab papers from his territory. Transjordanian leaders, determined to have their way, staged impressive demonstrations demanding land sales. The opening of the Legislative Assembly on February 9, was all set for fireworks. The group in favor of legalizing land sales to Jews, having a clear majority, had taken the bit in their teeth and meant to be stopped by no one. The Assembly had already met when the Secretariat announced that it had been dissolved and that future sessions were indefinitely postponed. According to the story carried openly by all Arab papers, both the High Commissioner and the British Commander of the Transjordan Military had held a hurried conference with the Emir, laying down the law to that refractory gentleman in no uncertain manner.

Meanwhile the Palestine Government was with meticulous correctness advising the Jewish press that "this matter is not within our jurisdiction as Transjordan is under a different government." At almost the identical moment, it informed the Emir that his subsidy would be reduced by twenty-five percent during the coming year. But for once the rubber-stamp Legislature confounded its masters by running completely amuck. On April 1, at its next session, the High Commissioner's bill prohibiting sale or lease of land to non-Transjordanians (Jews) was unexpectedly beaten by thirteen votes to three. The session closed in surly mood with no affirmative measure allowed to come before it.

Still trying to force the issue, on May 25, representatives delegated from twenty-three Transjordanian towns waited in a body on the Jewish Agency urging them not to give up the fight. It was apparent that operating deviously with his left hand and hungrier than ever, Abdullah was sitting tight. That forced the British to lay aside their switch in favor of the cudgel. They

reminded the Emir of what had happened to his illustrious father, King Hussein, when he thought he was a bigger man than the King of England. Though Abdullah wisely modified his position, his followers were not nearly so circumspect. Enraged meetings were held regularly in violent protest. As late as March 27, 1935 the heads of the most important tribes convened in an uproarious session, demanding the cancellation of anti-Jewish laws "because Jewish money which is destined to develop Transjordan is being diverted. . ." With unerring awareness they ignored the fiction of a Transjordanian Government and addressed their resolution direct to the British, who disregarded it.

However, it should not be believed that English solicitude for their tribal wards is limited to some skittish desire to fence them off picturesquely on their reservations. British officials themselves have been buying up large tracts of the most fertile acreage and placing them under cultivation.²⁰ Palestine Arabs, too, are taking over extensive tracts on speculation, considering an eventual Jewish settlement inevitable.²¹

There have been other settlement schemes which had British approval. In the Spring of 1927 the English Government put up a demand that land be made available for the immediate settlement of Armenians. Sensing no monetary advantage, and disliking Christians with a keener gusto than they did Jews, Arab sheikhs submitted a counter-memorandum angrily rejecting the proposition. It was consequently dropped. Early in 1929 the English backed another plan to colonize refugees from Tripoli and Bengasi after those territories had been occupied by the Italians. Three hundred thousand dunams were to be granted under the most favorable conditions, but the prospective settlers proved unorganized and capital was lacking.²² At still another time, under London's request, Abdullah presented one hundred thousand dunams near Amman to a large contingent of exiles from Morocco. The settlers were guaranteed adequate deeds, freedom from taxation for three years and military protection against Bedouin attack.

Whitehall is still fearful that the Jews will find a way some-

how to break through the wall which holds them west of Jordan. When they do, the 'landless Arab' bogey, the Statutory Tenant Laws, the whole absurd system of blockade and restriction in which the land-hungry Jew is caught, must fall apart of its own inert weight. With the vast unpopulated reaches of Transjordan in prospect, they would become too foolish to retain even a pretense of plausibility. The Bureaucrats know that *if they succeed in securing themselves on the soil the Jews will never be driven out of the Holy Land*, and that the whole carefully raised scheme against them must then ultimately fail. In its issue of February 4, 1937, *Great Britain and the East* echoes official apprehension, crying that "a treaty or some *conclusive* guarantee with Transjordan, that the Jews will not be allowed to take land there, would greatly pacify the country."

Most Transjordanians seem to believe, however, that their country would be better 'pacified' by the removal of the British.

CHAPTER IX

WHOOING IT UP FOR DEMOCRACY

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The final stroke, which was to deal the death blow to Zionist hopes, was simply conceived. It rested on the establishment of that great democratic institution, a parliament, in Palestine. Superficially the Bureaucrats thus placed themselves in the vanguard of progress. Who could challenge the undoubted right of men to rule themselves through their own elected representatives! By intent, however, the scheme was a long step forward toward the liquidation of the Mandate. As envisaged by Whitehall, the Legislative Assembly would be a ready-made dummy congress which could be implemented at any time as a perfect sounding board for British policies. At the same time it would place the Zionists within brackets so that they could not attack without the risk of losing world sympathy.

All of this was urged in the name of the 'sacred promises' made to Hussein of the Hejaz, despite the fact that in the Hejaz itself there is not and never has been any parliamentary system whatsoever. Throughout the 'free' countries of Arabia democracy is noteworthy by its absence. Yemen and the immense territory of Saudi are ruled without even a pretense of constitutional government. The equally vast Hadramaut, as well as Aden, cowers under the despotic authority of British guns.

Iraq, most developed of all these Arab countries, is ruled by a shadow Government constituted with the assistance of British officials. "Notwithstanding the Constitution," says Lieutenant-Colonel Stafford meaningfully, "British policy in Iraq was directed . . . towards making Feisal a real King in the Eastern sense."¹ "The country's Parliamentary system," he tells us, "is a farce." The Government is cordially hated by the majority of the population. Armed revolt is always in the air and is kept down with an iron hand.² Even the barest pretext to constitu-

tionism vanished in 1936 when the Army bombed the capital and seized control.

Toward the great illiterate bulk of the population the educated Arab classes are no more democratic in the political sense than the Athenians were to their slaves. "Even within their own circle," remarks Ernest Main, "they have little sense of what real democracy means."³ The orbit of politics in 'free Arabia' revolves around the sheikhs, emirs, imams and their supporters. "The Arab masses," says Professor Scherger, "do not fit into any other system of government except the foreordained traditional rule of sheikh and religious leaders. . . Conspiracies and assassinations are the only popular procedure adopted and practiced by the Arabs when electing representatives and rulers."⁴ Throughout every portion of Arabia slavery flourishes with the full support of public opinion. It is a vested interest of immemorial respectability, writes Bertram Thomas, "and any extraneous authority interfering becomes odious in the eyes of the people."⁵ How can one talk of democracy in the same breath with this!

The readiness of the Palestinian Arab for self-rule is not less unpromising. He is just as backward, excitable and fanatic as his brother in the desert. The various Commissions of Inquiry have themselves declaimed that he was incompetent and must be protected against the superior capacities of European immigrants. Eighty-five percent of his men and ninety-three percent of his women are illiterate.⁶

The setting up of a parliamentary body, under the circumstances, would only serve to provide an arena for general intrigue and agitation against the whole policy and purpose of the Mandate. The Colonial Office itself informed an Arab Delegation in March 1922: "The position is that His Majesty's Government is bound by a pledge which is antecedent to the Covenant of the League of Nations, and they cannot allow a constitutional position to develop in a country for which they have accepted responsibility to the principal Allied Powers, which may make it impracticable to carry into effect a solemn undertaking given by themselves and their allies. . . *It is quite clear*

that the creation at this stage of a National Government would preclude the fulfillment of the pledge made by the British Government to the Jewish People."

The greatest authority in the British Commonwealth on constitutional reform is the India Report of 1934. It lays down the following principle : "Parliamentary government, as it is understood in the United Kingdom, works by the interaction of four essential factors : the principle of majority rule ; *the willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority* ; the existence of great political parties divided by broad issues of policy rather than by sectional interests ; and finally, the existence of a mobile body of public opinion, owing no permanent allegiance to any party and therefore able, by its own instinctive reaction against extravagant movements on one side or the other, to keep the vessel on an even keel." In Palestine none of these requisite conditions exist. A few families, the Nashishibis, Husseinis and Khaldis, monopolize all public power, and would soon rend all public life to shreds in their mutual struggles. "Of a genuine rivalry of political parties, presenting alternative municipal programmes to the electorate," says the Peel Commission, "there is no trace."

Still another British authority, the Hilton Young Commission, lays down the precedent that where a fundamental division exists of race or religious hatreds, *or a difference in level of civilizations between the various elements of the population*, "the abstract principle of 'majority rule' cannot be dogmatically applied." How does this fit the Palestine situation ?

In July 1924, Ormsby-Gore informed the Mandates Commission that "if in this [legislative] council there should be brought forth an anti-Zionist majority, the Government will come into an impasse, since it must execute certain provisions of the Mandate, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, a hostile majority would oppose such measures." Three months later Herbert Samuel is droning to the same Commission "that the Arabs have declared they would, if they had the majority [in the proposed Parliament], use it to prevent the creation of the Jewish National Home."

Everyone, including the British, agreed that the setting up of any such parliamentary apparatus was a direct refutation of the manifest purposes of the Mandate, that it would automatically crystallize the Jews as a helpless minority in their National Home, and that no right thinking man could countenance such a procedure. Nevertheless, London is soon after found espousing this very scheme as one of its fundamentals of policy. Every High Commissioner had to make it his own. Though the Jews fought the proposition desperately, for once solidly united, the Bureaucrats pushed it with all the power at their command. Time after time when it appeared on the verge of adoption, unlucky accident intervened.

On several occasions, when all else seemed propitious, the Mandates Commission rejected the proposal as "premature and ill-advised." Notwithstanding, in 1923 London officially declared it in existence. But the Arabs foolishly refused the proffered bait. Completely misjudging English motives, they believed that a little additional pressure would bring about the complete squashing of the Mandate, and the elimination of the British as well. With consequent bravado they boycotted the election to the new Parliament, and announced that they would sabotage all laws accepted by that body. Left without a leg to stand on, the Government annulled the election and reinstated the former Advisory Council, taking the occasion to reduce the former Jewish proportion.

After the 1929 pogrom the Arabs again renewed their demands for the 'true processes of democracy.' They could not have chosen a more awkward moment. A volcanic eruption of horror still convulsed world opinion. The temper of Mr. Weizmann's Zionists was yet an unprobed factor. Uncertainty made the Bureaucrats wary. With scrupulous probity Whitehall proclaimed that "since the effect of meeting the wishes of the Arab delegation as regards democratic government would have been to render it impossible for His Majesty's Government to continue as Mandatory for Palestine . . . it became evident that this matter could not usefully be pursued further." This was in May 1930. In October we are told by the same Gov-

ernment "that the time has now come" when the question of constitutional changes must "be taken in hand without further delay," and that "the time has arrived" for the setting up of a Legislative Council for Palestine.

For five more years the matter seesawed back and forth. Finally, on December 22, 1935 High Commissioner Wauchope sounded the tocsin for democracy by once more proclaiming the establishment of a Legislative Council. The announcement carefully avoided all reference to the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish National Home. It was made on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, and was addressed to the Arabs, ignoring the Jews as if they did not exist.

The 'Council' was a precious piece of humbug. Out of twenty-eight members, four Jews and eleven Arabs were to be elected. The balance were to be appointed by the High Commissioner, to include five Englishmen. The High Commissioner retained wide veto powers. If a miracle happened and his hand-picked 'legislative body' bucked the traces, he merely had to deem its measures invalid to rule them out without ceremony.

The Jews anxiously asked themselves: What was back of the British mind? What purpose could there be to all this artful simulation? Was it to provide a rostrum for anti-Zionist agitators who could be represented as expressing the country's will? Was it a smokescreen behind which anti-Jewish officials could plot the death of Zionism? With dogged resolution they notified the Government that they would neither participate in the elections nor recognize the proposed assembly. The reply was the icy ultimatum that "with them, without them or against them, a Legislative Council would be established in Palestine."

This was all very well, but it did not take into account the British Parliament itself. The Council scheme was debated in the Lords on February 26, 1936, and on March 24 in Commons, where it was disastrously routed. In the latter body, recites Lord Peel dolefully, "the Secretary of State, whose speech was constantly interrupted, had only two supporters." 7

"BY THEIR ACTS YOU SHALL KNOW THEM!"

After all the moralizing which accompanied the Legislative Council plan, one is astonished to discover that the British have neglected to put any of these fine precepts into operation during the entire period of their administration in Palestine. Such local autonomy as the Jewish settlements retain is almost entirely a carry-over from the Turkish régime. The Arab masses have no more voice in even their local community affairs than if they lived in Timbuctoo.

The electoral system the British introduced (no one else wanted it) is a grotesque travesty on democratic processes. The country was divided into community rolls based on religion. A Jew could nominate only a Jew, a Moslem a Moslem and a Christian a Christian. *Suffrage is based on property rights*, and there is no educational test. From here on, the proceedings become heavily involved. Despite the fact of three community rolls for nomination purposes, there is only one common roll for election purposes. Now a Christian, Jew or Mohammedan may vote for anyone he pleases, but Government decree determines the number of each religion *which must be elected!*

An analysis of the polling lists in representative towns shows Nablus to have less than 900 voters, out of a population of 20,000. Gaza, a city of 19,000, boasts 500 voters. Ramleh, with 12,000, has 300 voters. The link between Government officials and the peasantry is the village *Mukhtar*, a worthy whom Lord Peel describes as "usually illiterate."

The Capital City itself is a perfect example of what the British mean when they talk about 'democracy' and 'self-determination.' The Jews of Jerusalem constitute seventy-two percent of its 110,000 souls. Moslems are twenty percent, with the balance Christians. Despite this numerical preponderance, the Government has always insisted on the appointment of an Arab Mayor, who runs the city with a high hand.⁸ Jews, who pay practically all the taxes, are allowed the barest minimum of pub-

lic benefits. Some of the older Jewish quarters such as Nahlat Zion, which have been paying taxes since the British occupation, have yet to be provided with a single yard of road.

An incident which occurred in 1930 thrusts this whole strange situation close to the realm of fantasy. We see the Mayor of Jerusalem, Ragheb Bey Nashishibi, *at the head of an anti-Jewish delegation*, proceeding to London in his capacity of Mayor, armed with a bristling political program aimed directly against his own constituents! And this on the very eve of Municipal Council elections where the Mayor was engaged in a mortal struggle with his ancient enemies the Husseinis! The Jews stormed like madmen. Stentoriously they promised retaliation by throwing their support to Nashishibi's opponents. Immediately the Government rose to the occasion with a decree postponing the elections for three years. In the Mayor's absence, it refused pointblank to allow Chaim Solomon, Jewish Vice-Mayor, to sit as acting-executive, and appointed an Arab instead. Completely disgusted, the Jewish members of the Municipal Council resigned in a body.

In 1933 the Government introduced an election scheme which gerrymandered the election districts with such strategic cunning that the Jewish majority was turned into a minority. Part of the maneuver which arranged this result lay in the granting of special rights to owners of property in the Old City. These regulations so curtailed the right of suffrage that out of its entire population only 3900 individuals in Jerusalem were entitled to appear at the polling places.

In January 1935 the Government appointed Hussein Fakri El Khaldi mayor for five years, to take Nashishibi's place. A Jew, Daniel Auster, was given the title of Vice-Mayor. Right after being inducted into office, Mayor Khaldi refused to countenance the presence of the Jewish Vice-Mayor and even denied him an office in the Municipal Building. A new roar of indignation arose from the Jews. As a result, permission was now given the Vice-Mayor to sit in the Municipal Building, where relieved of all duties he twiddled his thumbs.

The farcical drama continued to unfold. In 1937, Arab

Khalidi himself was picked up by a squad of soldiers for alleged complicity in the murder of a British official, and exiled to a small island without benefit of trial. Thus unexpectedly Vice-Mayor Auster found himself acting-Mayor. Officialdom was nonplussed. At that very moment London was seeking to put over its great coup, the Partition Plan. For the sake of world opinion the Jew must be allowed to remain. But what to do about the Mayor's salary, which totals £1446 a year! To give it to Mr. Auster would be to recognize his position. Naturally, Arab Khalidi, in exile in the Seychelles Islands, could not receive it. From that point on the problem is solved by being studiously ignored. So Mr. Auster, who is Mayor and yet not Mayor, continues to perform the mayoral duties gratis. Just what his status is, no one, least of all himself, can say.

In Haifa the situation is much the same. Though the Jewish community is over fifty percent of the population and contributes around seventy percent of the municipal income, it is represented by only four out of twelve Councilors on the Municipal Board. A number of other towns have, on paper at least, some rights of self-government, with power principally to raise taxes for municipal affairs. But only two Jewish towns come within this category. "Why," asks Wedgwood, "are Arab towns given self-government if they have populations of 2500 or more, while Jewish towns like Petach Tikvah, with a population of 25,000 or 30,000, do not get self-government?" Even Tel Aviv did not attain the status of a municipal corporation until 1934.

Tel Aviv's self-rule is not worth too much. A Council is elected, which selects a Mayor and Vice-Mayor from among its own members, *subject to the approval of the High Commissioner*. How much 'democracy' this entails is demonstrated in the elections of November 1936, when General Wauchope calmly invalidated the election of Moshe Chelouche as Mayor *without offering any reason for his action*, and appointed Dr. Israel Rokeach, Mayor in his stead.

Tel Aviv is the only city in Palestine where women enjoy the franchise. Here they may even hold important municipal

posts. On the extraordinary excuse that this was contrary to public policy, the Administration suddenly placed this right, which Jewish women have had for a decade, into question. By regulation issued February 9, 1933 the High Commissioner was granted the power *to decide whether or not a woman has the right to active or passive participation in municipal elections*, entitling him at will to throw out of office such women as might have been duly elected, as well as to deny them suffrage.

Though they are taxed to the hilt, Jewish colonies fail to receive the grants-in-aid allowed to Arab towns for public services; and the Government at the same time consistently refuses them permission to make use of outside credit facilities, even for self-paying projects. Thus the Council of Rehovoth tried vainly for three years to get permission to raise a loan for building a market. In the end Rehovoth built its market without the loan by straining its resources to the bursting point. When in 1933 the Tel Aviv Municipality negotiated a loan of £350,000 with the Prudential Assurance Company, the Government refused permission for any sum over £60,000. (This loan, incidentally, was to be devoted to the construction of schools, built in other cities by the Government at its own cost.)

This despotic, minute control extends to trivia undreamed of in any other State but Soviet Russia. When, after the outbreaks of 1929, Tel Aviv sought to set up its own slaughter house because Jewish butchers did not feel safe in Jaffa, the Government not only ignored the petition but would not even allow the city to "meet the requirements by supplies of meat from elsewhere." It was either Jaffa or no meat.⁹ Years later a slaughter house was ultimately built, but the situation continued provocative. In 1938 Tel Aviv was faced with an enormous increase in meat prices, "owing," says *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*, "to the domination of the market by a group of cattle importers who now run what is virtually a meat racket on a large scale."¹⁰ By manipulating supply and transport at both ends, these importers had succeeded in wiping out all competition, with the result that the price of cattle for slaughter imported from the identical Balkan countries "is almost three

times higher in Tel Aviv than in Egypt." When the Tel Aviv Authorities decided to take action against further increases in the cost of meat, the Government withheld its consent for Municipal regulation of meat prices. Moreover, it refused to sanction the import of cattle through Tel Aviv Harbor, which would have cheapened transport and insured independent supplies.

Calling things by their right names, the Jerusalem *Palestine Review* states the fact that the real ruler of the city is the District Commissioner, not the "fictitious Council and bogus Mayor." Fully as courageous, the Jewish Vice-Mayor (now Mayor?) writes that "although a cursory reading of the Palestine Corporation Ordinance may give the impression that the Corporations established under that law have wide powers of civic administration, such an impression is erroneous. . . Municipalities have practically no authority in connection with the welfare of their citizens. . . Authority of the Municipal Councils is so limited that even if it is decided to appoint a minor clerk at a salary of £36 per annum . . . the approval of the District Commissioner or the High Commissioner is necessary. A Council of twelve or fifteen elected representatives may spend hours and days arriving at a decision which, when submitted to the Commissioner, is responded to by a curt note canceling it. Against that rejection no action can be taken. . . . The Palestine Government has, in effect, turned our Municipal Councils into debating clubs." ¹¹ These Councils are not even empowered to regulate building and layout or direct roads in traffic. Their budgets must receive official ratification from the District Commissioner, which may not be forthcoming for a year or more. "For example," writes Lord Peel, "the budget of Jerusalem for the financial year 1935-36 was not approved until August 1935; and . . . the majority of the municipal budgets for 1936-37 were still not approved by January 1937." ¹²

It is interesting to discover that the Moslem *Wakf* Administration, though largely supported from taxes and not subject to the democratic control of the Arab community, has been al-

most completely free of Government supervision, presenting its budget only for 'information'; while the Jewish National Council, democratically elected and supported entirely by internal contributions, must submit its budget for Government approval.

It is shocking to learn that Palestine is one of the few places in the world where the slave traffic is carried on openly. "We talk about slavery in Abyssinia," states a sickened English writer, "but how many people know, for example, that [in Palestine] you can buy the most beautiful girl . . . for a couple of hundred pounds. You can buy her when she is twelve years old, and you can take her home, there and then, to live with your other . . . wives . . . and all of this in 1936, in a land administered by Great Britain under a Mandate from the League of Nations!"¹³ He gives the current price of women as £5 for an 'old' woman of twenty or a girl of fifteen who is non-virgin. £30 to £50 gets you a first class concubine, while £200 will buy you the modern equivalent to the Queen of Sheba.

According to the recent Annual Report of the American Colony Aid Association, among three hundred mothers treated at the Infant Welfare Center, one was thus purchased for the purpose of sexual abuse at the age of seven, one at eight, 7 at nine years, 11 at ten, 22 at eleven, 41 at twelve, 51 at thirteen, and 54 at fourteen. Of the mothers treated, 62.5% were defenseless children who had been sold into slavery. How casually this brutal trade in human flesh is regarded can be understood from the following item which appeared in the Palestine press of December 27, 1930: "Three fellaheen of a Gaza tribe, now residing in the Beisan district, have sold their daughters at a good price, and already handed them over to masters in Tulkarm, Nablus and Haifa, according to a letter to *El Carmel*."

One of the most persistent complaints of this people whom British propaganda regards as long-suffering patriots, is that the Zionists have inadvertently chased the price of women out of sight. Arabs who sold land to Jews had enough money to buy six, seven — sometimes a dozen or more women. The price of female slaves rose dramatically in accordance with the law of

supply and demand so that exorbitant prices must now be paid for women, who are dragooned from even far-away Ethiopia. "I assure you," a highly placed Arab told Farago, "even such episodes add to the general hatred of Jews, and one must not judge the Arabs too harshly if they take to arms in desperation."

It is a striking commentary on the Mandatory's conception of government that Jews lucky enough to be nationals of States tolerably free of Jew-baiting will not risk Palestinian citizenship, even though they have come to the National Home to stay. As in the worst days of the old barbaric Turks, they take special trips back to the old countries, registering their children there so that they might enjoy protection against a Government they have learned to distrust thoroughly. It is estimated that fully one hundred and sixty thousand Jews permanently domiciled in the Holy Land thus keep their old nationality.¹⁴

SOME ODIIOUS COMPARISONS

You may search the map through and you will not find a single area administered by the English Colonial Office *where a constitutional position in favor of the native population has been allowed to develop*. Is it not astonishing, then, that they should exhibit such a compelling sentiment for the 'rights' of natives in precisely the area they are under pledge to relinquish ultimately to the Jews?

British Central and East Africa may be taken for convenient comparison. The native races here are certainly as intelligent as those of Palestine, and infinitely more tractable. They outnumber the whites four hundred to one. Nevertheless, wherever representative institutions have been granted to English colonies and dependencies in these territories, the native peoples have not been allowed to participate either as voters or as members. The voting power and the right to be elected as members is vested mostly, if not always, in the British European immigrants.¹⁵

Still more significant, there are large colonies of East Indians and Arabs settled in these places. They came long be-

fore the British immigrants and they play a vital part in the economic life of these communities. Notwithstanding, the constitutional power is invariably placed in the hands of British settlers.

It is worth tearing off the cover of this thing to get a look at some of its detail. We find Tanganyika, also a mandated territory, with a British population of 4000 submerged in some 5,022,000 natives. In addition there are 7100 Arabs and 23,400 East Indians. Yet under the Constitution of 1926 a Legislative Council is constituted consisting of twenty British Europeans and three British Indians. Neither the native populations *nor the 7000 Arabs, who alone outnumber the British two to one, are represented at all.* In Kenya Colony, in which much the same situation obtains, the best part of the agricultural land is sequestered for white settlers only. Into this restricted area neither the large native population nor the considerable proportion of Indians and Arabs may penetrate.

Zanzibar is another fair sample of this weave. In addition to its native population of 186,470, it has 33,400 Arabs, 14,000 British Indians, and only 300 Europeans. Yet of the fourteen members of the Legislative Council, ten are British Europeans. Arabs apparently do not count here either.

In South Africa, which as a Dominion (not under the direction of the Colonial Office) invites no absolute comparison, Europeans are but 1,890,300 out of a total population of 8,370,000. Yet it is mandatory that members of both the Senate and House of Assembly be British subjects of European descent. Colored people (including Arabs and East Indians) are subjected to discriminatory regulations of the most severe type. When the Hindu leader Gandhi visited there several years ago, he was not allowed to enter one of the great public buildings on this account.

A comparison from another angle is offered by British experience in the Island of Cyprus. To spike the Greeks, who hoped for *enosis* (reunion with Greece), a Legislative Assembly similar to that proposed for Palestine, was formed. In it the Turkish minority of twenty percent plus Government officials

formed an actual voting majority. The result was economic stagnation and political chaos. Greek members refused to co-operate with the Government or the Turk minority. Bills in the Legislature were jettisoned. National hatreds reached an explosive climax. The gulf of culture, hopes and physical differences between the two races was so fundamental as to contravene ordinary differences of opinion. As a result of this self-generated combustion, the Island almost blew itself off the map — and the British were glad enough finally to haul out from under. In November 1931 they withdrew the Constitution as “premature, excessive and unsuitable.” From that time forward, Cypriots were not so much as allowed to discuss or hear a political speech.¹⁶ The game had been played out in favor of the baldly stated conviction that if Britain is to stay there, she must rule there.

The British, with this experience immediately behind them, do not need to be told that the differences between Arab and Jew — in ideals, dreams, mentality, culture, and objectives — are far more exaggerated than anything they ever witnessed between Turk and Greek in Cyprus. But Whitehall had not confounded itself by turning evangelist. Its continually publicized efforts to establish a parliament in Palestine had a far more practical purpose. The Zionists had to be pried loose no matter what was forfeit. Towards this end it was desirable to encourage the Arabs to consider themselves the rightful rulers of the country, and to foster the belief that a decisive action on their part would sweep away the last tottering remnants of the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish National Home project.

BOOK THREE

CHAPTER I

"A PEOPLE IN DESPAIR"

DOES AN ARAB RACE EXIST ?

The British, who were later to talk imposingly of 'Arab nationalism in Palestine,' were of a quite different view in 1918. British *Peace Handbook No. 60* declares briskly that "the people west of the Jordan are not Arabs, but only Arab speaking. . . . In the Gaza district they are mostly of Egyptian origin ; elsewhere they are of the most mixed race." As late as 1921 the Administration was still officially claiming that the word 'Arab' as applied to Palestinians was a misnomer.¹

Actually there are no 'Arabs' anywhere. There is not even a fairly homogeneous mixed race. Throughout the Peninsula the Arab has ceased to exist. Those who have taken his place are a motley assortment of peoples, low in the scale of human development, who speak the Arabic tongue. Even the courtly Saladin was no Arab, but a Kurd. Hussein of the Hejaz, himself, was mothered by a Circassian and had his official heirs by a woman of Turkish blood.²

The countless cities, tribes and nations incorporated at sword's point into the swollen host of Allah, soon drowned the Arab out by the very suffocation of their numbers. An even more dreadful revenge was exacted by that cruel institution, the Harem. How enormous this practice was can be seen in Sykes' description of the empire of fabled Haroun-al-Raschid, with its tremendous seraglios stocked with women from every conceivable corner of the globe.³ He marvels at the unending supply of female slaves, of every color and kind. Since purity of blood in the community of Mohammed always gives way to purity of line, where are the descendants of *Qoraish* ^{3a} now ? Even in the very core of desert Arabia, the race has been steadily adulterated by an incoming flow of slave girls, most of them, in

recent centuries, from the Sudan and other places in Africa. The offspring of these stolen creatures are not slaves but free Moslems, since the moment a woman conceives she attains the status of a legal wife.

Pilgrims from such faraway places as Java and Morocco, streaming like columns of magnetized ants toward the holy cities of the Hejaz, contributed liberally to this *mélange*. The Moslem habit of giving a slave girl to an overnight guest for his comfort, the frequent looting of visiting caravans of the devout, all sweetened the mixture. "If we make exception of the Sherifian families — the descendants of the Prophet — and some very few other people of undoubted Arab origin," writes the great Turkish scholar, Dr. Riza-Tewfik, "all the population of Mecca is alien to the Semitic race."⁴ The Syrian author, Ri-hani, describing the population of the Arabian coast, is even more emphatic.⁵

History gives it as a fact that the Arabs never settled Palestine, merely taking control and providing the usual military and administrative caste. They imposed their religion on the native peoples but failed to exterminate them. Here, too, gradual racial suicide was the price of uncontrolled lust. As far back as the Latin Kingdom in Jerusalem, Edris comments on the vast number of captive females required to satisfy the wants of these amorous gentlemen. He reports slaves brought from all parts of Africa and the East, with good-looking Nubian girls most in demand. The Crusaders found a country peopled by a mixture of all the races of the Orient, intermarried with Greeks. On the founding of the Kingdom they had to recognize the existence of five types of Moslems (each of different racial antecedents), as well as Jews, Druses, Samaritans, and others.⁶ By 1120, when the Council of Nablus was held, the Latins themselves were already reported half absorbed in this churning stew of races.

Of even greater significance than the loose social habits of the Moslems was the physical position of this little land, which turned it into a bloody charnel house for unending centuries. Spoliation, destruction, rapine, extermination, claimed the land

like an ever-recurring plague. The invasions which regularly smashed against its stricken borders were countless. It had been devastated by the Scythians from north of the Caucasus. The Romans populated it with vast settlements of Greeks and other races from everywhere. It was scoured soon after by the wars of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. In 634 A.D. occurred the Arab conquest. By 868 A.D. an Egyptian invader named Mehmet Tulum had wrested the country from them in the usual blood bath. Now for a period of centuries Turks, Egyptians, Crusaders, alternated in control, periodically baptizing the shuddering country in a bath of blood.

After the Twelfth Century, Palestine was invaded time and again by wild hordes from Asia who plundered, slew and violated without halt. In 1256 the Mongol, Hulagu Khan, sacked the stricken area and put the entire population to the sword. A scarce hundred years later, Timur the Lame, a sanguinary destroyer who called himself 'The Wrath of God,' made this whole sector the scene of one of the cruelest massacres of his blood-drenched career. Now for generations Palestine became an outspread altar on which human sacrifices were offered continually. In their savage unending struggles for mastery, Mongols, Mamelukes and the fierce Charismean tribes of Middle Asia butchered its people indiscriminately. Between 1260 and 1400 A.D. not a single city, town or village remained intact. When the next conquerors, the Ottoman Turks, came in, rapine and slaughter had left an indelible mark in the character of the survivors. "In few parts of the world," says Lieutenant-Colonel Stafford, "were there more different types."⁷

It was always the foreign soldier who was the police power in Palestine. The Tulunides brought in Turks and Negroes. The Fatamids introduced Berbers, Slavs, Greeks, Kurds and mercenaries of all kinds. The Mamelukes imported legions of Georgians and Circassians. Each monarch for his personal safety relied on great levies of slave warriors. Saladin, hard-pressed by the Crusaders, received one hundred and fifty thousand Persians who were given lands in Galilee and the Sidon district for their services.

Out of this human patch-work of Jews, Arabs, Armenians, Kalmucks, Persians, Crusaders, Tartars, Indians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, Sudanese, Turks, Mongols, Romans, Kharmazians, Greeks, pilgrims, wanderers, ne'er-do-wells and adventurers, invaders, slaves and backwash of all corners of creation, was formed that hodge-podge of blood and mentality we call today 'Levantine.' As this wild medley of ungovernable, lawless men were killed off from time to time by incessant wars, raids and plagues, more from everywhere were constantly merged into the common melting pot. In the Fourteenth Century, drought caused the immigration into Palestine of eighteen thousand 'tents' of Yurate Tartars from the Euphrates. Soon followed twenty thousand Ashiri under Gaza, and four thousand Mongols under Moulai, who occupied the Jordan Valley and settled from Jerusalem south. Kaisaite and Yemenite tribes followed in their trail.⁸ In 1830 the Albanian conqueror Mehemet Ali colonized Jaffa, Nablus and Beisan with Egyptian soldiers and their Sudanese allies. Fourteen years later Lynch estimated the thirteen thousand inhabitants of Jaffa to be composed of eight thousand Turco-Egyptians, four thousand Greeks and Armenians, and one thousand Jews and Maronites. *He did not consider that there were any Arabs at all in that city.*⁹

During the middle of the Nineteenth Century the entire territory of the National Home, east and west of the Jordan, is computed to have held no more than sixty thousand people all told. Of this number, *non-Moslems, living under the bitterest persecution, were still heavily in the majority.* The huge population growth since that time has been due to large contingents of new arrivals. The Turks introduced Circassians around Amman. When North Africa passed under European authority, the fanatic Moghrabiyeh Moslems moved out and settled in the Holy Land. (It was they who were responsible for the Safed butchery in 1929, and who supplied the continuous tension at the Wailing Wall.) So too, were introduced into the permanent population of this little land, Bosnians, Turkoman nomads, and a stream of Levantines, mixed desert wanderers and Africans which continues to the present day.

As for the Christian population, we are told by the learned Dr. Christie that it is made up of fragments of all the Levant races. The native Christians of Nazareth come from the Hauran and from Merj-Ayun ; while the Christians of Safed are the children of immigrants from Hasbeiya who came in the second half of the last century.

In the Arabic language only the Bedouin is designated by the word 'Arab.' But here, too, unless the eyes cannot be trusted, there is little evidence of common descent. The Ghawarîneh tribe of the Jordan Valley have strongly marked African features, fuzzy hair, black skin and guttural voices. A short distance away is the tribe of Ghazawîyeh, shrill-voiced, gaunt and large-featured. Nearby are the blue-eyed blondes of Bethlehem. Several tribes of alleged Jewish stock have even been described in Transjordan.¹⁰

Until English political maneuvering recast their viewpoint for them, the townspeople were insulted if they were referred to as Arabs. They wanted to be known for what they were, Syrian Levantines. Count Sforza designates the inhabitants of this entire region as a medley of peoples "with not the slightest bond between them."¹¹ Mrs. Andrews remarks drily that "in Jerusalem today there are two or three families that claim to be of the fine Arab stock which entered the country in the Seventh Century."¹² Dr. Christie doubts whether there is any Arab blood in the peasantry or villages at all.¹³

As long as these masses have lived side by side, they have been at each other's throats. Tribe hated tribe, city man hated fellah, the Bedouin despised both, sect cursed sect, and even family disdained family as unworthy scions of an inferior race. That all this ill-assorted, explosive mixture can be organized into one autonomous nation may also be doubted for the future.

ARAB TYPES AND TRAITS

From steppe, mountain, jungle and desert, an agglomeration of primitive, savage man had swarmed in successive waves over

Palestine, and left their seed there. These with a vast admixture of slaves and a leavening of nobler blood represent the racial antecedents of the people we call 'Levantine' today.

Many of these people are shrewd, clever and even charming. The studied gentility of the upper-bracket Arab leaves little to be desired. Dressed in his *Abaye*¹⁴ and red *tarbush*¹⁵ he is a colorful figure. His bearing is languorous and courtly, in vivid contrast to the direct speech and often uncouth manners of the immigrant Jew. Beneath this thin stratum, the balance of the Arab population is primitive in the extreme. For the most part it can hardly be said that they have risen above the stage of barbarism. They are, on the whole, of poor physical type and of low mentality. It would be hard to pose a wider disparity of culture, instinct and mind than lies between these people and the returning Hebrew. It is on this cold reality that all the fine-spun visions of the Zionist theoreticians run afoul.

English as well as American observers, where they are free from the corrosion of Empire politics, give a none-too-flattering estimate of this population. Laconically the American, Commander Lynch, reported that they were "far inferior to the North American Indian"¹⁶ then being held on reservations by the United States Government. Drawing a sharp difference between them and his desert tribesmen, Lawrence refers to the Palestinians as "an ape-like people, having much of the Japanese quickness, but shallow."¹⁷ The late Governor of Sinai Peninsula, C. S. Jarvis, sweepingly disposes of the Arab as "undoubtedly the most striking example of decadent and decayed gentry in the world." He finds that "the Arab works about 10 days out of the 365," and that "all forms of manual labor are abhorrent to him." Like Petrie and other English observers, Jarvis calls the tribesman a bane to the country he inhabits, asserting that this once prosperous area "will remain wilderness as long as he encumbers the land." While "the Arab is sometimes called the *Son of the Desert*," he continues, quoting from Palmer, "this is a misnomer as in most cases he is the *Father of the Desert*, having created it himself, and the arid waste in which he lives and

on which practically nothing will grow is the direct result of his appalling indolence, combined with his simian trait of destroying everything he does not understand." ¹⁸

Almost a century ago Lieutenant Lynch wrote that "the ruling passion of an Arab is greediness of gold, which he will clutch from the unarmed stranger or filch from an unsuspecting friend." ¹⁹ In 1935 Jarvis remarks that "his love of money is such that he loses all sense of proportion whenever currency is discussed, whilst if actual coins and notes are displayed before him he not only loses his sense of proportion but his self-control as well." ²⁰ St. John Ervine adds that "when I hear an Englishman sentimentalizing about the noble Arab and remember the dirty and greedy baksheesh hunters I saw wherever I went, I feel rage rising within me." ²¹

Any attempt to judge these people by European standards is anomalous in itself. Their language, for example, contains 100 words for camel and 99 for woman, but none for murder. There is not a single Arabic word by which one can distinguish between the slaughter of a sheep and the premeditated killing of a man. Under his *Abaye* the Arab wears a long, wicked-looking stiletto which he will use with lightning quickness on the slightest provocation. Brutality is common to Arabs of all classes. Their "utter callousness . . . for the suffering of animals," comments Reverend H. V. Morton, "is a terrible thing." ²² "All their horses, in the tourist season, have bleeding knees," adds the Reverend Mr. Jannaway. ²³

Among all strata of Arabs woman is regarded as a mere animal. The Moslem does not believe that a woman has a soul. If two men begin to make complimentary inquiries about their respective families, the wives are mentioned last, the boys and cattle being named before them. "A father who has several daughters," writes Pierotti, "regards them just as he would sheep or cows, and sells them in the same way." ²⁴

Girls are often not even counted in the figures given census takers. A woman who bears a female child may be beaten and reviled as if it were her fault. If she bears a large number of daughters, she is despised. Merrill mentions a typical unfortu-

nate, thus described by sympathetic neighbors: "Poor thing, poor thing! She's got no children — only girls." A barren woman is promptly divorced, and her life made a constant series of humiliations. An amusing side-light on this attitude is contained in the petition submitted to the Government in 1935, asking a ban on the showing of motion pictures to women; asserting that such entertainment was "contrary to Moslem law" and "had a demoralizing effect on women." ²⁵

The Arab's sanitary arrangements do not bear mention. They are long past the stage where they could be described as vulgar or offensive. He has an incurable habit of using the middle of a busy street for a latrine, shocking visiting European ladies beyond measure.

Contrary to what might be expected, the Arab is of generally poor physique. The geographer, George Adam Smith, describing a locality, speaks of the inhabitants as "a sickly and degenerate race." Tuberculosis and malaria are rampant. Syphilis is a chronic affliction which few escape. ²⁶ The dread amoebic dysentery, meningitis and cholera are common. The Arab's medical arrangements are elementary. He continues to tend wounds by the application of fresh cow dung; and in the case of eye disease, applies bandages soaked in camel's urine. An Arab will come to a fountain and wash his hair, ears, face, mouth and feet in it, before drinking. He is much amused over the European's ideas of hygiene. St. John Ervine speaks the mind of most visitors when he remarks that "the man who can cure the Arab of his filthy habits will be his benefactor." ²⁷

The Arab believes religiously in occult powers, in *Shaitan*, the evil one; in *afrits*, malicious little devils; in *Djinnieh*, wicked female spirits who suck the life from men's bodies. They cure illness by prayer at a sacred tree or shrine. Slips of paper with verses of the Koran on them are soaked in water and the drink is given to patients; or they use the froth from the mouth of a mania dervish who has fallen in a fit. They believe a wolf's jaw-bone, worn around the neck, to be a potent charm.

The Arab is stubbornly opposed to modernity of any kind. He has no conception of civic duty. Broadhurst found that

he could not even organize a voluntary fire brigade in Jaffa, and that the city had to be served by the Jewish group in Tel Aviv. There is no intellectual life. The only Arab writer of any consequence is Aref-al-Arif, whose book on Bedouin life could not even find an Arabic publisher and had to appear first in Hebrew translation.

There is no denying the fact that the Arab is on the whole likable — as are all primitives. When not aroused by cupidity or anger, he can be openhanded to a fault. His very ineptness is engaging. Even his knavery is tolerable and amusing. In a typical instance given by Meltzer, an elderly woman in a law court, obviously not less than sixty, claimed to be twenty-seven. "But your son says he is twenty-three years old, so how can you be only twenty-seven?" asks the red-faced English judge, on the verge of apoplexy. "My Lord," answers the hag, "upon my head be it if I am lying. That is how it is. Everything is in the hands of Allah. He alone knows the ages of women."

Like the heroes of old, Arabs think it a stain on their reputations if they do not gorge. To say how much a man can eat or drink is their way of expressing how strong he is. They are also inordinately fond of perfumes and unguents. Men who can afford it will walk around smelling as if they had fallen in a vat of attar of roses.

Few of them have family names. They are simply called after the tribe to which the family belongs. There is no set style. A child may be called by name, followed by his father's name, as 'Yakûb İbrahim'; or the father might be called 'Abu Yakûb' (father of Yakûb), and the mother, 'Umm Yakûb' (mother of Yakûb). Sometimes they are merely known by the trades they ply, as Hadâd (blacksmith), Hajjâr (stoneworker), etc.

Perched atop of the social scale is the *Effendieh* class, characterized by Duff as "those masters of low intrigue." They have not altered since Turkish times when the engineer Pierotti described them in an ironic simile as "a curse to the country — a greater evil to Palestine than the plagues were to Egypt, because those were temporary and these are permanent."²⁸ They consider work of any kind to be degrading; poverty and loss of

face, unpardonable crimes. They used to extort money from Christian travelers and convents, but this easy source of revenue has been stopped since British occupation. Their usual method of living is by usury. Blackmail is another accepted feature of their system of existence. It is this class which provides the politicians who have kept the country in so much turmoil.

The sex habits of this gentry are notorious. Their word is valueless, even under oath. Most of them have immense families, with many wives and concubines, purchased with money derived from Jewish immigration. "A Moslem family of five wives and thirty or forty children," says Mrs. Erskine, "is no rarity."²⁹

In the cities is a mongrelized horde of ruffians whose presence makes it impossible for any European woman to walk alone on the streets after dark. Their insolent eyes undress every woman they see, with lingering deliberation. The 'middle class,' as in all undeveloped peoples, is neither numerous nor well-defined. European opinions of this group are not complimentary. Duff terms them "absolutely incapable of loyalty. . . . If money or advantage is to be gained by betraying partners, there are very few of them that will not snatch at the opportunity."³⁰

At the bottom of the social scale is the Bedouin, whose black hair tents can be seen today exactly as in the time of the first Pharaoh.³¹ He has seen Abraham and Solomon pass. Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Alexander, the Ptolemies, a dozen civilizations rising and falling, have flitted before his eyes. He remains the same. If his horizon was altered at any point, it speedily shifted back again as soon as the disturbing element was removed.

The Bedouin is the traditional enemy of the villagers who, not without justice, regard him as an incorrigible robber and thief. Bedouin life has always been one of naked struggle between the stronger and the weaker, the dominant and the subservient tribes. The former took possession of the best pastures and wells, plundering the weaker on whom they imposed tribute. Today, as in the past, the youth of the tribe is nurtured on war songs and tribal epics of valiant deeds and victories. The principle of im-

placable vendetta is a standard part of their existence. The Bedouin cuts down orchards, burns crops and kills cattle like any other corsair. The Reverend Henry Field described them in 1884 as "a horrible set of cutthroats, useless in war, as they were subject to no discipline, and only intent on pillage."³² In our own time, Lowell Thomas reiterates that "the desire to loot is an all-consuming passion with the Bedouins and is not considered a form of stealing with them, but is listed among the cardinal virtues."³³

The Bedouin has no conception of the word 'home' analogous to ours. He roams a certain well-defined territory with his herds, paying no attention to international boundaries. He eats anything: boiled grasshoppers, roast rats, lizards, cats, or any kind of bird he can snare.³⁴ The life of songbirds in his vicinity is precarious since he will eat any he can catch.

No fuss is made over the dead. When the body is done with life, it is simply laid out of sight and promptly forgotten. "The living do not lay to heart the death of friends."³⁵

There is no sentimentality wasted on women, who do all the slave's work around camp. The Bedouin has a belief in regard to a certain aromatic shrub that if a man can tie a bow in a twig with one hand, he will marry two wives. "This superstition," says Merrill, "comes the nearest to romance of anything that I have seen in Arab or Bedouin life."³⁶

Bedouin women are graceful in youth but begin to walk with a peculiarly waddling gait after they leave their teens. They weight themselves down with pounds of barbaric jewelry. Their faces are disfigured with tattooed patterns of stars, circles and lines of blue spots. Their knowledge is limited almost entirely to the trivial tasks of camp life. "They do not know what year it is," writes Madeleine Miller, "what month, what hour."³⁷

Almost alone among the peoples of the earth the Bedouin has virtually no creative gifts. He destroys and never builds. His browsing herds of sheep and goats gut the last blade of green from wherever he camps. His utterly primitive mentality almost baffles description. In the settled districts he is as likely

to ride straight through a cornfield as bother about skirting around it.

The settled Arabs, known as the fellaheen, are considered by the Bedouin to be of different (and inferior) race from himself. The fellah lacks nearly all the undeniable charm of his Bedouin countryman. He is incredibly backward and fanatic, and usually of low intelligence. He wears a long plain cotton dress resembling the old-fashioned nightshirt, which is never washed and lasts him for years. He is generally undersized and sickly.

The villages of gray mud huts invariably nestle on the side of a hill, with an evident eye to safety from surprise attack. The dwellings themselves are rude structures made of mud or camel dung thatched with straw, without windows or ventilation. In one part of the shack lives the owner and his family, sleeping together on straw mats. In the other part is housed the cattle, together with the hired hand, if one is employed. The place is heated by a rough oven which burns the usual fuel, dried cattle dung.

In the house is not the slightest evidence of artistic or creative impulse to remind the visitor that these people are lifted above the stage of simple animal appetite. There are neither beds, tables, chairs nor candlesticks. On the clay floor are usually a plentiful supply of homemade rugs. The diners sit at mealtime in squatting position around a common dish, reaching in with unwashed fingers for the food. Women may not sit at this rude table, but get the remains, together with the dogs, when the men are through.

Around the houses filth accumulates like guano. Not a tree is to be seen in the whole village, with the exception of an occasional gnarled olive planted by some generation long forgotten. The only vegetation is a clump of cactus here and there. The children run around half naked. Before the Jews came, most of them suffered from horrible eye disease: many were blind. The haggard faces and monotonous dark blue rags of the women make them actually repulsive. They work exactly like animals.

To this day they give birth to their children in the middle of the road, returning to their village not only with the new-born child on their back, but with other heavy loads besides.³⁸

The male peasant himself is no lover of hard work. Dr. Morton, with long opportunity to observe what the Arab calls 'land cultivation,' comments: "For the most part, the Arab watchword is 'do as little as you can, and let what must be done be done by your wife!'"³⁹ And Jarvis remarks sarcastically that if the poorly sowed crop is a failure, "the Arab is on the whole pleased, as the awful necessity of garnering the corn is thereby obviated."⁴⁰ He is invariably in debt to the effendi loan sharks of neighboring cities. The fellah's farm implements consist solely of a wooden plough of the most elementary design. He may own an emaciated donkey or camel. If he has a cow, it is as lean as the proverbial creature of Pharaoh's dream. Cattle and chicken diseases are a widespread and permanent feature. Only a few varieties of vegetables are planted except near the Jewish villages.

Much of the land is held under the antiquated *musha'a* system. The village lands are owned by the community in common, but cultivated individually. Every two years or so, each tiller moves on to a fresh holding. Thus this curious rotation goes on indefinitely. The result is that no one attempts to make any permanent improvements. Not even stones are removed from the fields. The fellah, like his Bedouin brother, quite respectfully consigns the future to Allah whose business it is to take care of it.

LEVANTINE WORSHIP OF GOD

There has seldom existed such a tangle of murderous animosities as those which divide the many creeds in this motherland of religions.

The majority of the population is Moslem, divided into two great camps, the Sunnites and Shi'ites. The Sunnites, most numerous, are in turn split up into four principal sects, all of them fanatics who hate each other hardly less than they do the de-

spised infidel.⁴¹ Around Acre is a large group of Bahaists, an heretical offshoot of Shi'a. In Galilee are a considerable number of war-like Druses, who believe in successive reincarnations of the one God, including Jesus but not Mohammed.⁴²

Islam in Palestine is a magnificent jungle of faiths and dogma. In the north the inhabitants hold the Caliph El Hakem Biamrillah as the Messiah and the incarnation of Ali. The numerous Shi'ites place Ali above Mohammed. There are considerable sects which believe in the twelve Imams, one of whom is destined to return, like Jesus, to relieve mankind of trouble and unbelief. Different groups recognize various Imams as the deliverer: the Caliph Ali, Mohammed al Bakr, Zeidi, Ismail and Suleiman. They go so far as to acknowledge different religious holidays, with varying degrees of importance attached to the days mutually celebrated. Combined with this tangle of dogma is a confusing medley of fetish and spirit worship dependent on locality.

Whatever Islam might have been in the past or might be elsewhere, the Palestine Moslem has grooved it into line with his own peculiar racial mentality. He considers the word 'Jew' obscene and generally uses it as '*Al Yabud, Tikram*' — using a word of excuse for mentioning an object indecent to respectable Moslems. At the *Nebi Moussa* festival each year, an hysterical mob of true believers goes through the streets in procession, in a delirium of wild, whirling dances, waving huge knives and clubs. They are led by young townsmen of the low-effendi type who distribute pamphlets and shout bawdy songs of their own composition. Rising in low frenzied wail from this serpentine line as it swings along is the continuous guttural chant: "*El Billad billadna, Wa el Yabud Kellabna*" (This is our land and the Jews are our dogs). The Christian is despised with even more uncompromising rigor. On this score Sir Ronald Storrs states briefly that Moslems are "everywhere more tolerant of Jews . . . than of Christians."⁴³ The expulsion of all Christian missionaries is one of the standard Moslem demands.

Christian Arabs are not only of markedly different racial mixture, but their whole role in the country's social-economic struc-

ture is strikingly like that of the Jews in the Diaspora. They are mainly engaged in service occupations. Approximately 12% of the population, they are 37.7% of those engaged in manufacturing, transport and commerce. Only 15% of the Christians of working age are in agriculture as compared to the Moslems' 66%. And like the Diaspora Jews they are huddled together in certain towns and villages, forming what is for all practical purposes a Christian ghetto.⁴⁴

Christians number today in the neighborhood of one hundred thousand. There are no exact denominational figures available. The official figures for 1920 named thirty-five thousand Greek Orthodox communicants, twenty-five thousand Catholics (split into two distinct groups centering around the Italian and French clerics respectively) and an assortment of others, including Maronite, Coptic, Anglican, Armenian, Gregorian, Jacobite, Abyssinian, as well as varieties of Uniate Churches and a sprinkling of Protestants. All of these share in the principal shrines. All hate each other with an explosive bigotry hardly understandable to anyone who has not breathed this morbid atmosphere.

Among their squabbles is the question of the actual site of the Annunciation. At Nazareth the Catholics have a chapel to mark their claim, the Greeks another, the Rumanians a third. "For all one knows," remarks Beverley Nichols, "there may be a dozen similar chapels."⁴⁵ Vicious struggles go on for every foot of the Holy Places. The contest between the Franciscans and the Orthodox priests as to who is to be permitted to clean the north window of the Basilica in Bethlehem, usually ends in an open row. When on December 28, 1936 the Basilica was again cleaned, both the District Commissioner and the Police Chief had to be present. In the Holy Sepulchre, the presence of military guards is always required on high holidays to keep the Armenians, Latins and Orthodox priests from bashing in each other's heads. In the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the priests of the different sects have been known to brain each other with the brass candlesticks at Christmas.

Their brawls never cease. If not over 'Holy Places' and liturgical rights, they are accused of stealing each other's con-

verts. Their statements are always bald and uncompromising. An example is the accusation hurled by the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem against the Protestants, claiming that they had "despoiled many important Catholic sites in Jerusalem."⁴⁶

The classic quarrel is between the Greek and Roman Catholics, with the British invariably taking a covert stand in favor of the Greeks. An outstanding instance occurred during 1921 when the collapse of Russia left the Greek Patriarchate practically bankrupt. This was the hour the Latin Church had waited centuries for. Promptly it entered into an agreement to purchase the rights and properties of its Orthodox rival, including the envied Church of the Sepulchre. The Authorities, getting wind of what was occurring, stepped into the breach and forbade the sale. They did not care to allow the Catholic Church to gain the paramount importance which possession of these sites would give. The collapsing Orthodox clericals were bolstered up by a subvention from the public funds and a British puppet, His Beatitude the Greek Patriarch Damianos, was installed on the bankrupt patriarchal throne over the violent opposition of the majority of his own synod.⁴⁷

Beneath the surface, the Latin Church has been in almost a continuous state of war with the Authorities since the Administration began. The English suspect that the Vatican is working hand-in-glove with the Italian Foreign Office. The Vatican in turn is aroused because the Holy Places Commission has not yet been constituted, though the League had instructed Britain to do so from the beginning.

There is not the slightest concord in the religious life of this land. The Latin Patriarch, for example, considers the local Y.M.C.A. not only a Protestant missionary institution but an English propaganda center to boot, and has threatened with excommunication every Catholic who dares enter its portals.⁴⁸ On the other side of the fence is the symbolic case of a Moslem sentenced to one month in jail (on June 23, 1931) for having been converted to Protestantism.

No matter how virulently these factions may detest each other, they all join in the opinion that to injure a Jew is a work

well pleasing in the sight of God. The Greeks, particularly, are fond of raising the old blood-libel charge, exactly as they used to in Russia. This type of Jew-baiting the Administration seems to regard with surreptitious enjoyment. A speaking instance occurred in March 1921, when the Greek Orthodox daily *Falas-tin* headlined an atrocious story accusing the Jews of kidnaping Arab children in order to drink their blood during the Passover rites. Jewish agencies angrily remonstrated to the Government. The result was a typical piece of horseplay, with an official named Mark Young ordering the Jaffa authorities "to investigate the report immediately to ascertain what truth there is in it."

With the cooperation of Government House, native Christians have placed themselves in the forefront of Arab nationalist agitation.⁴⁹ The intellectual activity and propaganda work is almost exclusively in their hands. It flatters their vanity, says Duff, "to believe that they are on equal terms with the young Moslem gentlemen of Jerusalem and Jaffa to whom through all the centuries, their people have had to look up with awe and respect."⁵⁰ There is no doubt in the minds of unbiased observers, however, that any idea of a lasting alliance between Cross and Crescent in Palestine is a chimera. Christians have undergone an oppression here not one whit less horrible than that meted out by their co-religionists to the Jews in Europe. Periodic massacres have occurred consistently since the time when the Moslem Chief, Ashraf Khalil, celebrated his conquest of Acre with a great display of Christian skulls on the spears of his bodyguards.

As long as the Crescent ruled, the Christians were to be pointedly reminded by blackmail, bloody repression, rape and murder that they were inferior sons of dogs whom the Prophet for some reason of dark mercy allowed to carry on. After subjecting Jews and Christians to every barbarity a distorted imagination could invent, the notorious el Djazzar actually issued orders in 1801 to massacre every Christian in Palestine. Only the threat of the great British Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, to blow

Acre out of the ocean if a single Christian head fell, saved them from extermination. Living men still remember the terrible events of 1860 when in a widespread murderous attack reminiscent of the riots of 1936, sixteen thousand Christians were slaughtered and countless others left destitute. Throughout Palestine and southern Syria whole villages embraced Islam as the only alternative to certain death. Again only the hurried intervention of the Great Powers prevented a general massacre.

In each of the pogroms which have occurred under British Administration the old enmities have come to the surface. Soon Christians, too, heard an angry familiar scream which made them shiver in their skins. They and their forefathers knew its meaning. It was the call to war against the detested infidel, the old battle-cry of Islam: "Mohammed and his sword!" The Christians knew it meant them and no one else. Christians were freely attacked, and kept to their houses for safety.

The publicity officer of the Palestine Administration has always been at eternal pains to broadcast the slightest squabbles between Arab and Jew "apparently to indicate the terrific difficulties in judicial handling the Mandatory labors under."⁵¹ But news of the constant brawls and killings between followers of Cross and Crescent is always carefully suppressed. Actually the hatred which separates Moslem and Christian is far more fundamental than that held by either party for the Jew. This enmity does not need to be fostered, since it is traditional.

Despite rigid censorship, news events break through, such as the mob attack on the Protestant Missionary Council Conference held in April 1928, when a pitched battle was fought between rioters and police. Moslem attacks flared up viciously in September 1930. Christian notables were assassinated. In mixed quarters, Moslem well-owners refused to sell water to Christians. The paper *El Yarmouk*, bespeaking the general feeling, advised Arab Catholics coldly: "Christians are not entitled to speak for the Arab nation."⁵² Feeling was at a dangerous tension. With an iron hand, in significant contrast to its handling of Jewish-Arab disturbances, the Government swiftly intervened. Troops

patrolled the danger zones, prepared to make short work of the slightest disturbance. Special regulations were issued and rigidly enforced against assemblies of any kind.

During the recent rebellion, too, Arab bravos swollen with their own truculence could but with difficulty be restrained from including their ancient enemies, the Christians, in one grand all-embracing terror. Pious Moslems, with an eye for business, called for a boycott of Christian shops. A violently worded *ukase* was issued forbidding 'loyal Arabs' from even using busses run by Christians. The Christian chairman of the Arab Labor Association was butchered in cold blood. Followers of the Cross and Crescent fought it out in bloody scrimmage on the streets. Once more the Administration stamped its foot down with surgical efficiency, and put a summary end to this phase of the disorders. Even the slightest hint of what had taken place was deleted from news dispatches sent abroad.

THE SON OF THE DESERT SUFFERS FROM JEWISH COMPETITION

Hope-Simpson's thesis that Zionist development has impoverished the Arab, remains the text from which the ruling coterie of Whitehall continues to draw its inspiration. Utter despondency, we are told, has made the Arabs desperate. The semi-official British press characterizes them as "a people in despair." The root of all the troubles, past and present, *Great Britain and the East* assures us solemnly, "is inherent in the Mandatory policy of making Palestine a National Home for the Jews, *with the inevitable consequence of reprisals on the part of the Arabs when their security and livelihood are threatened.*"⁵³

Has the Arab really been reduced to penury by Zionist immigration? Has he been actually driven to "despair," as the Colonials so zealously insist? The best answer to these interesting questions lay in the English records themselves.

The returning Zionists found a country sunk in the most wretched poverty. Malaria, trachoma, dysentery and tuberculosis stalked everywhere like great shadowy werewolves. Trans-

Jordan was almost deserted by human life. "In Western Palestine," writes De Haas, quoting from a U. S. consular report, "they [the Bedouins] had driven the population to the hills and its plains were wholly neglected."⁵⁴ The majority of Jerusalem's nineteen thousand inhabitants were "mendicants and beggars."⁵⁵ In 1881, states another official American report, there was "not even a good wagon road" in the entire country.⁵⁶ Some years earlier Churton had written: "In the whole of Palestine there is not a single cart or vehicle on wheels."⁵⁷

The population lived in a state of squalid degradation not surpassed by the most miserable savages in creation. There was no professional class. Only 1½% lived from the rude handicrafts and small industries that existed. The demoralized inhabitants would not even trouble to cut wood for fuel "but found it easier to set fire to the trees on a mountainside to obtain the charcoal they needed."⁵⁸ The peasant scratched a miserable living from land which he leased from gouging landlords. Other human vultures burned his fields and robbed him of even the pittance he managed to eke from the unfriendly soil. Laborers employed in the few orange groves belonging to the effendis received one bishlik (5¢) per day, working from sunup to sundown under supervisors armed with whips.

At the turn of the century there were 40,000 Jews in Palestine and about 140,000 others of all complexions.⁵⁹ The inhabitants had no other feeling for this pauperized, disease-ridden country than a fervent desire to get away from it. Emigration proceeded steadily. Immigration was virtually non-existent. Not until the Zionists had arrived in numbers did the Arab population begin to augment itself. The introduction of European standards of wage and life acted like a magnet on the entire Near East. Abruptly Palestine became an Arab center of attraction. By 1922, after a quarter century of Jewish colonization, their numbers mushroomed to 488,000. Today they are over a million.

If the English contention were accurate, we should expect to find an exodus of Arabs from areas where Jews are settled, into purely Arab regions. But exactly the opposite is true: it is

precisely in the vicinity of these Jewish villages that Arab development is most marked. Arab Haifa, profiting by the Zionist boom, grew from 1922 to 1936 by 130%, Jaffa by 80% and Jerusalem by 55%. The Arab rural settlement in the Tel Aviv district increased by over 135%. The all-Arab city of Nablus, which held 33,000 before the War, has fallen to less than 12,000. Safed which had 20,000, dropped to less than 9000.

In the vicinity of Jewish villages Arab workers earn twice the wage paid in other parts of Palestine. Unskilled labor receives three to five shillings a day, and skilled workers eight to twelve shillings. In neighboring Egypt, Iraq and Syria a worker considers himself well off if he gets one shilling a day.

Palestine is the only country in the entire Middle and Near Eastern section where there has been any substantial increase either in nominal or real wages since the War. The official index of wages *shows a rise from 100 in 1913, to 390 in 1932*. No Government figures have been published since that date, but the report of the Department of Overseas Trade in 1935 states that wages have progressively increased since 1933. The simultaneous fall in the official index number of retail prices, from 100 in 1922, to 55.1 in 1934, indicates *the enormous increase in real wages in post-war Palestine*.

According to the Royal Commission's Report of 1937, forty percent of all labor employed on Jewish-owned plantations is Arab. Against this, Arab establishments employ practically no Jews whatever.

Jews spend annually about £1,500,000 for agricultural produce of the Arab fellaheen, and about £750,000 on the products of Arab quarries and industries.⁶⁰ It is estimated that they pay Arabs in direct wages, £860,000; in rentals, £500,000, and in trade and transport, £200,000.⁶¹ Payments for land are about £1,650,000. To these annual figures must be added the tax moneys derived from Jews and expended for Arab benefit (computed at £1,250,000). Balanced against these sums, the Arab payments to Jews for all causes during a single year, come to around £1,200,000. It does not require expert bookkeeping to determine who is getting the better of this bargain.

Modernization, copied directly from the Jew, has benefited the Arab greatly. Machine production is being introduced into the manufacture of oils and soaps, silk and cotton textiles, and tobacco working. In 1928 the industrial census registered ten thousand persons employed in Arab industries and handicrafts, representing an investment of £1,100,000. Four years later the census showed twenty thousand persons engaged in the same industries, with capital expanding to £2,500,000.

In the short period from 1931 to 1935, Arab land under vegetables rose from 20,000 dunams to 65,000 and Arab citrus groves increased from 20,000 dunams to 135,000. In a span of hardly eight years, Arab orchards devoted to bananas, figs, apricots, olives and grapes rocketed from 180,060 dunams to 1,651,466 dunams.

In 1927 Arab urban building represented an average annual investment of £200,000. By 1935 it had inflated itself to £1,500,000; and Arab bank deposits had grown from £1,000,000 to £4,000,000.

Once the poorest, sorriest population in this whole section of poverty-stricken masses, the Arabs of Palestine are now on their way to be the richest per capita of their race. As an index to their prosperity, they import £4.5s. per head, as compared with £3.7s. for wealthy Egypt and £3.5s. for oil-rich Iraq. Motor cars, unknown here before the War, now number one to every 352 inhabitants, as compared with one to every 730 in Iraq.⁶²

The network of Jewish medical centers, hospitals and dispensaries has served the Arab equally with the Jew. It is these Jewish services alone which carry on the bitter fight against trachoma, malaria and other devastating diseases. These benefits are amply reflected in the great natural increase in a population disease had once brought to a standstill. "One of the most important consequences of the rise of the cultural and economic level of the country due to Jewish immigration," a British representative told the Mandates Commission, "is the high increase in the Arab birth rate."⁶³ The death rate at the same time goes down steadily year by year.

Some mention must also be made of the assertion that Jews

are dispossessing Arabs from the land. As far as one is able to make out, the area of the entire mandated territory is 26,000,000 dunams west of Jordan, and something over 100,000,000 east of Jordan. Of this total, Jews own 1,300,000 dunams — a grand over-all acquisition of approximately one percent of their National Home — by which, according to the tenaciously held British thesis, they have managed to frighten and abuse the natives, and present the Mandatory with a major crisis in the shape of a landless Arab problem.

Fully seventy-five percent of the area in Jewish hands, moreover, had not known the plough for centuries. The northern colonies in Galilee were built on land rendered impossible for life since Roman times because of marsh and endemic disease. Tel Aviv was erected on sand dunes which were considered to be without monetary value. That great granary, the Valley of Jezreel, now nestling so trim and green in the shining Palestine sun, was so deserted and pestilential when Jews bought it that it was said that any bird attempting to cross it would fall dead in its flight. That adjacent scene of Jewish colonization, the Plain of Esdraelon, was in 1919 desolate and abandoned except for a few sickly villages built on camel dung.

In the case of those peasants who sold to Jews, with the exception of a bare five percent who bettered themselves in urban pursuits, *all remained on the land*. Most of them sold only a part of their acres and with the money obtained *got out of debt for the first time in their lives*. Within the past six years the indebtedness of the Arab cultivator has been reduced by sixty percent, and the tax burden by as much as seventy percent, while at the same time his income has sharply increased. The years have proven the landless Arab hypothesis to be nothing more than simple humbug. The most solicitous prodding by the Government over a period of the last ten years has not been able to bring forth more than 664 Arab families who could come even vaguely under the definition of displaced cultivators. Of these, 317 families refused the Government's offers, presumably because they had more satisfactory employment elsewhere.

A very real and harsh condition, which the British carefully

slur over, is the fact that a handful of large land-owners hold as much acreage as all the Arab peasantry put together. The Husseini family holds fifty thousand dunams ; the Abdul Hadi family, sixty thousand ; the Tajji family, fifty thousand, etc. The bulk of this ground lies permanently fallow, happily untaxed. The rest is rented out to tenants under conditions which would make the lot of the average American sharecropper look heavenly. The Hope-Simpson Report estimates a year's income of a tenant farmer at only eighteen dollars — this for an entire family !

The prevailing system is one of actual peonage. The fellah is continually in debt to the effendi-usurer. According to the Johnson-Crosbie Report "a rate of thirty percent per annum is perhaps the commonest, but fifty percent for three months is not unusual." Arab improvidence and extortionate interest charges have had their result in the taking over of many small tracts for debt. The French Report states that as a consequence, in one Sub-District in the hills "no less than thirty percent of the land has passed from Arab peasants to Arab capitalists" in a single decade. This is the type of creature existence to which British policy would freeze the Arab forever !

Though British 'investigators' have proven 'conclusively' that Zionism is an unrelieved menace to the 'helpless' natives, it appears that surrounding countries would like very much to be exposed to a similar risk. In his book, *Europe and Europeans*, Count Carlo Sforza states that Syrians of all classes, who have been watching Palestine's development with envious eyes, are anxious to have something of the same phenomena duplicated in their country. This desire is written in the clamorous petition sent the French in 1935 by the inhabitants of Lebanon, begging them to encourage Jewish immigration as that would bring prosperity. Said the important Damascus paper *Lissan Alakhar* in a fiery editorial on this subject : "We ought to demand Jewish immigration, for through it our situation will be saved." ⁶⁴

In Palestine itself, if official encouragement to hoodlums and agitators were removed, the whole condition would alter overnight. The Levantine mind is sensible enough to know which

side its bread is buttered on, and to pay that side a proper regard. In 1926 Major E. W. Polson stated unequivocally that despite mischievous propaganda, "if the Jews were to leave Palestine tomorrow, the Arabs would be the first to cry out." ⁶⁵ "We are led by a group of men who bargain us away, buying and selling us like cattle," asserts the newspaper *Al Iqdam* in May 1930. "The Arab people have not yet said their last word on the Arab-Jewish question. When this word has been said, it will not be one of hatred and war, but one of peace and brotherhood, as is suitable for two people who live in one country." Says a round robin issued during March 1934 by the leading Moslems and Christians of Nazareth: "On behalf of the majority of the property-owners and consumers, we declare that we would welcome Jewish immigration and trust that the enlightened Jews with their financial and commercial associations will hasten to respond to our appeal. We have had enough of losses; we want a system of reciprocity and understanding. We are tired of the obstinacy of the money-lenders and shopkeepers who pursue a policy of boycott and preach hatred." In the very hotbed of unrest, on May 21, 1936, the merchants and shopkeepers issued a manifesto urging fellow-Arabs to repudiate the self-seeking agitators who were leading the 'Arab cause' — a courageous enough act, since some of the signers were soon after murdered.

The claim that Jewish colonization has ruined the Arab and driven him to the desperate acts of despair, is obviously a fabrication. Hidden beneath this pretext lie the deeper issues of classic anti-Semitism, British self-interest and Arab family feud.

NASHISHIBIS AND HUSSEINIS

Little in the way of political reasoning can be expected from the inert Levantine mass which has been elected to rake Whitehall's chestnuts from the fire. These people have never been able to reason along other than religious and economic lines. Colonel Wedgwood tells us that they think more "of the next meal than of greater Arabia." Duff found that they had not the

slightest conception of sacrifice for the common good. They invariably bow with respect to the authority of the powerful and rich. They are forever intriguing against each other. "The Arab who has a Government position," writes Senator Austin, "is always exposed to the attempts of other Arabs to put him out and get his place." ⁶⁶

Combined with these traits is an inordinate love for the excitement of feudal contention. Given an opportunity for gun-toting, almost any banner would suit the average tribesman.

Their whole economy centers around the patronage, power and influence of half a dozen wealthy families. These invariably lay claim to hereditary rights of overlordship based on aristocratic lineage. There are, in the main, two great camps. One is headed by the Husseinis, who allege themselves to be sprung from Mohammed himself. The other is led by their traditional enemies, the Nashishibis, whose boasts of noble descent are no less lofty. Beyond a natural quest for power, no one actually knows on what tangible grounds this rancorous rivalry is based, least of all, probably, the Husseinis and Nashishibis themselves.

Of the six Arab parties in Palestine, five are family or patronage organizations. Only one, *Istaklal*, could be considered a political party in the European sense. *Istaklal* is a minor but loud-voiced group which represents the young-bloods of the country. It is the party of the pan-Arabs and dopes itself on dreams of a revived Arabic empire stretching over all of North Africa as well as the Arabian Peninsula. It regards the Jew as an hereditary enemy who is to be rigorously annihilated. The violent tone of this group, and its fantastic utterances, conforms to the best traditions of Nazism, overlayed with a thick buttering of oriental mysticism. Its members no longer wear the *Tarbusch*, sacred to Mohammedans, but a smart brown military hat. *Istaklal* believes in direct action and is known for its thugs and assassins. Other Arab leaders are so desperately afraid of this organization that they rarely oppose it publicly for fear of death.

The British have tolerated *Istaklal* as a hedge against futures; but its usefulness to them now seems about at an end. It is

headed by an ambitious radical named Awny Bey Abdul Hadi, a man with broken teeth, a cynical laugh and, strange in Levantines, a sense of humor. He comes from a large and quarrelsome family who are always in litigation with each other which sometimes ends in murder. One member of the family is a judge of the Supreme Court. Another graces the Secretariat.

The titular head of the Husseini clan is Haj Amin, whom Samuel had appointed Mufti. For years he was the 'fair-haired boy' of the Administration. He was a frequent and favored visitor at the High Commissioner's table. He had his own brand of shock troops, openly tolerated by the Government. Apparently his position was impregnable.

If the Mufti had been created by some fiction writer instead of having been authored by the Mandatory for Palestine, he would have been considered too exaggerated a character to be included in a serious work. He occupied the unique and unparalleled position of being at war with the same government which was subsidizing him. In every one of the riots which shook Palestine the Mufti was an acknowledged leader. He openly directed the rebellion of 1936 and at the same time continued to act as a high official of the Government. He is violently and incurably anti-Jewish. He has a fixed delusion that the Jews are conspiring to tear down the Mosque of Omar and build a Jewish Temple on its site. In June 1936 he sent a cablegram to the Syrians in Brazil beginning with the theatrical words: "Jews and Arabs at war!"

It cannot be emphasized too clearly that the Mohammedan Church in Palestine is not a private organization as are churches elsewhere, but an official body with prescribed secular functions. As its head the black-robed Mufti was a Government employee. Under his control was the rich Moslem *Wakf*, which possesses an income of some £100,000 a year, and literally untold wealth in ancient treasure. The *Wakf* is the largest landowner in the country, holding over a million dunams, including office buildings, apartment houses, shops, factories and warehouses. It is paid by the Government a fixed sum in lieu of tithe, and thus receives seventy percent of the total Government

revenue from rural property in Palestine. The Mufti in addition had autocratic authority over the Moslem Courts, also Government-subsidized, and could appoint or dismiss judges and employees at will.

Haj Amin was thoroughly resented by his fellow-Moslems who accused him of every crime on the calendar. He never kept accounts and the disposal of all funds was his personal secret. His power came completely from Government patronage. An insight into this relationship of Mufti to Government was provided by the Tiberias Arab leader, Mohammed Tawil, who declared from exile in 1930 that "the Palestine Government is protecting the Grand Mufti, supporting his anti-Jewish policy and going so far as to suppress those who favor peace." He asserted that those opposed to this agitation lived under a veritable reign of terror and were afraid to open their mouths.⁸⁷

The crowning insult in the Government's favoritism to the Husseinis was reached in 1934 when Ragheb Bey Nashishibi, Mayor of Jerusalem for 14 years, was ousted and Dr. Husseini Khaldi appointed in his stead. The Nashishibis, cut to the quick, went wild. They even urged that a Jew be appointed mayor.

It looked like their star had set, when the Mufti made the crowning mistake of his career: he refused to denounce Mussolini during the Ethiopian invasion, making it plain that he took British utterances seriously and considered himself no puppet. The British believed, and with reason, that Haj Amin was convinced that ultimate victory in the Near East would be with the Italians, and that he had quietly switched allegiance. It was evident that he considered himself so powerful a figure that the Government would not dare remove him. From that day onward, Jerusalem maneuvered to create a situation which would bring about the Mufti's fall.

Now began a game of high politics and involved intrigue almost impossible to describe. The Administration had planned Haj Amin's ruin by the Legislative Council project with Ragheb Bey slated as its president. Thoroughly alarmed, the Mufti fought this proposal tooth and nail, joined enthusiastically by the Jews. This land makes strange bedfellows. The Nashishibis,

taking their cue, began to send spellbinders to the villages who soon had the countryside in an uproar. The strategy was to undermine the Mufti by depicting him as an enemy of Arab national aspirations. This seemed easy since the secular form of state was anathema to Haj Amin, who was dreaming of a new edition of the old Moslem Caliphate with himself as the boss.

The agitation became more and more violent. Government House watched it with circumspect eye. Here was a chance to kill two birds with one stone: to unload the Mufti, now grown dangerous, and to smash the unwanted Jewish National Home once and for all.

But Haj Amin was no fool. A Husseini suddenly bobbed up as one of the most violent of the extremists. He declared for his party in a press interview that "between the Arabs and Jews a life-and-death struggle is raging, which will not cease before one of the parties has been completely crushed." Against his will the Mufti found himself forced, temporarily at least, into the nationalist camp.

Quite different from the squat, ape-like figure of his arch-opponent, Ragheb Bey Nashishibi is a tall personable Arab with white hair and almost fair skin. His manner is smooth and he has a certain easy Levantine charm. Though he now heads an Arab independence party which bases its demands on alleged promises made by Britain for Arab help during the War, Nashishibi himself had fought on the opposite side as an officer in the Turkish Army. He is said to have three legal wives, one Moslem, one Jewish and one Christian, choosing them deliberately from each faith so as to enhance his chances to get into Heaven when he dies, by whichever gate is open. He plays the game of practical politics in much the same pragmatic manner and can shift his ground on any issue with the most bewildering ease.

The program of the Nashishibi party now coincides exactly with British aspirations in the Near East. Today they are plumping for a reunited Arab Transjordan and Palestine, under the current British favorite, Abdullah of Transjordan. The Mufti clique rejects Abdullah and hopes for a renaissance of fanatic Mohammedan times in a great loose Moslem Federation, with

the Church as the ruling power. In every country where influence counts, these rival groups lobby, not only against the Jews, but with still greater violence, against each other.

The part Whitehall has had in all this can be easily guessed from the constant open advice given by British officials, urging these warring parties to "get together" in their fight against the Jews. Colonial Office organ *Great Britain and the East* was full of these admonitions; nor could even the High Commissioner refrain in his *Annual Report* from expressing his "regrets" over this inability of Arabs to create a truly 'united front.'⁶⁸

Under the patronage of the Government, Arab leaders representing all the various groups have long been joined in a super-body called the Arab Executive,* most members of which are directly on the Government payroll. A sample of this body's policies is contained in a proclamation issued February 21, 1931, which calls on the entire Moslem world to massacre Jews wherever they may be found.

CLAIMS, OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The Arab politicians and the anti-Semitic officials of London and Jerusalem who spur them on, always paint the Arab as an under-privileged creature who is unable to get a hearing in Britain because the Jews control the press there and by inference hold the mass of M. P.'s efficiently under their thumbs. This, of course, is nothing but an extension of that lively humbug, the Elders of Zion story. Says Wedgwood, drily disposing of this contention: "These officials claim that the Arab case is not put before Parliament. The Arab case cannot be put in a British House simply because their case is anti-British."⁶⁹

The pro-Arab case in its entirety is a post-war product. During the War "there were no pro-Arab sympathies [in Palestine] as [there] were in parts of Arabia . . . and the question of a Palestinian nationality had never entered their heads."⁷⁰ The great Near East negotiator Sir Mark Sykes dismissed them with the deprecatory remark that they had "long had the knack of

* The *Arab High Committee*, has, since 1936, superseded the *Arab Executive*.

falling in with the plans of a successful conqueror." The British *Peace Handbook No. 60* observes crisply: "*With the Arab movement centered at Damascus, Zionism in Palestine would be a help rather than a hindrance to it; for that movement would only suffer from the attempt to absorb a district ethnologically and otherwise so different from countries in which the Arab element stands alone or is distinctly predominant.*"

Despite these facts and the solemn agreements signed by the House of Hussein with the Zionists, the pan-Arabs, backed by their powerful sympathizers, continue to harp on the 'promises' made to Hussein by McMahon.* Time after time, McMahon himself denied this claim with considerable show of irritation,⁷¹ but it makes no difference. The British-Arab clique held on to this bone with all their teeth. Discredited or not, we find even Lord Peel repeating it as a fact in his official report in 1937.

Looked at over a period of years the Arab story strikes an amusingly self-contradictory note. In 1925 it rests its case entirely on the alleged failure of Zionist colonization. The Arab Executive speaks in sepulchral tones of "the economic retrogression" of the country. It groans dolorously that "the figures are growing darker every day" and that "Palestine's general wealth has been reduced by £16,604,594 during the last four years alone."⁷² In March 1927, after a year's slump had slowed up Jewish immigration till it was only a dribble, the Arab Executive asserts triumphantly that "the decrease in Jewish immigration confirms our contention that the Government's policy in Palestine was wrong."

When this line of argument became silly on the face of it, the Arabs suddenly swung over to the discovery that Palestine, virtually ignored in Moslem religious tradition, was "a Holy Land for Moslems also."⁷³ It was on this concept that the horrible events of 1929 pivoted.

It is at least a curious accident that all these inconsistencies of Arab viewpoint correspond exactly with whatever happens to be agitating Whitehall most at the moment. When the British

* See *Appendix B*, p. 580.

switched to a policy aiming at the consolidation of Arabia into a confederacy under their control, the character of Arab demands shifted accommodately. At a conference in Jerusalem, the Arab leaders took a pledge under oath "to uphold the integrity of Arabia as a nation and to recognize no divisions therein." ⁷⁴ Yet when it became apparent to the British Foreign Office that it would have to go slow on such a program, the Arab agenda shifted obligingly once more. Now the demand was for sectional independence, a concept regarded as nothing less than traitorous a few months earlier.

Present-day demands are for a complete stoppage of Jewish immigration and a cessation of land sales. The claim is that Palestine is an Arab land and that the Jews, entering on Arab sufferance, can only hope to attain the status of paying guests. Some leaders go so far as to propose the confiscation of Jewish property; others are satisfied with political domination only. The Mufti's gang would force them all to become Moslems; while the followers of Awny Bey would drive them into the sea altogether.

Much of this, of course, is the sheerest political hokum, since very few Levantines have ever been known to lose an opportunity to make money. Duff writes that "nearly every man of Nazareth had land ready to sell to the Jews, despite the fact that they were continually signing high-sounding declarations about never surrendering one inch of the 'Fatherland' to the detested intruders." ⁷⁵ At the very peak of the 1936 revolt the three visiting United States Senators found that "while the Arab High Committee in charge of the Strike is officially demanding prohibition of the sale of land to Jews, some of the prominent Arab leaders active in that Committee are quietly trying to sell land to Jewish buyers." ⁷⁶

If this proposed tabu were placed into effect a number of knotty problems would at once arise which none of the Arab-English solons have yet attempted to answer. Could Arab land, for instance, be sold to a Jew who has become a convert to Mohammedanism? May the Druses, who are not Arabs but Persians, and heretical Moslems to boot, own land? A large part of

the Afghan population calls itself *B'nai Yisroel*⁷⁷ and claims Jewish descent though they are fanatic Moslems. If they came to Palestine could they own land? Half a century ago a great number of Samaritans accepted Moslemism for the practical advantages involved. May these people buy land? Finally, what is the attitude toward Arabs who are converted to Judaism?

It is also claimed that the Nations, in authorizing the establishment of a Jewish National Home, disposed of a country which did not belong to them but to the Arab people. But here again they appear to be flying in the face of facts. Mr. Van Rees of the Permanent Mandates Commission remarks that it is "enough to point out that Palestine had belonged before the War to the Ottoman Empire. That country had been conquered not by Arabs of Palestine, but by the Allies, and had finally been ceded to the Allies and not to the Arabs."⁷⁸ If the League's right to act on behalf of the Jews is contested, it would be equally valid to challenge the status of every other area disposed of through the Mandatory system. Turkey then would have an *a priori* case for the return of all her lost territory in Arabia. Certainly if this business of self-determination is to be carried through honestly, the rich oil area of Mosul must be taken from Iraq and given back to the Turks. Of the 342,000 people who inhabit the Mosul Vilayet, only 60,000 are Arabs, and these are newcomers living in the town of Mosul itself. Yet, since Mosul oil is one of the major reasons for British presence in the Near East, would they dream of urging its return to Turkey under the same rules they are attempting to apply in Palestine?

During the middle of the last century, before Zionist immigration began, there were not one hundred thousand people all told in the entire country on both sides of the Jordan. There are plenty of official statistics and hundreds of books and consular reports on every detail. The vast majority of Arabs are therefore newcomers, the same as the Jews. Wherefore are they so land-hungry that they must debouch onto this little territory? The question arises: Are they without adequate territories of

their own? Here we come to a new application of Aesop's old story of the dog in the manger. We discover that in Asia the Arabs inhabit an area of 2,016,000 square miles, three-quarters the size of the United States. It is so wild and unpopulated that Lowell Thomas was led to exclaim that "we have better maps of the North Pole; in fact, we have better maps of Mars than we have of some parts of the interior of Arabia."⁷⁹ The total population roaming this tremendous expanse is less than twelve million, including a healthy proportion of minority peoples. If Syria and Iraq are excluded, this vast domain holds less than six million human beings. In North Africa, which pan-Arab visionaries also dream of incorporating in the Arab Empire of the future, is another territory almost as large and nearly as underpopulated.

Here we find the Arabs in possession of what is by all odds the world's last frontier. No colony held by any European Power is as sparsely peopled. No nation on earth can even remotely compare with the Arab in per capita land possession. He has so much of it that he is actually land-poor, its value having fallen to zero, since there are no human beings to work it.

The great territory of Saudi, whose unsurveyed area can only be guessed to be approximately a million square miles, contains not three million human beings, and is undoubtedly the most underpopulated space on the globe today. The rich Hejaz has only eight hundred and fifty thousand people within its 150,000 square miles: yet it was from here that Abdullah and his desert tribesmen came to squat on the Jewish National Home territory in Transjordan. Arabs have also the vast spaces of Oman, Yemen, the Hadramaut and Syria on the Peninsula, as well as Algeria, Tunisia, Lybia and Morocco in Africa. Even Iraq, thickly settled by comparison to the immense empty expanses to the south, has less than three million people in a territory of 143,250 square miles. In ancient times this magically fertile earth, watered by two of the great rivers of Asia, was the granary of civilization. It alone could support the entire Arab nation and still present all the aspects of an underpopulated country.

If the matter be considered from the purely Moslem view-

point, which admits of neither racialism nor nationality beyond the community of Mohammed, the axis of possible settlement stretches itself immeasurably. Even Asiatic Turkey is impoverished for want of men. In 1926 Kemal Pasha offered large holdings to Palestine Arabs on the homestead plan if they would immigrate to Turkey. (After a considerable group of families left to take advantage of this attractive tender, the Palestine Government suppressed the whole business, even forbidding any public mention of the Turkish Government's offer.)

Since the emphasis of Arab demands centers on a united Arab Empire, it seems fantastic to believe that they also require for their national development the nine thousand square miles of Western Palestine. "When the Arab talks of his right of self-determination in Palestine," comments Herbert Sidebotham, "he really means his right to suppress Palestine and to merge it with some other country. *Palestine as a political unit is a ghost of the Jewish past alone. It has never had a separate existence as a political unit except through the Jew nor will it ever have in the future.*" Actually, Arab politicians do not recognize Palestine at all. In all their public statements they deliberately refer to it as 'Southern Syria.' They protest continually because Palestine has been severed from the main body. In their minds it can be no more than a geographical concept. It is only through the introduction of the Jewish factor that it becomes meaningful as a national-territorial organism.

One is forced to concede that wherever two divergent races inhabit the same territory, prejudices, hatreds and envies must arise, if only due to differences of habits and culture and temperament. Despite this, the prosperity brought in by the Jews would be an almost certain guarantee of permanent peace if pernicious propaganda were eliminated. "The Jew would welcome fellowship with the Arab," says Broadhurst.⁸⁰ And Colonel Wedgwood states fearlessly that the Arabs would give little or no trouble "were they not encouraged and stimulated to do so by the effendis of the Higher Arab Committee and by a Government which does not like the Jews and lets the Arabs know

it." ⁸¹ Arab papers reflect all the contempt the permanent officials hold for English party politicians. Insolently the Arab press asks: "What is the British Parliament but a Council of Elders of Zion?" ⁸² *Falastin* (usually accounted the semi-official voice of the Government) berates Ormsby-Gore as a stupid heretic who "cannot free himself from the influence of the Bible." "The British Government," it warns, "must forget the Bible" and must order "the Church of England in no uncertain terms to refrain from interfering in political matters." ⁸³

It must not be doubted that the Arab has some forbidding grievances, real enough to him, no matter how puzzling they may appear to alien minds. One of these is the fear of the emancipation of women. Another is the alarm of the effendis lest the end of the feudal period terminate their privileged position in society. To these Colonel Blimps of the Near East it is useless to argue the benefits which Jewish science, industry and medicine have brought to the people of Palestine. "They will reply," relates the *London Times*, "that these are luxuries which the people of Palestine can do without." ⁸⁴ Like all other forms of existence the medieval mind dies hard. This deep-rooted resistance is shown by the petition of professional camel drivers in June 1936, complaining against the competition of such devilish inventions as the automobile and railroad. The camel drivers are hence losing "their independence and dignity," and must be protected by turning the clock back. Another reason, which appears too ridiculous on the surface to be credible, though Duff assures us it is so, is that "the Arabs still hate the Jews, and despise them because they hold that Ishmael, and not Jacob, was the legal son, and that Hagar was the wife of Abraham, and that Sarah was his concubine." ⁸⁵

The final and clinching argument is that no matter what benefits might come of it, the Arabs do not want Jewish settlement, and that they have a 'right' under the principle of majority rule to forbid Jews from immigrating. Would not the same argument oblige the British to retire from South Africa and other places where they are in the minority? Since the successful

issue of a wrong does not make it right, must not America then be returned to the Indians ; and perhaps England itself to the Celts ?

Certainly of all peoples, the English must know that the history of the world is the history of colonization. Every civilized country is the result of some such process in the past. Today all the major peoples continue to colonize. In Arab Algeria and Tunisia, for instance, both France and Italy are steadily pouring in European immigrants without anyone in particular objecting. In the case of the Jews there is infinitely more reason to seek mass resettlement. Not poverty or impulse alone drives them forth, but a grim and terrible battle against extinction. They cannot retreat from Palestine because there is nowhere else for them to retreat to.

If the question be one of title and legality, the Jews have in their possession a charter signed by the Nations and counter-signed by Feisal of the House of Hussein for the Arabs. If a moral right is to be posed, can it be offered by the voracious appetite of a new Arab imperialism, already swollen and choking on vast territories it cannot possibly digest ? You may scratch Palestine anywhere and you find Israel. There is not a spot which is not indelibly stamped with the footprint of the Jew — “not a road, spring, mountain or village, which does not awaken the name of some great king or greater prophet. Surely,” cries Dr. Holmes, “this is his homeland, if ever again he is to have a home.” ⁸⁶

‘SEMITIC BROTHERS’

If British plans ever materialize, Palestine will eventually come under Arab domination, presumably as part of the great Arab Confederacy. The fate of the Jews in this eventuality becomes an interesting conjecture.

There is a pleasant fiction, implicitly believed by many Jews, that Israel has been well-treated by the followers of Mohammed ; that some sort of *modus vivendi* was established in the dim days of antiquity, so that the two groups got along famously to-

gether. This fantasy grew out of the liaison between the Jews of Spain and their *racial kinsmen*, the invading Berbers, *who were largely of direct Jewish and Phoenician descent*.⁸⁷ It was the Jewish Berber, General Tarik-es-Ziad, who began the Moorish conquest of Spain. During the Arab invasion of Spain in 711, Jewish troops often as not garrisoned important fortresses. Lloyd George states that "in science and art the superiority of the early Moslem is attributable to the Jews." Lecky tells us that "Jewish learning and Jewish genius contributed very largely to that bright . . . civilization which radiated from Toledo and Cordova."⁸⁸ And H. G. Wells declares that it is "difficult to say . . . when the Jew ends and the Arab begins, so important and essential were its Jewish factors."⁸⁹

As the invading tribes began to be suffocated by mass conversions and the holding of innumerable concubines, whatever bond of attraction might have existed between the two peoples completely disappeared. Soon thereafter, to continue to this day, Moslem rulers placed a penalty of death on apostasy to Judaism. Jews were forbidden to ride on horses and were marked with special clothes. Politically they were consigned to the same second-rate citizenship which Nazi Germany is now introducing.⁹⁰ In this cruel condition they remain, considered in the same light as dogs, creatures the true Believer utterly despises.

The Arabic culture known to history was a modification of the several ancient civilizations absorbed bodily by the barbaric Arab tribes in their swift march of conquest. It never touched the Arabs of Arabia, the peninsular Arab. These, writes Bertram Thomas, "remained inviolate by their poverty, their remoteness, their unwillingness to change. . . An intolerance survives which is almost without parallel in the world today and explains why so few European explorers have penetrated deep into the peninsula — scarcely twenty throughout the ages."⁹¹

As early as Roman times, when the Hebrews with their backs to the wall were struggling for their very existence, Tacitus informs us that "a considerable body of Arabs . . . took the field as avowed enemies of the Jewish nation."⁹² Wherever the

Arab has seized control since, a critical situation has risen for the Jews. A modern instance is the revolt of Palestine Arabs in 1834 against the exactions of the Caliphate. Mobs converged on Jerusalem from all over the country, and for several weeks held the city. Venting their ugly passions on the horror-stricken Jews, they gave themselves over to a mad orgy of rapine, murder and pillage, until the Egyptian general Ibrahim, with equal barbarism and ferocity, annihilated them.

If one may judge from the tone of the Arab press, the lot of the Jew under the coming 'National Government' will be anything but pleasant. *El Jamiya Arabiyah* snarls that "the English can stand the pride and impudence of the Jews, but the Arabs know what kind of vermin the Jews are and will know how to silence them." Another ready example is the editorial in *Islamia* on October 4, 1936, appealing to foreign Arabs not to confine themselves to mere boycott of Jews but to drink their blood. It may be seen again in the inflammatory circulars systematically scattered in Jerusalem, reading: "Kill the Jews until not one of them remains. Gird yourselves and satiate your souls that thirst for blood, souls that cannot be sated but with the blood of the . . . alien and loathsome Jew."

Farago found that "Arab agitators visit the peasants and promise them that at the end of the struggle the land and wives of the Jews will be distributed amongst them. With this expectation the peasant digs up his money and buys rifles and ammunition from wandering gunrunners."⁹³ Like many other informed men, Duff gave blunt warning that "as soon as the Palestinian leaders understood that Great Britain had really left them to their own devices . . . a general massacre of the Jews and the destruction of their colonies would occur."⁹⁴ It need occasion no surprise that the words 'Heil Hitler' proved a magic password during the recent rebellion, protecting Europeans against attack.

In every Moslem country the situation of Israel is tragic and frightful. When the French came into Arab North Africa on a frank war of imperial conquest, the Jews were overjoyed. Their position had been so terrible that the invading French

were looked on as if they had been the troops of Messiah. Even after European intervention, characteristic pogroms have flared up like a windswept flame. The fiendish attack on the Jewish quarter in Constantine, Algiers, in 1934, was a particularly atrocious event. When French troops finally arrived, they found a bloodcurdling scene of ruin and horror. Over a hundred Jews had been slaughtered. Whole families had been locked in their homes and burned to death. Houses were sacked, women violated and children hacked to pieces. Among the countless injured were young girls with their breasts cut off, creatures mutilated beyond recognition but somehow alive.

In as dire misery are the one hundred and twenty thousand Jews in French Morocco. In Tunis, Tripoli and Spanish Morocco the picture is as wretched. Only the protection of European soldiers saved the North African Jews from an orgy of torture and merciful annihilation; and some day, the Socialists promise, these troops will be withdrawn.

In Iraq the one hundred and ten thousand Jews live under a sanguinary reign of terror, not much different from that taking place in Germany. They are mercilessly boycotted. Savage beatings, murders and robberies are a daily occurrence. Jewish girls are forcibly seized and dragged into harems. Yusuf Malek assures us that "in Iraq a Moslem finds it more easy to kill a Jew than to kill a chicken."⁹⁵

In Syria Jews face famine and gradual extinction. Since they are completely Arabicized, their fate gives an abrupt answer to Arab claims that the tension in Palestine springs solely from a conflict of national aims. The Jewish population of Damascus has collapsed from twenty thousand after the War to less than four thousand in 1935. In the last five years, ten thousand Jews have emigrated from Damascus and Aleppo alone. In every city and village they are systematically terrorized and boycotted. In the streets and mosques they are openly threatened with the same fate as befell the unfortunate Assyrians in Iraq, just as soon as Syria obtains its independence. The French Mandatory Authorities show little concern for Jews and are either vague or frankly indifferent. Nevertheless, the Jew views the day when

a native government will be installed, with horror. The sudden move of Leon Blum's Socialist ministry to make good on its theories by granting independence to Syria, threw all Syrian Jewry into a panic. To a man, they are trying to leave the country before the French-Syrian Treaty goes into effect.

The only redeeming spot on the Syrian map is the autonomous Christian district of Lebanon. These people are the only friends the Jews have in Western Asia. Centuries of bloody persecution have taught the Syrian Christian a lesson he has not forgotten. The Lebanon is completely and whole-souledly pro-Zionist. It wants the Jews for neighbors by the south, to lessen its isolation in this forever-menacing Moslem sea. When pan-Arab congresses held their anti-Jewish sessions, the Lebanese papers roundly denounced them.⁹⁶ The Government of the Lebanon Republic has even proclaimed the Jewish Day of Atonement, *Yom Kippur*, as an official holiday.

Arabia *Felix*, that immense curtained mystery, is a graveyard in which lie buried the many strong Jewish tribes who once graced this area with their intelligence and learning. In this vast stronghold of the fanatic Ishmaelites no Jew may enter and live.

In Yemen, at the south end of the Peninsula, Jews are locked into ghettos as in the Middle Ages, reduced to conditions of economic desperation even worse, if that be possible, than the Jews of the pogrom areas of Europe. Their women are at the constant mercy of every wandering desperado who takes it into his mind to invade the ghetto. Jews must wear a distinctive dress. They must keep in the shadows. They are prohibited from riding on horseback. Their children, by edict of December 1928, must embrace Moslemism on the death of their parents.

Those who believe the assurances of the English have only to read the gory history of the Christian Assyrians in Iraq, after Britain terminated its Mandate there in 1932, to gain a picture of what is impending in Palestine. Just as the English made an arrangement with the Zionists, so they had made a similar one with the Assyrians, inviting them to rise against the Turks and promising them independence and protection if they would do so. Moved by these pledges, the Assyrians were the only peo-

ple in what is now Iraq who took up the Allied cause and fought loyally for the British Empire.⁹⁷ Their territory was later placed under Arab rule because London was anxious to include the Mosul Oil District within Iraqi frontiers.

When the Assyrians expressed alarm over the British proposal to grant statehood to Iraq, the Mandates Commission was solemnly assured that the anxiety of these minorities was due to "mischievous propaganda." Iraq, said the British representative, was "a country where the Moslem, Christian and Jew have lived happily side by side for centuries. . . His Majesty's Government fully realizes its responsibilities in recommending that Iraq should be admitted to the League. *Should Iraq prove unworthy of the confidence which has been reposed in it, the moral responsibility must rest with His Majesty's Government.*"⁹⁸

In vain the Assyrians pleaded. The engineer A. M. Hamilton and other thoughtful Englishmen immediately called the turn without reservation, stating that "the lives of the minorities have been placed in the hands of people without any morals or conscience."⁹⁹

Scarcely a year after Iraq was granted its 'independence,' and despite the readiness of His Majesty's Government to assume "moral responsibility," the Kurdish settlements were bombarded by airplanes. A month later (in August 1933), a holy war was proclaimed against the Assyrians. The Government offered Arab tribesmen one pound bounty for every Assyrian head brought in, as well as license to plunder any Assyrian property they could find. The Arab press made it known that all acts of violence were lawful and that anyone not participating in this war would be betraying his religion and country.¹⁰⁰ At the head of the Criminal Investigation Department was an Englishman, who watched this terrific barrage of wild propaganda and incitement without making a move.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. Stafford, British Administrative Inspector in Iraq, gives a blood-curdling eye-witness account of what followed. The Assyrians were first systematically disarmed. On August 5, an Army detachment swept through their territory and the Assyrians were hunted down as one stalks

rabbits. "No pretence was made that these operations had any purely military objective, for the Army Intelligence Officers did not even take the trouble to cross-question the captured Assyrians, who were simply shot as they were rounded up." ¹⁰¹ At Dohuk they were taken from their villages in vans, in batches of eight or ten, and shot down with machine guns. "The heavy armoured cars were driven over dead and dying alike." ¹⁰²

On August 7, the inhabitants of the whole surrounding district were ordered to come down to Simel, the largest Assyrian settlement. After days of sacking, the troops began a cold-blooded and methodical massacre. "Machine gunners set up their guns outside the windows of the houses in which the Assyrians had taken refuge, and having trained them on the terror-stricken wretches in the crowded rooms, fired among them until not a man was left standing in the shambles." ¹⁰³ Women were ripped open with knives and then made sport of while they were in a state of agony. Little girls of nine were raped and burned alive. After being barbarously tortured, priests were slaughtered, holy books piled over their bodies and burned with them. When there was no one left to kill, the troops took their departure, carrying with them for their amusement a large number of luckless Assyrian girls. The Tribes, who had been interested spectators of these unspeakable events, then came in and completed the looting. "I saw and heard many horrible things in the Great War," related an English eye-witness, "but what I saw at Simel is beyond human imagination." ¹⁰⁴

The troops engaged against the defenseless Assyrians were given a royal reception on their return. In Mosul the Crown Prince, now King of Iraq, decorated their colors with his own hands. The various officers concerned were promoted. Enthusiastic applause greeted their triumphant procession through the capital.

After this cowardly slaughter, occurred other massacres, this time of the Yezidis, "planned by the Central Authorities at Baghdad and conducted by the army with no less barbarity than the previous ones." ¹⁰⁵

To the present day Christians are effectively boycotted in the

Government service, debarred from primary schools, and militated against in all ways. Girls are never safe ; and "acts of sodomy by force," states Malek, are committed on boys by education and administrative officials.¹⁰⁶

In these circumstances the Zionists may well read a ghastly projection of the future. In ringing accents the Assyrian leader Prince Gambar told them : "Despite the empty assurances of Great Britain, those who have eyes with which to see, and know what Arabs of the type of the Iraqis can do when let loose, *must share your fears as to what is positively to happen to non-Arabs when placed under Arab rule.*" ¹⁰⁷

CHAPTER II

JEHOVAH ABDICATES IN FAVOR OF DOWNING STREET

‘LET NOT THY RIGHT HAND KNOW WHAT THY LEFT HAND
DOETH’

In 1936 again, uncontrolled violence rolled like a sheet of seething flame over Palestine. For the sixth time since British occupation, armed revolt broke out, turning the country into a roaring furnace. And as before, the lawlessness timed itself to coincide exactly with events of major importance in Empire politics.

If circumstances are to be believed at their face value, the recent revolt in Palestine was a marvel of valor and military genius. For more than two years a handful of petty ruffians, sniping from ambush in the hills, have held the greatest empire in the world at bay. “It may be doubted,” states Sidebotham, “whether there were ever more than one thousand men in the field against us.”¹ What London is asking us to believe at the moment is that in a country half the size of Ohio, thirty-two thousand troops equipped with airplanes, tanks and all the trappings of war are unable to subdue a small gang of desperadoes who have succeeded in keeping it in a state of insecurity and uproar for years. The utter helplessness and awful inefficiency of the Mandatory in the face of this minor insurrection is laid on too thick to be credible.

In scarcely more than a century London has managed to seize for itself over a quarter of the land surface of the globe. Is not the very existence of this vast Empire a gilt-edged guarantee that England has never shown herself inept at the business of handling rebellion? It is not generally realized that the British are constantly engaged in putting down insurrection in far-separated places. In the Hadramaut they have been going through a merciless mopping-up process. Along India’s north-

west frontier they are cleaning out the revolting tribesmen of Waziristan with a ruthless hand. The colonies without exception are ruled by the axiom, 'Spare the rod and spoil the child.'

In Kenya, another mandated territory, when a government clerk named Thuku founded the "East Africa Native Association" to protest the peonage system introduced by the Colonials, he was grabbed on the charge of 'sedition' and deported without trial, after the police had slaughtered a score of his followers for demonstrating in front of the jail where he was held. In Iraq an emergency similar to the one in Palestine was handled by Sir Percy Cox with scant ceremony. All the Arab leaders concerned were immediately placed in custody, offending newspapers suppressed and their editors arrested. Sir Percy's comments were brief and to the point: ". . . the High Commissioner will not hesitate to take drastic steps against any persons, tribesmen or townsmen who do not take the present warning, but continue to emulate the seditious vagaries of those now placed under restraint." This was language that Arabs could understand, and the whole affair died aborning. Subsequent rebellions were handled in short order by the Iraqi shadow government, by simply detailing a few British airplanes to bomb the tribesmen into submission.

In Palestine the close integration of officialdom itself with the 'patriotic' movement is hardly open to doubt. It is sufficient to cite the Nationalist demonstration of October 10, 1934, attended by prominent Government functionaries in their official capacity, where "Arab civilization" was lauded and "the coming independence and unification of the Arab countries" (including Palestine) enthusiastically hailed. This hidden complot reveals itself even more obviously in an incident of twelve months earlier. An anti-Jewish demonstration had been announced. The usual preparations had preceded it, the ferocious bluster and screaming agitation, led by the familiar leaders of the Arab Executive. Unfortunately for these plans, Nazi violence in Germany, then unique and shocking, suddenly shook the soul of civilization like an earthquake. All articulate reaction to these startling events was overwhelmingly with the stricken

Jews. Sympathy for human suffering and despair was the prevailing mood, and it was apparent at that moment that anti-Jewish riots would be more than embarrassing to the British Government. In an amazing about-face the scheduled disorders were converted into a peaceful demonstration against the Government, in which the word Jew was not even mentioned. A strike had been called, but it was quietly recalled, without a word of explanation. Part of the mob which had been so carefully prepared could not, however, be headed off. Several thousand hoodlums charged the police in Jaffa after having been told by their own leaders to disperse. Taking his duties seriously, Assistant Superintendent of Police Faraday ordered his men to fire. In the melee he himself was badly wounded; and as a result an irate British judge sentenced some of the rioters to imprisonment. Immediately the District Court quashed the sentence and released the prisoners on "promise of good behavior." The bewildered Faraday soon after had his post taken away from him and was exiled to Beersheba.²

The British are reputed to possess the shrewdest Intelligence and Secret Service in existence. Concentrated in one small branch of the War Office, known as M.I.5, this superbly organized spy and counter-spy system is respected wherever espionage exists. Yet in strategic Palestine the Authorities never seemed to know that seditious unrest of the most explosive type was being openly organized right under their noses. Like the previous uprisings, the rebellion of 1936 was scarcely a bolt from the blue. It only became possible after prolonged elaboration and shaping. Much of it was openly bought and paid for. "Fifty well-armed, resolute Franks *with a large sum of money*," observes an official United States Report, "could revolutionize the whole country."³ "It is always easy in Arab countries," confirms Ernest Main, "to buy agitators and even murderers for a pittance. It is easy, too, to work up political demonstrations, even culminating in riots, if the fee paid is sufficient. All you have to do is to summon a local labor contractor and tell him you want a thousand men to demonstrate. His fee will be, say, £50 or £70, and if you hand over this money you will

get a perfectly good demonstration in the streets, perhaps with a few persons injured and some windows broken. . . It is important, therefore, to realize that so-called 'spontaneous' outbreaks among the Arabs are less common than those that are engineered." ⁴

Before this kind of backdrop the riots were openly rehearsed and agitated. For eighteen months the Government allowed the Arab press to keep up a daily barrage, systematically branding the Jews as "the human sexual disease," as "a gang of swindlers," and "a menace to all mankind." Arab leaders publicly threatened violence and bloodshed. Terrorist organizations paraded themselves without the slightest attempt at secrecy. Among others, there was the Red Shadow, the Black Hand, and a formidable murder gang calling itself simply 'G,' over whom, says Farago, "the British made merry," referring to its members as 'G-Men.' ⁵ All over Palestine groups of brown-clad storm troops were marching, shouting 'Heil Hitler.' At Nablus, boldly operating in the open, was a military training school for the Arab Scouts, prime leaders in the disturbances.

Late in March a meeting of influential Arabs, practically all of them Government employees, was held at Safed to plan the uprising. A delegation consisting of members of the Iraqi Parliament arrived to attend. It behaved itself in a flagrant manner which would have led to strong diplomatic representations in any other country, but here its stay was made pleasant by every official courtesy. Fifteen days before the lid finally blew off of this seething caldron, the Revisionist leader Jabotinsky cabled the High Commissioner warning him that "specific Arab manifestations on an unprecedented scale are being exploited to revive the ominous battle cry, '*Eddowleh Maana*' [the Government is with us]" and received a contemptuous reply.

There was hardly one of the Arab ring-leaders who was not on the Government's payroll. In any other country these men, self-announced plotters of riot and rebellion, would have immediately been tried for high treason. On the statute books was the Seditious Offenses Ordinance, providing severe penalties

for any act which conspired "to raise discontent or disaffection amongst the inhabitants of Palestine ; or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between the different sections of the population of Palestine." Yet on one of those rare occasions when this ordinance was applied, the dangerous firebrand, Hassan Sidki Dejani, was let off with the derisive fine of £25 after he had been found guilty of inciting Arab officials to revolt. "If one thing stands out clear from the record of the Mandatory administration," concedes the Peel Report, "it is the leniency with which Arab political agitation, even when carried to the point of violence and murder, has been treated."

Responsible Arabs who wanted peace were treated with all the contumely of renegades who had joined the enemy camp. In Britain itself, Colonial Office publications were blatantly advising the Arabs to "unite on a common front." An Arab delegation was invited to present its grievances officially in London — though no Jewish delegation was asked.⁶ The tomtoms beat in frenzied repetition as Whitehall circles called on the Arabs not to let this opportunity to smash Zionism go by. The Bureaucracy was now stalking its game brazenly in the clear.

While Arabs who made no secret of their revolutionary aims were being pampered on the Government payroll, the steam-roller of official authority was ironing out the Jews. Among other incidents, every Revisionist leader in Palestine was arrested on suspicion of being connected with a "secret revolutionary organization," and held for considerable periods, without trial. Even the innocuous little Jewish State Party was refused registration as a legally existing organization. With withering mockery the Government announced that unless it "eliminated from its platform the demand for a Jewish majority . . . the Jewish State Party could not be registered by the Palestine Administration."

Under this kind of patronage Arab megalomania developed like a well-watered weed. A droll example is provided by the indignant protest sent to a Jewish newspaper by a bandit named Nabulsi during the height of the riots. Complaining that the paper was not even concerned "with common politeness," he

says, making his point : "*Never have the Official Communiqués designated us as inciters, terrorists and murderers !*"⁷ Of course Mr. Nabulsi was quite right — the Official *communiqués* had never done so.

Unless the British are the victims of the worst accumulation of circumstantial evidence that ever made white appear to be black, the current disturbances, as well as the preceding situations they have been required so busily to police, were created with adroit cunning by themselves. The hope was plainly to institute a struggle which would paralyze the Jews, after which the Administration could come to terms with the Arabs. And so we see the fantastic picture of a State surreptitiously engaged in undermining its own authority and ruining its own commerce and security by an act of civil rebellion to which it has lent its own tacit permission. The three American Senators, Austin, Copeland and Hastings, who visited Palestine in 1936, made no bones about their impressions. Copeland, product of the unbending morality of an upper-state New York village, bluntly wrote that "*there are really two strikes going on in Palestine. One is conducted by Arab terrorists, who throw bombs and snipe at passersby in the streets and highways. The other is conducted silently by the Mandatory Government of Palestine against the proper administration of justice. The prolongation of the terror in the Holy Land is due . . . to a manifest sympathy for the vandals and assassins displayed by many officers who are sworn to uphold the law . . . creating a condition which could not but shock any American observer.*"⁸

REVOLT BY PERMISSION

For months, fifteen thousand soldiers had apparently been unable to render safe a few miles of road between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. There had been innumerable hold-ups by armed gangs, in which Jewish passengers had been hauled out of their cars and wantonly butchered. Not a soul had been punished for any of these brutal crimes. With unrestrained arrogance the intransigent Arab press hailed these killers as heroes and

boasted of further horrors to come. The nerves of the Jewish community were worn to a frazzle. On April 17, 1936 the funeral of a murdered Jew was made the occasion of a protest demonstration. In an ugly mood, the police fired into the crowd, wounding thirty persons. Immediately after, steel-helmeted officers invaded Tel Aviv, dragging out householders on suspicion of having been connected with the protest. Bearers of black-bordered Zionist flags of mourning were beaten into unconsciousness. Sullen, angry apprehension once more made the air of the Holy Land a tinder box. It was in the midst of this charged condition that the explosion was touched off.

The actual lighting of the fuse took place on the nineteenth of April when a blood-curdling tale was circulated in Jaffa that four Arab men and women had been beheaded by Jews in Tel Aviv. Instead of counteracting these wild rumors, the Government added fuel to the fire by dispatching enlarged police units to Tel Aviv, obviously to protect Arabs from Jewish attack.

The outbreaks were swiftly and shrewdly plotted. On the scheduled day not a single Arab was to be seen in Tel Aviv though they generally offer their vegetables for sale as early as five in the morning. Jews visiting Jaffa were irritably told by the Chief Officer there that he "really did not understand why they had come . . . since everybody had already known yesterday that anti-Jewish attacks were to take place." ⁹ Not a finger was lifted by the Authorities. On the entire road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem only one policeman was posted though the roads were almost bursting with armed and threatening men. Jaffa burst into flames with the familiar cry "the Government is with us" urging the demented horde on. By midday the streets were running with Jewish blood. Many were slaughtered and mutilated past identification, right under the eyes of the police who made no effort to interfere.

The contagion spread to all parts of the country like wildfire. Little boys of six carried automatics, shooting them off on the streets of Jerusalem as if they were toy pistols. Unhindered, the Arab press beat a loud tattoo for murder and revolt. Gram-

ophone records made their appearance in the shops, calling on the Arabs to annihilate the Jews. Nazi flags and pictures of Hitler were prominently displayed in store windows. Booklets explaining Nazi methods of forcing Jews from the Reich were distributed freely. Only the Haifa district remained immune, miraculously free of violence to the end, leading Jabotinsky to ask coldly if it were true that this was "a revolt by leave" in one part of Palestine, with no revolt where it was requested by the Authorities that there should be no revolt.

On May 21, the Arab High Committee called a general strike, stopping all work. Contrary to its own organic law, the Government did not declare the strike illegal. Despite the fact that it was an openly seditious body, the Arab High Committee was not interfered with. The queer business by no means ended here. At the end of June a mutinous memorandum was submitted to the High Commissioner, signed by 137 senior Arab officials, telling him bluntly to yield to the Arab High Committee. This singular paper was duly forwarded through proper channels to the Colonial Office, "who politely acknowledged it and so far from rebuking the signatories, thanked them for their loyalty!"¹⁰ It was followed by even more impudent memoranda from Arab officials in the second division, and the Government-paid judges of the Moslem Courts.

With the exception of Government employees, virtually the whole terror was led by Syrians, and Arabs from Mesopotamia and Egypt. Violent men from all quarters slipped in and out of the border as if it were non-existent, attracted by the lust for action. The most important of these was Fawzy Bey el Kaougji, self-styled commander of the Arab bands. A somewhat handsome adventurer of neurotic impulses, Fawzy was a Syrian who had been sentenced to death by the French for his activities during the Druse revolt. Escaping to the Hejaz, he had to fly for his life again, this time for being mixed up in a tribal rebellion.

More lately he had been Commandant of the Military Training College of Iraq. The Arab outbreak had already lasted three months when Fawzy made his sensational appearance in a battle

in the Nablus area. Soon after, reports came through describing how he had actually made his way in broad daylight across the desert from Iraq, accompanied by many motor lorries laden with full military equipment, and a considerable body of professional desperadoes said to have come from the Iraqi Army. To reach the Jordan River he had to pass through a veritable network of military posts and patrols by which every water-hole and lane is watched with a hawk's eye. The Jordan crossings themselves are well known and well guarded. Fawzy was no ectoplasm which could waft its way across these three-dimensional obstacles like Shaitan's spirit. The passage was that of a regular expedition replete with weapons and military baggage ; but there he was on the wrong side of Jordan.

His appearance in Palestine was greeted with a well-organized blast of publicity not less than that given the British expeditionary force of General Dill.¹¹ Within a few days his photographs, describing him grandly as "Commander-in-Chief of the Arab Armies in Southern Syria," were being sold and displayed in bookstalls throughout the Holy Land. The entire Arab press featured them with such provocative statements as "long live the leader of battles, Fawzy, the messenger from Iraq," and "un-sheath your swords and daggers and press the enemy till he is strangled." None of this met with the slightest interference from the all-powerful censorship bureau. Aping the Government itself, Fawzy even published his own war *communiqués*, making extravagant claims of 'victories.' These were posted prominently, sometimes on Government buildings themselves, where they were allowed to remain for Arabs to see and believe. An apparently frantic search by the combined forces of the Army and Police found him as elusive as the proverbial greased pig. While the Authorities were supposedly turning the country upside down to find him, fifteen thousand Arabs assembled on the banks of the Jordan to give the 'hero' a royal reception.

From the very start, the rebels showed that they possessed an inexhaustible supply of weapons and ammunition and were being guided by a skilled military hand. Most of the Arab arms were "brand new British weapons and ammunition manufac-

tured in the celebrated Woolwich Arsenal.”¹² It is reliably declared that practically all their bombing operations were conducted with hand grenades of official army issue.¹³ Searches for arms in Arab towns were preceded by a great stir in advance so as to apprise the villagers that the raid was imminent, giving them plenty of time to put their houses in order. In many cases, groups of rebels used police cars and possessed special police passes.

With bandits and mutineers swarming over every road, soldiers were under instruction to fire only in the air. British Tommies informed Farago : “We are not allowed to use weapons *without the written permission of the District Commissioner !*”¹⁴ And Duff was told in disgust by a loyal Arab policeman : “Life is almost impossible for us men of the police nowadays. We dare not do our duty for fear of being reported and punished.”¹⁵ “Both men and officers,” states the *London Morning Post* sharply, “have been quite bewildered by the fact that operations have frequently been canceled at the moment when they were on the point of being successful.”¹⁶ A cloak of bleak mystery shrouded these strange instructions. Where they came from, no one seemed to know.

The streets of all cities were made the daily stamping grounds of gangs who threatened Arab shopkeepers and beat up peasants who came into town with their vegetables. “For an Arab to be suspected of a lukewarm adherence to the nationalist cause,” says Lord Peel, “is to invite a visit from a body of gunmen.”¹⁷ Gangs visited villages and threatened to burn them down unless they supplied quotas of men, firearms and provisions. When the Mayor of Beisan displayed a foolish unwillingness to swell the terrorists’ funds, his young son’s throat was slit in reprisal. In deadly fear of their own nationals, 1200 wealthy Arabs fled the country.

Shootings, bombings and every conceivable form of violent outrage now became the daily routine. Bombs were thrown at homes, railway stations, hospitals and public buildings. Kindergartens and playgrounds were dynamited, tearing little children to shreds. Nurses were slain by snipers as they went on duty.

Trains were fired on and wrecked ; cinema houses blown up ; crops burned ; trees whose planting represented a lifetime of heartbreak and industry, maliciously uprooted. Nothing that would yield to knife or flame was safe from the destructive hand of the vandal.

The chivalrous stuff these pampered 'patriots' were made of is typified in the case of a gang who invaded the home of a Safed rabbi at midnight. They found his three little children on the veranda and butchered them in their sleep. Their mother, startled by the commotion, ran out and flung herself down to protect her brood. The Arabs shot her without mercy. Her husband coming on this terrible scene had barely time to see his family dying before his eyes when a bomb hurled by the retreating intruders decapitated him.

The *Yishub* was caught in a trap, but it knew from what source its agony came. Courageously the head of the Palestine Jewish Community, Mr. Ben Zvi, asked : "Who can say that his hands are clean in these outrages? *Can the High Commissioner?*" In refreshing contrast to the fawning rhetoric of Zionist 'statesmen' in London, forthright old Mayor Dizengoff of Tel Aviv saddled the High Commissioner with direct responsibility, bluntly accusing him of having introduced "demoralization, anarchy and lawlessness into the country." He declared that "the Government railways have become the strongholds of terrorists from which they set fire to Jewish cornfields and bombard peaceful towns," and that "Palestine is now directed by the Arab High Committee and hooligans." "You assure us solemnly," he exclaimed (addressing himself to the Government), "that you are fulfilling your obligations to us, but in practice you have outlawed the Jews and handed them over to a mob of criminals." ¹⁸

As in previous riots, the Jews were rendered impotent by being forcibly disarmed. Drivers of vehicles compelled to run the gauntlet of frequent attacks could not carry so much as a club to protect themselves with. The police regularly searched Jewish busses and passenger-cars on the roads, while Arab vehicles derisively passed them, neither examined nor stopped.¹⁹ De-

spite the fact that vandals were systematically uprooting valuable groves and applying the torch freely, Senator Copeland found that owners were flatly refused permission to have armed guards on their properties.²⁰ Jewish watchmen found in possession of pistols were sentenced to long prison terms, though it was shown that their posts were dangerous and that other watchmen had been killed in the very neighborhood. Even colonies which were subjected to recurrent assaults were religiously ransacked by police, and colonists found in possession of weapons were punished by imprisonment. Jews were warned that under no circumstances might they own a rifle or fire a gun. Colonists exposed to Arab violence were advised to hide out until troops came. Even the Jewish *Ghaffirs* and supernumerary constables were usually armed with truncheons only, or at best, with decrepit shotguns that had little military value. Moreover, they were not permitted to pursue marauders beyond the confines of their settlements. "Jaffa Jews may be done to death in the very sight of Tel Aviv's Jewish policemen, but these police may not go to the rescue!" cries the *Palestine Post* indignantly.²¹

In vain the Jews pleaded to be allowed to defend themselves. Students and veterans of the battalions who had fought under Allenby begged to be mobilized, urging that they "did not desire to see any British blood spilled. We are quite capable of defending our own homeland." The Revisionists offered fifty thousand Jewish soldiers, some of them seasoned World War veterans, for police duty. The mobilization of five thousand Jewish youths at any time, would have made short work of the killers, but the Authorities had other ideas.

Arabs arrested for carrying arms were either freed outright or fined as ridiculous a sum as three shillings (about 75¢). Those convicted of murderous assaults or of arson were indulgently released "on probation." For months, though there had been numerous murders of Jews, the Government did not take the matter seriously enough to offer any reward at all. It was only after a British constable named Bird had been assassinated that they suddenly came out with a substantial reward. Despite the wholesale murders which took place in 1936, there was not a

single execution, a more than startling circumstance, since the normal crime calendar of Palestine accounts for twelve hangings annually.

Officers who took their duties too seriously were rebuked in open court or transferred to less desirable posts as a warning to others. The following cases, selected at random, show the general tone of the courts. In one case, three Arabs, arrested for sending an infernal machine in a suitcase to a Jew in Tel Aviv and found with a whole arsenal of bombs in their possession, were released on bond of £25. In another, two Arabs positively identified by seven eye-witnesses as having dynamited a cinema in Tel Aviv, murdering three people and mangling many others, were given seven days in jail for carrying guns. The murder charges were not even brought up. In another, some two hundred ruffians armed with knives and iron bars, fell on the Jewish quarter of Tiberias. When the military and police finally arrived they 'escorted' the assailants out of the vicinity. The journey was made a source of great merriment. Shop windows were broken and passersby stoned. "The next day the police returned and arrested fifteen Jews." ²²

When the Administration dealt with outrages it really regarded as scandalous, it made short work of the miscreants. Rebels who damaged the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipelines were not only apprehended, but their houses and those of their relatives demolished in reprisal. When the military railway was scathed by unidentified vandals, the nearby city of Lydda was fined £5000. An Arab who set a relative's grain field on fire was sentenced to four years' imprisonment.²³ Insurgents caught firing on British troops were speedily handed the death penalty, these crimes apparently being classified as 'premeditated,' as opposed to the 'unpremeditated,' hence forgivable, murder and arson committed on the person and property of Jews.

While Arab papers were allowed to carry on the most unbridled anti-Jewish incitement, it was a different matter when *El Jamia al Islamia* engaged in what was alleged to be pro-Italian propaganda. Its editor, Khalil Yousuff, was picked up with no

more ceremony than if he had been a sack of potatoes, and deported.²⁴ Similarly, when some swashbucklers with little imagination took their immunity too literally and dropped some bombs outside the residence of the High Commissioner, "the Palestine Government ordered the suspension of all Arabic newspapers indefinitely, beginning at once."²⁵

What the attitude was is shown in the order to Jews to bury their dead at five o'clock in the morning so that there would be nothing ostentatious about it. At the same time the Arabs were turning the funeral of an ordinary outlaw into the most spectacular celebration ever seen around Haifa.

Though in every case Jews were the victims, the Authorities felt justified in alluding to the marauding operations of the insurgents as 'Arab-Jewish clashes' requiring the meting out of equal punishment to both sides 'impartially.' To justify this piece of hypocrisy, Jews suspected of nationalist leanings were arbitrarily picked up and jailed, without cause or trial. When an old Arab woman was assassinated by thieves from Arab Tireh, known as a den of cutthroats since time immemorial,²⁶ the peaceful little Jewish hamlet, Achuzat Herbert Samuel, was stigmatized with the onus of murder by the imposition of a huge collective fine, without the slightest offer of evidence.

Perhaps the most revolting part of this ugly pantomime was the treatment accorded the Jewish refugees who had escaped the storm area with their lives. By June more than twelve thousand homeless creatures had streamed into Tel Aviv for protection, their possessions destroyed and occupations ruined. The Government finally agreed, under pressure, to contribute the sum of 20 mils (10¢) a day per head to their upkeep. After a few weeks it abruptly notified the Municipality that it would terminate even this meager contribution (June 17, 1936); and in an astounding decree taking effect thirteen days later, it *denied the city of Tel Aviv permission to provide for or deal with these unfortunates*. In this amazing order the dictum was laid down that though the refugees were not to be permitted to return to their ruined homes, it was up to the voluntary contributions of Jews abroad to maintain and house them. The Government

washed its hands of the proposition and refused to accept, or to allow the Municipality to accept, the responsibility.

Since it is apparent that this whole mad fury of lawlessness has been prompted from an outside source, the question naturally arises — *where did all the money come from to keep it alive?* There were men to feed, committees to keep going, agents to support in foreign countries, and arms and ammunition which had to be purchased. It is estimated that these activities were costing in the neighborhood of £3000 a day.²⁷ This is a large sum when it is applied to a struggle lasting many months on end. Those acquainted with the country know that the rich Arab is not prepared to donate "even a pound of his own free will for communal purposes."²⁸ Nor did his nature show any change in this case. The Arab landlords, effendis and merchants gave very little support to the strike. Many, in fact, left the country to protect themselves.

According to the continental press, the Jerusalem Police found documents proving that the rioters had received £70,000 from European sources actuated by anti-British as well as anti-Jewish motives. In addition to this and other sums which came from Fascist countries, the *London Daily Mail* reported that a police raid in Jerusalem discovered receipts and documents indicating that the Soviet Department for Near East Propaganda had sent large sums to Palestine to support the insurrection.²⁹ Another considerable amount was reported to have been remitted to Arab emissaries at Cairo, Egypt, via the American Express Company.³⁰ A great part of the revolt funds came from England itself. Allied anti-Semites in America supplied another portion.³¹ Some came directly from the Palestine Government in various disguises, as the £30,000 loan "to needy farmers," actually used to buy arms and ammunition.³² The Government-controlled Moslem *Wakf* contributed another sizable sum. Mohammedan countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq which fall in the British sphere of influence, made a number of public collections for this purpose. The *London Daily Mail* of July 15, 1936 reports that £11,000 was sent from India, apparently without the slightest interference by either the Indian or Palestine Authorities.

"One of the surest sources of strike funds," states the *London Times*, "remains the contributions from Arab officials in the Government service, most of whom regularly surrender a fraction of their salary." ³³ For the right to continue working, Government employees were assessed by gangster methods, up to twenty percent of their monthly salary. By August 15, 1936, according to a detailed statement published by an Arab paper, around £5000 was collected in Jerusalem from this source. According to an incomplete list appearing daily in *Ad Difaa*, twice that amount was collected in Jaffa by the same date. This tax, writes Horace Samuel, fell impartially on every Arab official from the most junior teacher "to the most senior of Sir Michael MacDonnell's Arab judges in the Court of Appeal, taking in, presumably, in its stride, Ishak Effendi El Hashim, the Arab private secretary of Sir Arthur Wauchope." ³⁴

By Fall the Levantine began to grow heartily tired of the revolt. All this turmoil was the incomprehensible business of Allah and the strange *Angliz* who for some reason wanted it that way. The fellah and Bedouin, for their part, had had enough. ³⁵ The citrus season was coming on. The fruit hanging on the tree was like ready money. There were not enough hands to go around. Tradesmen and merchants found themselves almost bankrupt and wishing the 'patriots' all in hell in consequence.

The British had moreover accomplished all their objectives for the moment. They had succeeded in concentrating a huge military force in the delicately balanced Near East without protest from any source. A Royal Commission was already on its way to complete the work of demolishing the Mandate. After dilly-dallying around for months with his huge imported military machine, General Dill bluntly made it known that the curtain was about to be rung down on the play.

The Arab ring-leaders were now in an all-but-impossible situation. With nice consideration Whitehall conceded that their prestige must be saved at all costs. "The Arab Higher Committee," states *Great Britain and the East*, "cannot of itself say that the strike shall end without renouncing the whole position it has

taken up. A 'face-saving' development is however possible."³⁶ With extravagant mummary, as if they were dealing with a powerful opponent, the Colonials made the proper motions. Low-flying airplanes scattered tons of Arabic leaflets promising that if the strike were dropped, a Royal Commission would immediately come and "give the Arabs justice." With ill-concealed clarity they were told by manifesto and proclamation that all their demands would be granted.

With brilliant forethought the Bureaucrats cushioned the collapse for their friends in the Arab High Committee. They invited the Arab kings into the situation. But here came a snag: the Arab kings smelled a rat and would not budge. Abdullah, who believed he was to be the Emir of a reunited Palestine and Transjordan, was mortally afraid of baiting Ibn Saud by a public declaration, since the latter understood that it was his second son who was to get the Holy Land throne. Each waited dead in his tracks, desperately afraid of being double-crossed.³⁷

Finally, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Nuri Pasha Said, was dragooned to act as mediator. He assured the rebels that "the Palestine Government would not only announce stoppage of Jewish entry into Palestine but would also declare an amnesty for individual Arabs participating in the outbreaks, as *quid pro quo* concessions for Arab cessation of the strike."³⁸ Almost immediately afterwards, Nuri Pasha was overthrown in his own country and chased out to exile in Egypt. The new Government of Iraq turned its back on the pan-Arab world. Ibn Saud and Abdullah continued to eye each other suspiciously. Only after these gentlemen had been stiffly reminded that they owed their eminence to British bayonets, did they cautiously allow themselves to be drawn into the 'face-saving' process.

With this theatrical piece of staging the 'strike' ended. It was not a surrender, but in the nature of an honorable armistice. The plain inference in this gentleman's arrangement was "that pending the findings of the Commission, the terrorist organization is not to be unduly harassed, so that it shall be in a position to resume hostilities should it not be satisfied with the findings of the Commission."³⁹ With superb courtesy, Fawzy Bey and

his followers were allowed passage into Transjordan. "Though the Army had successfully surrounded him and his foreign supporters," writes the Jerusalem correspondent of the *London Times*, ". . . his capture would have been embarrassing," so he was "allowed to escape across the Jordan as a more tactful solution," enabling him to "conclude his spectacular career here with honor and without surrender."⁴⁰ Why, one wonders, was it necessary to allow this invading desperado to depart "with honor"? By what providential device was he "surrounded" immediately after the conclusion of the strike, though seemingly so elusive before? And why would his capture have been "embarrassing" to the Government of Palestine? Returning to Baghdad with a large party of followers by motor convoy, Fawzy was given a rousing official reception which included "a message of welcome from the Prime Minister, who congratulated him on his safe return."⁴¹ Since Iraq is frankly a British dependency, must not this circumstance also be included in the puzzle?

One hundred and seventy-five days had elapsed. During this time, Palestine had wallowed in a horrible blood bath which had cost seven hundred lives and thousands of wounded. Trees by the hundred thousand had been uprooted; innumerable stock animals slain; forty-eight bridges were destroyed; telephone and telegraph wires damaged; trains derailed, buildings burned and looted. There had been, all told, 1996 attacks on Jewish settlements and communities, and numerous other forays directed at busses, police stations and public buildings. Business was at a standstill. Property loss was estimated at £3,000,000. The extra expenditure for military and police ran to another £2,200,000.

The Holy Land was tense and anxious as still another of the obliquitous Commissions entrained from London to 'investigate.'

BLAMING ITALIANS AND COMMUNISTS

While London was thus engaged in victimizing the Jews, official publicity agencies were losing no opportunity to squeeze

every ounce of advantage from the situation. A venomous and apparently incurable quarrel had developed between England and the ambitious Italian dictator Mussolini. Frankly worried, London was straining every nerve to quarantine the Italian by depicting him as an international criminal who must be ostracized by all decent opinion. The efficient English propaganda machine was now operating on the old war-time basis. From London and Jerusalem came a roll of sensational stories fastening responsibility for the riots on the scowling figure of Mussolini. Veiled allusions were made to the Pope and to his liaison with the Italian Dictator. Catholic nuns, nurses and teachers were accused of carrying on secret propaganda against Zionists and British alike.⁴² In beautifully chosen words which inferred an anti-Jewish as well as anti-English plot the British Foreign Secretary pinned the whole blame on the Italians.

The entire liberal press rose to the bait so dexterously flicked upon the water. Like a pack of dogs hot after game, the Marxist press aggressively took up the cry. The *London Daily Herald* asserted that Italy had sent enormous sums to Arab leaders through secret agents. It even went to the point of claiming that Mussolini had offered the Bedouins of Transjordan three dollars a day per man if they would cross over into Palestine and loot Jewish stores and houses.⁴³ Responsible publications went so far as to feature as news a weird story, concocted by the press officer of Palestine, alleging that posters *printed in Italian* had been stuck up all over Jerusalem urging Arabs to slit the gullets of the Jews.⁴⁴ Even the Zionist spokesmen, anxious now for some unreal explanation of distasteful reality, seized on this fragile straw which the Mandatory for Palestine had thoughtfully provided.

A scant two years later, Italy, under pressure from its Nazi ally, was to join the anti-Semitic Internationale so sedulously promoted from Berlin.⁴⁵ Jews, who had occupied the most illustrious positions in Italian life, were to find themselves, in a single merciless stroke, ostracized, vilified and threatened with exile. In 1936, however, before this chameleon-like development in Italian policy had taken place, Fascist Italy could truly have been said

to be freer from anti-Semitic agitation than London itself.⁴⁶ On June 20, 1937 the Italian Dictator had told Generoso Pope, New York publisher : "I authorize you to declare and to make known immediately upon your return to New York, to the Jews of America, that their preoccupation for their brothers living in Italy is nothing but the fruit of evil informers. I authorize you to specify that the Jews in Italy have received, now receive, and will continue to receive, the same treatment accorded to every other Italian citizen and that no form of racial or religious discrimination is in my thought, which is devoted and faithful to the policy of equality in law and freedom of worship." Ten years previously he had advised the Rumanians : "Anti-Semitism is a product of barbarism to which our movement is diametrically opposed. Fascism seeks unity ; anti-Semitism seeks destruction and separation. If we are to exclude Jews, we will only strengthen our enemies."⁴⁷ In 1935 he had again warned the pogromists that "if Rumania goes along the road of anti-Semitism it will have very severe consequences not only inside the country but in its foreign relations."⁴⁸

Before events forced him into the unhappy position of being the tail to the German kite, Mussolini had been a persistent advocate of State Zionism. On February 20, 1934 he urged in *Popolo D'Italia* the creation of a "true Jewish State in Palestine," pointing out that a "National Home" could logically mean only this and nothing else. As late as January 18, 1937, he had written an editorial warmly lauding the Zionist cause, though soon after he was found attempting to match cards with Britain by posing as the friend and patron of the Arab.

There can be no doubt that Mussolini, a hard-fisted realist, would have considered it good business if he could have disengaged the Jews from the English orbit. A powerful independent Zion with which he was on a friendly footing would have suited him perfectly. The Jews themselves eliminated this prospect by their persistent Anglophilism, and Mussolini has come to regard Zionism as merely a mask for the creation of another zone of English political and economic expansion in the Mediterranean. It hence looms in the Italian mind as an anti-Italian force.

Nevertheless, not a shred of real evidence has ever been offered to substantiate the charge that Italian intervention was a factor in the recent Arab revolt in Palestine.

Far more potent than any interference by Italian or Papist has been the German intervention, which the English studiously ignore. It has been shown that agitators now active in the Near East have been trained in a special school in the Brown House in Munich; that pamphlets in Arabic are printed in Berlin and Hamburg for distribution in Palestine.⁴⁹ On October 22, 1933, it was announced that Eissael Bendek, member of the Arab Executive's Administrative Bureau, would direct a propaganda campaign in the interests of the Nazi Party. On June 8, 1934 the Jerusalem Arab daily, *Mukkattam*, reported the formation of an Arab Nazi Youth Organization. The French Weekly, *Marianne*, reported in 1937 that a great part of the arms employed in the rebellion were supplied by the Suhl and Erfurter Gewehr-fabrik of Germany, which sent, in particular, many rifles and machine-guns. The Arab journals *Falastin* and *Al Dijah* published regularly articles of a racial nature, together with large portraits of the various leaders of the Third Reich. They did not even attempt to conceal the fact that they had become tools of the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin. The shout of 'Heil Hitler' became a catchword which rang insolently over all Palestine.

Nevertheless, the British Foreign Secretary has persistently informed Commons that Nazi propaganda in Palestine is not of such a nature as to require representations to the German Government. This is a subject which Sir Robert Vansittart's publicity bureau has also continuously soft-pedaled.

The Mandatory's press releases, however, made much of Communist agitation in the Holy Land, inferring by unmistakable innuendo that this was a Jewish introduction and one of the unspoken horrors against which patriotic Arabs were rebelling. This was a deft trick which the Soviets returned even more deftly. Identifying Zionism with British Imperialism, they placed themselves in the vanguard of the pan-Arab movement. Communist hatred of Zionism is fundamentally rooted. Ac-

According to Marx, the Jews are not a nation but merely a product and relic of an outmoded economic system. Hence a Jewish regeneration based on its own (i.e., capitalist) values is contradictory to the first and initial postulates of Communist theory. Despite this ideological overgrowth, however, one may suspect that this rancorous hostility is actuated by a more realistic reason: Palestine as a stronghold of British Imperial interests could by virtue of its strategic position be turned into one of the keystones in the arch of anti-Soviet attack. The Kremlin, therefore, not daring to attack England openly, does so by sneaking through the back door and lambasting the Jews.

As long ago as November 15, 1926, a letter to the Palestine Arab Executive from the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain offers "the wholehearted help of the British Communist Party in the great historic mission of establishing a united workers and peasants republic in the Near East from Morocco to Syria. . . Great Britain," it asserts, "has treacherously betrayed the Arabs by establishing Palestine as a National Home for the Jewish People under an imposed British Mandate." In Russia the Moscow *Pravda* roars on August 13, 1935 that "the Communist Party is building a people's front of the entire Arab Nationalist Movement against Imperialism and against Zionism." In 1936 the Kremlin decreed "a united front between the local Communist Party and the Arab nationalists." By order of the Comintern the Palestine Communist Party was completely Arabized.⁵⁰

Sacrificing outright their social propaganda, which the Arabs could not be expected to understand, the Palestine section of the Communist Internationale issued the following manifesto just after the riots erupted in 1936: "Arabs, you have seen the open and clear villainies of the Zionist despoilers. . . Through their despicable methods they have managed to deprive your tribes of most of their land and to cut you off absolutely from all means of livelihood. But they [the Zionists] are not satisfied with establishing their National Home on the bayonets of British Imperialism. . . They are bringing in large quantities of arms with but one aim — to shoot at the hearts of the Arabs, whom they seek to wipe off

the face of the earth. The Arab people have two ways open to them. One is the road to annihilation. The other is the road to life and honor. He who is ready to take the second road must choose war, just as his fathers and grandfathers spilled their blood for their fatherland. The present Strike is our opportunity. The Communist Party joins this Strike, but demands that it must assume revolutionary proportions, and not by sleeping at home or sitting around coffee shops. The Strike must not end until Jewish immigration and the sale of land to Jews will be stopped, and until the Jews are disarmed and the Arab masses armed!"⁵¹

As a result of this agitation, organized Jewish labor in Palestine almost alone in the labor world refuses to admit Communists to its ranks, stating simply "that such people have cut themselves off from the Jewish people." The Communist is nicknamed *Mups*, a contemptuous label which even the most radical worker resents. "In my candid opinion," wrote Senator Cope-land, "there is no more solid anti-Communist body in the world than the four hundred thousand Jewish people in the Holy Land."⁵² Farago, on the other hand, noted that Arabs were being strongly influenced by Communist propaganda.⁵³ An official of the Criminal Investigation Department asserted to Duff that Communism is "becoming a terrible menace now. The Arab peasants are being inoculated with the poison. . . The fellaheen believe that a Bolshie revolution in Palestine will mean three cows for each man, £4 a month in cash, and 20 dunams of land apiece. On top of that the Communists will expel the Jews and all the rich colonies will become the property of the Arab peasants."⁵⁴

However, these activities were more sinister vocally than important in reality. The British are not kindly disposed toward Communists, and only let them on the loose for short periods when their inflammatory material is required to keep the pot boiling. When the dangerous woman agitator, Regina Brodskis, was arrested in September 1935, a storehouse of inflammatory literature and a counterfeit seal of the High Commissioner were found in her possession. Despite these damning facts, this

woman and her gang were released in the Spring of 1936 "for lack of evidence." The very unusual nature of this act in itself, plus its exact timing with the outbreaks, hardly leaves this trouble-breeding policy open to doubt.

ANOTHER ROYAL COMMISSION

In October 1936, six distinguished British gentlemen, all well over on the elderly side, packed their duffle to entrain for the Holy Land. Their names were Peel, Rumbold, Hammond, Carter, Morris and Coupland. With one possible exception, they had spent their lives immersed in the intrigues of Imperial business. Only Lord Peel, their leader, a handsome man with a thin pleasant smile and soldierly bearing, lent the slightest sense of reassuring warmth to this new peregrination of elderly knights.

These were the gentlemen whom officialdom had hand-picked from its own midst for the learned work of passing judgment on the late lamented remnants of what had once been a mandate to the Jewish people for the reconstitution of their National Home in Palestine. What they were up to was amply demonstrated by Ormsby-Gore's preemptory rejection of a demand in Commons that a woman member be included, to investigate the condition of women in Palestine. His reason was that "such a move would be incompatible with Arab ideals"; so that now it could be assumed that the six elderly gentlemen were to investigate only such matters as were "compatible with Arab ideals."

Here we have a plot so far-fetched that it would be rejected by most fiction editors as incredible. In the docket is a mandatory which, under the most generous construction, must be impeached as co-defendant with the Arabs in the case. At its service it possessed an enormous military and espionage machine. Yet it knew nothing of the impending outbreaks, did nothing to forestall them, failed to apprehend the principal culprits, and has since failed to bring the numerous murderers to justice. For six long months, with this huge military establishment, by which

a country like Palestine could have been conquered in a week, it was unable to put down less than two thousand lawless men. Now we find this custodian, having turned the patrimony of its ward into bankruptcy, and suspected of scheming to expropriate the remnants for itself, setting itself up as an impartial court of inquiry in order to determine who the culprit is.

In order to secure Parliament's consent to the appointment of this new body, the Colonial Secretary assured Commons on May 18, 1936 that the Commission would "investigate the causes of unrest and alleged grievances, either of Arabs or of Jews, *without bringing into question the terms of the Mandate.*" Later in the House of Lords, he repeated this pledge that whatever the Commission's operations "*it will not be open to them to challenge the Mandate itself.*"

At its opening session the new Commission at once began the usual quibble on words. "We are 'to ascertain the underlying causes of the disturbances which broke out in Palestine in the middle of April,' " Lord Peel told his associates. "You will note the words 'underlying causes.' *It does not appear to be necessary, therefore, to inquire into the detailed course of events in the last six or seven months.* If there are claims and counter-claims arising out of these events, they are matters for the courts or for the Administration, but we have to deal, I believe, with wider issues." Thus immediately the Commission tore up its terms of reference and prepared to tear up the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

One has only to read the transcript of evidence to judge this body's temper, and its badgering and unfriendly attitude towards Jews. Setting the whole tone of the 'investigation,' Sir Horace Rumbold unburdened himself of the irritable observation that "the Jews were an alien race in Palestine." ⁵⁵ When Leonard Stein, legal adviser to the Jewish Agency, finished a carefully prepared statement on the legal character of Jewish rights under the Mandate, Lord Peel remarked sarcastically: "Thank you for your very able exposition, which now makes the document [the Mandate] more obscure to me than ever before!" ⁵⁶ With magisterial sharpness Peel demanded to know whether the Jews

were ready to work on the Sabbath as a condition to securing public works positions — (which was much the same as if one had asked a professing Catholic to bring a basket of ham sandwiches to his church on Good Friday). At another time the Jewish Agency was given an unmerciful tongue-lashing for not constituting itself as an unofficial police body to smoke out 'illegal' Jewish immigrants from the corners and crevices where they lay shivering. But when the Agency brought up the question of illegal Arab immigration, the Commission changed its attitude completely. The fact that no measures were being taken against this illegal procedure, and the moral encouragement given by the Government, which employed hordes of these Arab illegals on its own payroll, did not appear to cause them the least concern.⁵⁷

In all, there were eleven witnesses called by the Commission to expound the Arab political position. Seven of these were members or agents of the insurgent Arab High Committee. The other four, admits the Commission blandly, "appeared with the full assent of the Arab High Committee" and "supported *in toto* the Arab High Committee's case." It was from this kind of collusive ballot-box stuffing that the 'Arab position' was determined.

When after long delays the much heralded 'Report' finally made its appearance in July 1937, it was apparent that whatever else this Commission had 'investigated,' responsibility for the riots (the only matter which came within its terms of reference) was not among them. The 'Report' consisted of a monumental 404-page compendium of closely packed, sanctimonious verbiage. It breathed brotherly love in every phrase. As a compendium of plausible nostrums it was nothing less than a literary masterpiece; but cleansed of all concealing rhetoric it boiled down to several quite sordid propositions. One was an adroit effort to absolve the Mandatory from any inference of misconduct or dereliction in its stewardship of the Jewish National Home. The other was an attempt to justify by principle a planned embezzlement of its Jewish ward's inheritance.

For this purpose the Report boldly reverses every contention by which the British Government had justified its strictures

against Zionists in the past. Directly confounding the findings of previous 'Commissions,' it acknowledges that Arabs are much better off than they were in 1920, and that this increased prosperity has been due to the influx of Jewish capital and the other factors connected with the growth of the National Home.

It tenaciously remembers, however, that "the Government's first duty was what Sir Herbert Samuel rightly called 'the invidious task' of preventing this tide [of Jewish immigration] from swamping Palestine." It discovers that "the establishment of the National Home involved at the outset a blank negation of the rights implied in the principles of national self-government," and that "as the Home has grown, the fear has grown with it that, if and when self-government is conceded, it may not be national in the Arab sense, but government by a Jewish majority. That is why it is difficult to be an Arab patriot and not to hate the Jews. . . In their eyes," continues the Report, "the Jewish National Home is already too big. Four hundred thousand is a formidable fraction in a total population of 1,300,000." Thus the whole attempt to oust the Jews from Palestine is switched from the basis of alleged economic injury to the Arabs, to that of conflicting national loyalties.

With absurd disregard for all known facts, the document discloses that "there was little or no friction . . . between Arab and Jew in the rest of the Arab world until the strife in Palestine engendered it." By every implication, it attempts to give the false impression that the young intelligentsia of Syria and Palestine joined in the revolt of Hussein against the Turks, and hence had an earned right to 'their' country. Not a single mention is made of the part played by the Jewish Legion.

Despite its admission that the Arab has benefited greatly from Jewish immigration, it returns to the old thesis that the native cannot possibly compete with the Jew. It finds that the Arab has to be protected against his own cupidity ; and to bolster its contention that the land must be allowed to stay undeveloped, offers the ludicrous argument that any effort at intensive farming would entail "a complete change in the [Arab] cultivator's habits, chief among which stands the fact that he would have to

work all the year around." It asks particularly for stringent legislation barring the Jews from settlement "in certain areas," and that the Mandatory "reserve certain areas for Jewish settlement." In less circumspect words, what it proposes is the establishment of a new ghetto. For its authority it refers to the completely discredited Hope-Simpson Report which it describes as "an excellent and comprehensive appreciation of the agrarian position" and "a thorough investigation of the land problem in Palestine."

The Report counts it "highly undesirable" that there should be a harbor in Tel Aviv since this would compete with Arab Jaffa. In a transparent effort to organize the entire Arab world against the Zionists, it suggests that an Arab Agency be formed in London and Palestine, "including in addition to the Arabs of Palestine, representatives of Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria and perhaps Egypt."

The Commission completely disposes of the principle that 'economic absorptive capacity' shall be the yardstick by which Jewish immigration is to be figured. It discovers that "*political, social and psychological factors should be taken into account.*" So it now asks His Majesty's Government to "lay down a *political high level* of Jewish immigration." On no account, it states, must more than twelve thousand Jews be admitted to Palestine annually, and that even this maximum shall be subject to the discretion of the High Commissioner, who may admit none at all if he feels so disposed. Following this bombshell, the Commission arrives at the bizarre conclusion that "insofar as immigration has been the major factor in bringing the Jewish National Home to its present stage of development, *the Mandatory has fully implemented his obligation to facilitate the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine*" !

With queer reverse logic, it condemns the Jewish National Home as having "grown into something like a state within a state." "It would be difficult to find in history," it remarks, "a precedent for the establishment of so distinct an *imperium in imperio*." With similar waggish complaint it concludes that "the social conscience of the National Home tends to concen-

trate on Jewish needs and to leave the Arabs to the care of the Government." It asserts that the Jew is no patriot even of his own homeland, saying that "allegiance to Palestine and its Government are minor considerations to many of them," and goes out of its way to call into question the loyalty of the Jewish police.

By analogy one gains the idea from its pages that the Jews actually plan to demolish all the Christian churches and the Moslem mosques, and re-erect the temple of Solomon. It makes sly reference to the findings of the Haycraft Commission, which found the 'Bolshevik' Jews guilty of arousing patriotic Arabs by their May Day celebrations after the pogrom of 1920. It disposes of the charge that Jews receive virtually no share of the tax moneys, with the observation that "it should be a matter of pride to the Jews that their Home is one of their own building and we believe it to be in accordance with the intention of the Mandate that it should be so." The claim that Jews should at least receive their proportionate share of educational grants is invalidated in the single remark that the Arab is not as well educated as the Jew, and that hence "*it is unjustifiable to increase the grants to the latter.*" (The Jew is apparently to be brought forcibly down to the Arab's level.)

Though the Arab insurrectionists are obviously recognized as 'patriots,' the Jewish nationalists are referred to as "a determined and troublesome group," who one gathers, are basically responsible for all the trouble. The Commission does not hesitate to saddle the murder of Dr. Arlosoroff on the Revisionists as "an act of political terrorism," though time has proven conclusively that this was a trumped-up charge in which the Government itself was not guiltless. Jews, who were formerly militated against by all administrations as being advance agents for Communism, are now lambasted hip and thigh for being such thoroughgoing nationalists. "So far, in fact, from facilitating a better understanding between the races," laments the Report, "the Jewish educational system is making it more and more difficult as, year by year, its production of eager Jewish nationalists mounts up."

Then comes a filibuster patently aimed at disengaging those Christian Zionists who have given their sympathy and strength to the Jewish cause. Says the Report piously : "The religious stake of the Christians in the Holy Places is just as great as that of the Jews or Moslems. . . The 500,000,000 Christians in the world cannot be indifferent to the position and well-being of their co-religionists in the Holy Land." The Commission refers sententiously to the "very strict observance of the Jewish Sabbath and the fact that the Jewish Government official does not work on Saturday" ; with the result that "the Christian official has to work on Sunday," a state of affairs which the Commission believes "impairs the spiritual influence of the Christian Church."

All this is followed by even more brilliant grotesqueries. Their recommendation, the Commission regretfully announces, is only "a palliative." It would not remove the "grievance" of the Arabs in the matter or prevent its recurrence. We gather that the whole Mandate and Balfour Declaration can only be considered a practical and moral mistake, made by a humanitarian-minded Empire, which through this act of sheer benevolence has placed itself in an ethical if not physical dilemma.

Finally we come to the point all this literary effort was leading up to. It seems, quotes the Commission, that all the previous Governments' Commissions had been dead wrong. The Mandate does not involve an obligation to two peoples who are to live side by side with each other, nor does it preclude the establishment of a Jewish State. That, God bless you, could have been its *only purpose*, since anything else save a homogeneous, self-governing territory is unreasonable. But again, God bless you, "under stress of the World War the British Government made promises to Arabs and Jews in order to obtain their support" which seem to cancel each other out. (Not a particle of evidence exists to show that any promises were ever made to Arabs in regard to Palestine, except in the imagination of the Commission. Sir Henry McMahon, acknowledged by all comers to have been the only negotiator privy to these conversations,

has denied time and again that any such promises existed. The denial is also implicit in the Conventions signed by Feisal with the Zionists.)

In the interest of common decency, it now turns out that something must be done to clear this imbroglio permanently and justly. Skillfully presented in the role of a fatigued mediator with a headstrong quarrel on its hands, the Mandatory has attempted to conciliate both parties, but without success. Here comes the master touch. It pleads with both Jews and Arabs to accept a disinterested proposal for a settlement of these irreconcilable differences through a division of territory. In suave words it pleads its friendship for both parties and offers to cut the Gordian knot in one heroic stroke. The Jews are startled to find that they have been offered a Jewish State as their share of the bargain. A Jewish 'State' after two thousand years of tragedy and homelessness! Messiah's kingdom at last!

We put the proposed Jewish 'State' under a spy glass and discover that it is an area approximately seven times the size of New York City, running along the coastal plain; that though Haifa and the towns of Galilee are ostensibly included, the British plan to hold them 'temporarily' under their own administration; ⁵⁸ that it consists of the only densely populated portion of Palestine, holding 140 people to the square mile, a density twice as great as that of France; that it will contain 225,000 Arabs (approximately equal to the number of Jews); that its fiscal services will be under British control; that as an independent economic unit it is undone from the beginning; and that it undoubtedly will be administered by the British under a new and separate Mandate of the same character, temper and quality as the existing one. ⁵⁹

The British retain for themselves, under 'permanent Mandate,' the city of Jerusalem and an area around it taking in Bethlehem and a corridor to the port of Jaffa. In the Report the Negeb, the vast underpopulated portion of Palestine south of Jaffa, is described by allusion as desert. It fronts on the road to Aqaba, and is the area through which the new canal which is to parallel Suez is to be constructed. It seems to have no claimant. Ap-

parently it is not to be divided or partitioned, but it is to be left as a residue which the Mandatory Government will in due time take possession of, just as it has the Hadramaut. The remainder of what had been Palestine is to be given to the Arabs, to be rejoined with Transjordan under the Emir Abdullah, and to become *Judenrein*, an area from which Jews are to be permanently barred. Thus in this third partition, the Jewish National Home, originally a territory of some 45,000 or 50,000 square miles, is shrunk to less than 2000 square miles.

Since "the Jews contribute more per capita to the revenue of Palestine than the Arabs, and the Government has thereby been enabled to maintain public services of the Arabs at a higher level than would otherwise have been possible," continues the Report, "partition would mean . . . that the Arab area would no longer profit from the taxable capacity of the Jewish area." This unfortunate complication presents a self-evident problem, but the Commission has a solution! *The Jewish State should pay a permanent subvention to the Arab State out of its own tax moneys!*⁶⁰ To justify this *dénouement*, the Commission establishes the fact that the Arabs are inept and incapable of supplying sufficient revenue from their own resources to run their State. Transjordan, it cites, has never been able to meet even the costs of its skeleton administration. Since the Jews had always met the deficit before, runs the reasoning, why should they not continue to do so indefinitely!⁶¹ The Jewish 'State' is further to "provide for the free transit of goods in bond between the Arab State and Haifa." The Central Government, i.e., the British, would control railways, roads and post office. The collection of customs at all ports would also be taken over by the British, including Haifa, Jaffa, Tel Aviv and such other ports as may be found necessary.

The existing public debt of Palestine amounting to about £4,500,000, is to be divided between the Arab and Jewish States by a Financial Commission to be appointed later. Is it a mere slip of the pen which causes the Report to omit any reference in this connection to the permanently mandated British area? Is this area to be exempt from taking over any share of the debt?

Nothing is said in the Report as to the apportionment of the Government's surplus. Who, one wonders, is to take over that?

The Report makes it clear that the permanently mandated territory will be administered on a footing to which the Balfour Declaration will not apply. There will be no recognition of any official languages — except that of the Mandatory Administration, i.e., English. It is clear that the public schools of Jerusalem, for instance, will be managed on such lines as would be prescribed by British Authorities. Within the Jewish area the British would hold Haifa, Tiberias, Acre and Safed. Will not the same condition also be true there? If Arab and Jewish nationalists are really as fanatic and refractory as the Mandatory claims, is it not setting itself up for a new and more terrible vendetta? If this inflexible, blazing national feeling exists, how could it become reconciled to the theft of its principal cities and the subordination of its culture there?

Further analysis reveals that the British would have a stranglehold on the major portion of foreign trade and resulting customs revenue. Customs duties and various types of urban taxation constitute eighty percent of the total income of the Palestine Government from taxation. For the year 1935-36 the Government's income from these sources was £4,097,126 out of a total revenue of £5,770,475. The lion's share of tax revenue would therefore be controlled, if not wholly appropriated, by the British, leaving the proposed Jewish and Arab States without resources at the outset. The Mandatory would also gain practically all of the tourist business, by virtue of its ownership of the Holy Places. Controlling the larger urban centers which constitute the major markets of the rural areas, it would have the power of life and death over the Jewish and Arab States. The British would be entitled to, and doubtless would, impose burdensome restrictions on the movement of men and goods to these areas. They would be able to determine the utilization of the Jordan waters through control of the Sea of Galilee, thus putting them in a further coercive position in relation to the two 'States.'

In its proposed boundaries the Jewish 'State' would be cut off

not only from its traditional Capital, but also from its sources of hydro-electric power on the Jordan, its main mineral asset of the Dead Sea, and from prospective mineral resources such as petroleum, phosphates and copper, in the south. Since it would have no access to the great desolate regions surrounding it, it will have no outlet for future growth.

Moreover, there will be almost as many Arabs in the Jewish 'State' as Jews. Hence it is likely that the division will not solve the problem of Arab-Jewish rancor, but intensify it, encouraging two mutually clashing *irredentas* within a small territory. The Government clearly encourages the proposed Arab State to join a future Arab Federation, so that this little Naboth's vineyard is to be surrounded by a more or less united mass of covetous appetites about ten million strong. In what respect will the position be better than it is now? Would it not simply provide pan-Arabic ambition with a definite objective? Whereas formerly the Jews in the country were, at any rate, bringing new wealth to the Arabs, would not the new contrast between Jewish progress and Arab poverty "invite attack by tempting greed"? ⁶²

Strategically the Jewish 'State' cannot be protected. It consists of lowlands surrounded by Arab hills. At one point it is seven and a half to nine miles wide. What would the life of anyone on this plain be worth if the hills bordering it were fortified by the Arabs? A country like that could be overrun within a few hours, whatever the valor of its defenders. Of this the Royal Commission itself gives unintentional warning, saying, "the Jews must realize that another world war is unhappily not impossible [and] that in the changes and chances of war it is easy to imagine circumstances under which the Jews might have to rely mainly on their own resources for the defense of the National Home." How could such a wealthy, crowded and progressive State on the plains and coast, surrounded by hills and uplands, protect itself from the hungry, warlike inhabitants of these adjacent areas?

To give the proposition some aspect of reason, the Commission suggests a mass exchange of population between the two

'States,' citing in defense of this idea the Graeco-Turkish exchanges of population in 1922.⁶³ The transfer of Arabs in Galilee is to be voluntary, but the transfer of those from the Sharon is to be compulsory. A Transfer Commission is to be set up under British control with headquarters at Jerusalem. Is not all this contrary to the whole argument raised against the Jewish National Home in the first place? What in the name of common sense is the moral difference between transferring 300,000 Arabs and, say, 900,000 Arabs, the total of those now in Palestine? If it was moral when the League undertook the repatriation of Turks and Greeks, and if it is moral in order to justify a British plan of partition, why is it not moral in the name of those 8,000,000 Jews who are being slowly done to death in Poland, Rumania and Germany? There are at least 100,000 Jews in the Arab peninsula who could be exchanged for Moslems. Two hundred and fifty thousand more live in Arab North Africa. All told, in Arabic speaking countries, there are at least 700,000. Iraq, among others, has stated her willingness to take all the Arab immigrants she can get and to offer them every possible attraction, including free land.⁶⁴ Would not this solution be not only humane but an act of the highest statesmanship, far superior to the dog-in-the-manger tactics at present adopted?

Much to the amazement of the Mandates Commission, which had more than a little difficulty swallowing this explanation, Ormsby-Gore stated that this whole scheme of partition was an afterthought which occurred to the Commission after its return from Palestine.⁶⁵ He hastened to report that it was all a happy accident and that the British Government had had absolutely nothing to do with suggesting it. Yet Britain's Colonial Secretary must know that no part of this is new in British Colonial policy. It is identical with the system of 'native reserve' followed in many parts of Africa. Was the appointment of Sir Morris Carter to the Commission a mere coincidence? Sir Morris is an expert on just this kind of work. Not long ago he served as chairman of a commission in Kenya which fixed the boundaries of a native reserve from which European colonists are barred. This same partition scheme, in fact, was published

in almost exact outline more than eighteen months before, by Mrs. Steuart Erskine, speaking the mind of the London anti-Zionist cabal.⁶⁶

The partition scheme parallels exactly British strategic requirements, allowing Mount Carmel and Haifa to be converted into an eastern Gibraltar, and developing the corridor between Jaffa and Jerusalem into a strong military and air base under permanent British control, unhampered by promises, covenants and trusteeships. Is this also coincidence? The Commission recommended in the interests of the Jewish and Arab 'States' that they sign treaties "of military cooperation" with England "dealing with the maintenance of naval, military and air forces, the upkeep of ports, roads and railways," for British military purposes. The Jews, in other words, would foot the bill for a permanent British garrison in their own territory. Are we asked to believe that this, too, came as a touching and unexpected surprise to Britain's military and naval advisers?

At least it can occasion no surprise to find the British Cabinet tripping over its own feet to accept "the unanimous Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine" on the day it was published, before there was any opportunity for examination or discussion. But even here they were careful not to bind themselves too closely, so as to leave the way open for still a further foray against the distracted and retreating Zionists. In the exact language used, the gentlemen of the Cabinet found that they were "in general agreement with the arguments and conclusions of the Commission," thus committing themselves to exactly nothing, while at the same time appearing to have taken a stand.⁶⁷

DOWNING STREET RUNS THE GAUNTLET

There were still formidable obstacles to be overcome, whether by guile or force, before this carefully laid intrigue could be consummated. One was certainly the conscience of Britishers outside the official cabal. Another was the League of Nations, for whom Britain was acting as temporary trustee. Since the mere fact of railing against the Mandate did not alter its exist-

ence, the third was obviously the Zionists themselves, who alone could turn the trick without unpleasant repercussions if they could be cajoled or frightened into voluntarily relinquishing their rights in favor of the new British promises.

In England itself matters did not go too well. The country was still a democracy, and for all the bureaucratic contempt for elected politicians, five hundred cabals of vested officialdom could not bring this plot off without the consent of Commons. And Commons was grimly asking questions.

The moment Earl Peel's report was published, Englishmen, boring through its polished phrases to the deceptions which lay below, began to make themselves heard. Lloyd George, whose government had issued the original Declaration, blasted it as a "crazy scheme" which would brand Britain as faithless in the eyes of honest men.⁶⁸ Winston Churchill denounced it and the men who issued it, stating that the Balfour Declaration could not be brushed aside "as though they were under no obligations." Lord Strabolgi bluntly placed the entire blame for Palestine troubles squarely on the shoulders of British officials, and accused the Royal Commission of neglecting Imperial interests. "The British scheme," he asserted, "was playing straight into the hands of Premier Benito Mussolini of Italy, who . . . had been in touch with the representatives of the Zionist Organization . . . promising them all sorts of things."⁶⁹ Expressing the generally voiced opposition, the *London Morning Post* commented sarcastically: "They have put a Saar, a Polish Corridor and half a dozen Danzigs and Memels into a country the size of Wales."⁷⁰ Opposition leaders once more scented an opportunity to tumble the Government from power.

In foreign countries it appeared that the official clique had overestimated the extent and force of anti-Semitic influence. Ominous rumblings began to boil to the surface like little bubbles, presaging a more vigorous convulsion gathering underneath. Christian leaders, Fundamentalists who took their Bible Prophecy literally, gazed askance. Bishop Alma White advised the British nation that "the world will not know peace until a Jewish Zion is established."⁷¹ "If the Jews do not pre-

sent united opposition," asserted the Reverend John Haynes Holmes, "then the Christians must take up the fight. For the partition of Palestine is as gross an outrage upon Christian tradition as upon Jewish hope." ⁷² The Irish, who saw a situation developing analogous to their own, came out in their newspapers with such headlines as "Palestine Riots Due to British Guile." ⁷³ The Hindu leader, Basanta Koomar Roy, termed the whole affair a characteristic piece of British diplomatic treachery, declaring that "the British conspiracy is to exterminate the Jews and to paralyze the Arabs in Palestine through a bitterly fought and mechanically prolonged civil war." ⁷⁴ Irredentist groups of all kinds, in chains to Britain the world over, were looking on now with keen interest to see what the Jews were going to do about it.

The cabal was playing with fire. Hitler and Mussolini were on the move, and an alarmed Britain saw herself as the ultimate target for their fast-developing ambitions. With pecksniffian horror she was declaiming on the subject of treaty breaking and violation of sacred international covenants. Righteous indignation was her stock in trade. "With all her customary secret diplomacy," writes Wythe Williams, she was preparing "the greatest campaign in history to insure the aid of the United States in the conflict she now fears is inevitable." ⁷⁵ The belief on the Continent that in case of war Britain could count on American support, and at the least would have access to huge American supplies of raw materials, was an important asset which London did not dare forego. The ablest British diplomats were detailed to Washington, where they concentrated all their wiles.

Downing Street grew increasingly nervous as the reports from America became more and more disconcerting. Though officially inspired news agencies were pounding out ecstatic descriptions of the proposed new Jewish 'State,' the reaction was impressively antagonistic. The Jews themselves were quiet, under the strictures of the ever-reliable Weizmann and his collaborators; but there were signs that this too might only be the proverbial lull before the storm. Consternation ruled Whitehall when the American Christian Conference sent a cable to Geneva signed by the most prominent and influential names in American

public life, calling attention to the "persecution of Jews that now disgraces and degrades Germany, Poland and Rumania," and making the British Government a party to this villainy by calling on it to "fulfill its covenanted pledges to the Jewish people and to the world . . . and to cease obstructing Jewish settlement." ⁷⁶ The Pro-Palestine Committee, headed by Senator William H. King, issued a vigorous statement denouncing the proposed plan as "a cruel act of persecution and a grave infringement of international law." Said the influential Hamilton Fish: "It is an amazing suggestion and a deliberate breach of trust." ⁷⁷ From the American Congress, forty-one members petitioned Secretary of State Hull to advise London that partition was "totally opposed to the spirit and acceptance of the Mandate by the British Government."

In the Senate the question of the treaties under which America held rights in Palestine co-equal to those of Britain and other League members, popped up as big as day. Senator Royal S. Copeland, standing on the American-British Mandate Convention on Palestine signed in 1924, drew attention to the fact that under this treaty *no modification can be made in the terms of the Mandate without the prior consent of the United States*. Despite this Agreement, he pointed out, the United States had not been consulted. Speaking in turn, Senator Warren R. Austin, an eye-witness to the outrageous events which had taken place in the Holy Land, solemnly urged that "under this treaty, Americans are clearly entitled if not obligated to investigate the lawlessness . . . and criminal conduct prevalent in Palestine."

From Berlin, Adolph Hitler contemptuously dismissed the whole plan as "English bluff." Mexico announced that it would oppose it in Geneva. The French, still wryly remembering the intrigue which had handed Feisal to them in Syria, let it be known with some heat that "no final decision could be taken without their consent." ⁷⁸ In an impressive memorandum the liberal groups of France and Belgium presented a major report whose general premise was that far from being interested in the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth, Britain would infinitely prefer to see the work of construction collapse in order to have

a free hand to play the political game in the East. Accusing London of direct complicity in the riots, the report proposed an international committee to investigate.⁷⁹

From yet another quarter came Poland, which as a powerful buffer state between Germany and Russia, each a potential English enemy, was being desperately wooed by Downing Street. Poland wanted the largest Jewish State possible, in order to provide a competent outlet for her unwanted Jews. Surveying the British plan coldly, Poland announced herself solidly opposed. In this tart disagreement she was joined by Rumania, and for much the same reason.

It was apparent that all of this was just the beginning ; and that if the Zionists started raising a commotion, the first nation to have a serious tiff with Britain would make the Jewish quarrel their own, with the legal advantage all on their side. None of these things argued well for the Government's case when Parliament, filled with grim and suspicious men, met late in July to consider the measure.

Leading the Government's fight in person was the Colonial Secretary, William George Arthur Ormsby-Gore. He was the same Ormsby-Gore who had told a Zionist gathering in London : "I belong to the Anglican Church, and I see God's finger in the return of the Jews to Palestine."⁸⁰ He was the same man who had thundered in 1921 : "Never in the history of the world has a great empire taken up obligations of this kind and gone back on them without being doomed. . . The little Englanders and the narrow-minded politicians . . . what do they care about Jerusalem or the British Empire ? They only care about . . . getting an anti-Semitic cry."

It was he who had again told Commons in 1922 that the campaign waged against a Jewish Palestine was the product of anti-Semitic conspiracy ; that it was anti-British as well ; that it was "*only likely to result in the replacement of Britain in Palestine by some other power*" ; and that England "ought to pause before it allows such a policy to be effected by its own nationals."⁸¹ Yet now we find this same gentleman hand-in-glove with the cabal he had denounced, doing his best to convince Parliament

that the undertaking to which his nation was solemnly pledged "involved an irreconcilable conflict between the aspirations of Arabs and Jews" and therefore must be abandoned. To show what kind of company he was keeping, one merely needs to mention that in the House of Lords the Government's case was being summed up by Lord Winterton, the identical worthy who had once shouted down an unlucky Jewish M. P. from White-chapel with the words: "Silence in the ghetto!"⁸² Now Winterton was orating with crocodile tears in his eyes about the miseries of Jews in this world, and stating his conviction that the official clique were offering them "a fair deal" for the first time in two thousand years.

In Commons it was apparent at once that none of this pharisaical nonsense was going to be worth its salt. Despite the Government's plea that the matter was so imperative that it had to be adopted at once, Parliament was in no mood to accept this proposition blindfolded. It was plain that while the Government might win on the straight question of a vote of confidence, it was a risky business, with a considerable section of its own Party ready to vote with the opposition. Rather than chance it, the official clique hastily backtracked, and introduced a resolution referring the whole matter to the League, giving Commons a chance to mull over it in its own good time. The result was that Ormsby-Gore had to take his proposals before the Mandates Commission without authority to say that Parliament approved the scheme in principle or in detail. Here again the British Colonial Secretary found himself with his hands full. The Mandates Commission, considerably bucked up by international reaction and Parliament's refusal to immediately approve, was not impressed. It expressed astonishment that the Mandatory had been unable to control the Arabs, and in effect held the Commission's learned labors to be so much vague rubbish.⁸³

It was plain all around that for all its careful build-up the plan wasn't worth the powder to blow it to hell with, unless the Jews agreed. Once more Whitehall, with a cat-like smile, turned to Weizmann.

MR. WEIZMANN OBLIGES AGAIN

To discourage any attempts at bold action which might have been latent in the Zionists' minds, London promptly arranged to have its creature, the Arab High Committee, reject the proposed partition scheme. In a statement breathing fire and brimstone, this body, composed for the most part of senior officials of the Palestine Government, vociferated that Palestine "did not belong to the Palestine Arabs alone, but to the whole Moslem world." Therefore it was turning to the Arab kings for advice. Producing their optical illusions in swift sequence, the magicians in Downing Street straightway trotted out these desert potentates, who obligingly played their roles. Ibn Saud's son was made to roar like a lion that "Palestine is Arabian and must remain so!" Seyyid Hikmat Suleiman, Prime Minister of Iraq, issued a spate of violent pronouncements damning partition as an outrage against Arabs; and Abdullah of Transjordan, heir presumptive to a good part of the swag, added a comical note by stentoriously threatening Great Britain with the consequences.

Thus the Zionists were to be kept properly scared and made to understand that crumbs were better than no loaf at all. This was inadvertently shown when Yemen's rapprochement with Mussolini caused the permanent officials to believe that they had carried this game of make-believe too far, putting ideas into the heads of Arab princes that shouldn't be there. A few weeks later the Colonial Secretary is found assuring an anxious Commons that far from getting out of hand, "the Governments of Transjordan and Iraq are now backing Great Britain in its decision to tri-partition Palestine."⁸⁴ In Palestine, itself, violent protest demonstrations continued to be held, led by the most virulent of the Arab extremists and protected by the police. But the outside Arabs, including Saud and even the Government of Egypt, suddenly seeing the light, had changed their tune. They saw now with proper benevolence that the fact of a Jewish State was only right and proper.

While all this was developing, the Zionists were preparing to

hold a congress to consider the situation, the most ominous they had faced since their movement began. Only a few months before, the Zionist Executive had voted not to cooperate with the Royal Commission since that Commission, a political body, constituted in itself "a distinctly anti-Zionist action"; and also not to convey this fact to the public "for obvious reasons."⁸⁵ Now, suddenly, the Zionist press gushes that "the great dream of hundreds of generations of Jews throughout the two thousand years of our history soon will materialize."⁸⁶ Screeching headlines announced: "England gives the Jews a Jewish Kingdom!" In fulsome editorials, which under the circumstances can only be described as crack-brained, the general theme runs throughout: "God bless England — England our friend — England our benefactor — England our saviour!"

Like a fierce old wolf driven to bay, the veteran Ussishkin growled: "It is necessary to indict England openly. The outbreaks would not have occurred if the English Administration had not wanted them to happen." But the clear-sighted old man was hushed up by timid *confrères* who were more afraid to let go of the lion's tail than they were to hold on. Lord Peel's threat to introduce a "political high level of immigration" and to further restrict Jews on the land, had frightened them almost out of their wits. If Jews did not accept the partition proposal, warned Dr. Bernard Joseph, legal adviser of the Jewish Agency, there was danger of a "much worse alternative."⁸⁷ Impending at last was a dramatic end to the inflated ballyhoo, the stories of "unbelievable progress," the carefully nurtured fiction of English friendship, the fund-raising prospectuses, the long retreat into solacing unreality, by which the Zionist politicians had sustained themselves. To Jews throughout the world, totally unprepared for this collapse of their last hope, it would come as a stunning blow. Could their confidence in the Zionist hierarchy survive this final crushing disappointment? Would not Jewry, enraged and disillusioned, withdraw its support? This fear, says Dr. Maurice Karpf, American member of the Jewish Agency, entered heavily into the calculations of the Executive.⁸⁸

At this very moment, a half dozen good, solid protest meetings in the liberal countries and the threat of a determined Sinn Fein might have moved the English. The Zionists might have concentrated on the determined demand that the actual disturbances themselves be investigated, that the action of the Royal Commission, as well as the conduct of the members of the Palestine Administration, be subject to an international court of inquiry. But timidity ruled. Christian friends of the movement looked on aghast, completely taken aback by the want of reaction on the part of the official Jewish body. That great gentile pro-Zionist, Charles Edward Russell, wrote to a friend: "I may say to you quite frankly that if the Jews submit tamely to this colossal affront and deep injury, I am out of the game. It will be of no use to try to do anything for a people resolutely in love with kicks in the face."

Early in August the Congress met in Zurich, Switzerland. Leading the struggle against acceptance of the partition principle was Menachem Mendel Ussishkin. Solemnly turning to Weizmann, he charged that for the past twenty years that gentleman and his colleagues "had suppressed criticism of the British Government and had concealed its unbending animosity to the Jewish work in Palestine." Acceptance of the British proposal, he warned, would be only the beginning "of a new disaster." Heading the American section was Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, who was moving heaven and earth to make his unqualified opposition clear. Even the non-Zionist, Felix Warburg, pleaded: "I beg you, do not let down your ideals for something that only seems like a State." Violent language, hard-bitten accusations, split the air of the meeting-hall into a shower of fragments from day to day. In a barrage of charges, Weizmann himself was stigmatized as a traitor who had committed himself to the partition principle in advance of the session's deliberations.⁸⁹ It was obvious that the temper of the Congress was unalterably opposed to the British plan, even many of the Laborites displaying a willingness to vote with the opposition.

Leading the fight for his program, Weizmann addressed the delegates again and again, turning on all his old mesmeric charm,

with the officeholders holding up the van. Reversing himself completely once more, he spoke in the typical language he had always denounced as Fascist and jingo. Now he was violently attacking those Jews who disagreed with what he called "the nationalist Zionist ideal." "The Arabs refuse to share Palestine with anyone," he orated with nice casuistry. "If the Americans also share the Arab viewpoint, our roads must part." "The Jews must not forget," he continued, "that England is the only country trying to solve the Jewish question."

Weizmann was followed by Mr. David Ben-Gurion, regarded as the second most influential person in the Zionist high command. Mr. Ben-Gurion had changed considerably since that day scarcely three months back when he had valiantly blazed: "We declare to the representatives of the English people that we shall take no part in any experiment with the object of re-examining that which has been decided by the nations of the world and that which has been entrusted to England to carry out." ⁹⁰ Now he, too, was for partition.

It was useless to argue with such men, or to remind them that 'he who is cheated twice by the same man becomes an accomplice with the cheater.' England had struck her blow just before the era of stabilization had set in, and just in time to prevent a Jewish majority in the Holy Land. The Jewish people were writhing in the coils of the bitterest persecution they have endured since the Dark Ages. Was not this the time of all times for a final showdown? If omens spoke correctly, a frank revelation of this whole situation to the English electorate itself, might have given them justice. If the facts had courageously been made known, the nations of the world would certainly have looked unsympathetically at this sordid attempt at pirating the last resource of a defenseless people. Whitehall and Downing Street, always sensitive to outside opinion, could hardly have ignored this prospect.

It seems reasonable that the Zionists could have stood safely on several counts: that Palestine was mandated and not British territory; that Jews have a right to an impartial investigation of any squandering of their resources by a malfeasant mandatory;

that neither a Colonial Office nor a Royal Commission of any kind has any authority in Palestine ; and that Jews have the same right to human happiness and existence as any other people. Since the Mandate was not created to serve the interests of English Imperialism, but to solve the Jewish problem, it could hardly have been claimed that the whittling down of the Jewish National Home to a few hundred square miles under questionable 'self-rule,' was a just and reasonable interpretation of Great Britain's obligations.

But warning and counsel were useless. A large group of stalwarts fought to the end against anything but a flat rejection of this proposition, which they regarded as infamous. The Congress as a whole could be regarded as implacably set against Weizmann's proposals. But it consisted for the most part of inexperienced, unworldly men who often acted for all the world as if they had stared at the moon too long. They were caught in the spell of glamorous orators who urged them in the name of 'reason' not to slam the door tight, who prodded their fancies into the belief that this was only the opening bid — that since Britain was thinking in terms of 'a Jewish State,' it was indecent not to investigate at least and discuss.

Finally they were brought to the point of agreeing to authorize negotiations with Great Britain to ascertain "the precise purpose of the Government in the proposed establishment of the Jewish State." That seemed perfectly safe, since at the same time the Congress hedged this permission by instructing the Executive not to commit either itself or the Zionist Organization, but to bring a definite scheme for creation of the State, if such a scheme emerged from the negotiations, before a newly elected congress for "consideration and decision." To make clear that this act in no sense altered their opposition to the existing proposals, the same resolution declared the partition scheme unacceptable, protested all restrictions placed on Jewish development, rejected the contention that the Mandate was unworkable, and emphasized that the Homeland was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be "the whole of historic Palestine, including Trans-Jordan." As a parting shot, it directed the

Executive to "resist any infringement of Jewish rights as guaranteed by either Balfour Declaration or Mandate."

Events immediately proved the irreconcilables right. The Zionists thought they had committed themselves to nothing ; but, though they did not realize it, they had crossed the Rubicon. They had not rejected the proposition absolutely and unconditionally as had Jabotinsky's right-wingers, or even Agudath Israel in convention at Marienbad, Czechoslovakia. Moreover, they had re-elected Mr. Weizmann as president, and with him all the old gang and all the old policies. The world press at once flashed the story in their columns : "Zionists Accept Partition." The functionaries in the Bureaus, too, understood it that way, *Great Britain and the East* commenting smugly that "the Zionists at Zurich have made the best of what they regard as a thoroughly bad position."⁹¹ Lending force and color to this interpretation, Weizmann appeared at Geneva. Dining with Professor William Rappard, Vice-Chairman of the Mandates Commission, he "was understood" to be pressing for acceptance by that body of the Royal Commission's proposal.⁹²

Serenely now, with the appraising smirk of one who knows that the die is cast in his favor, the British waited on Geneva. With no other recourse, in view of the apparent circumstances, the Mandates Commission committed itself to approval of the Palestine partition scheme "in principle," going no farther than they conceived their wards, the Zionists, had gone. "The word 'scathing,' " reports the *New York Evening Journal*, "can properly be used to describe the Commission's biting criticism of British action in Palestine" accompanying this approval. It charged London with responsibility for the extent and duration of the riots, and declared that "the present Mandate, which Britain now says is unworkable, did not become unworkable until Britain said it was."⁹³

The next move was now up to Commons, where the friends of the Jews looked on in some mystification at what appeared to be a voluntary relinquishment of the Jewish franchise without a fight of any kind. Weizmann had succeeded in taking the wind completely out of the sails of those staunch spirits who had been

ready to crusade for justice to the Jew in Palestine. One prominent American who had been most vigorous in denouncing this attempted larceny of Jewish rights, remarked to the writer after reading the newspaper reports on the Zurich deliberations: "I feel like a fool."

Whether they liked it or not, the Zionists had put their head in the lion's mouth. The question that remained was — will the beast bite? The Government answered provisionally by putting into effect at once all the stringent "Partition-Interim" recommendations of the Commission, though the Report had not yet been approved, and before any discussion of its policy in Parliament.

SAINT GEORGE SPITS IN THE DRAGON'S EYE

With the dexterity of long practice the cabal once more made effective use of the Arab kings. Egypt, which a scarce two months previously had declared a complete 'hands off' policy in regard to the Palestine troubles,⁹⁴ mysteriously awoke to its obligations to Arabs in the Holy Land. She was joined the next day by Iraq which after leaping nimbly on and off this hot plate, decided that the Arabs could not possibly permit "the cancer of Zionism" to ruin the body of the Arab world.⁹⁵ Moslem India, too, was hauled into the play when Sir Zafrullah Khan, a minion closely connected with Whitehall, was made to solemnly warn Great Britain that unless she solved the Palestine problem to Moslem satisfaction she would be "setting up a sore which will never heal."⁹⁶ The trump card played for the benefit of jittery Parliamentarians came with the insolent declaration by an Iraqi statesman that Arabs "will look elsewhere" if Britain takes the wrong turn at the crossroads between pro-Zionism and a profitable amity with the Arab world.⁹⁷ These were ferocious warnings, but it is notable that without exception they came from territories held under British control. No word was heard from the great body of Arabs in North Africa living under French, Spanish and Italian rule, who went about their business completely indifferent to events in the Holy Land. Equally as

apathetic were the non-Arab Moslem territories whose orbits rotated outside of British spheres of influence.

Despite these imposing demonstrations, it was inevitable that when the British moved to consolidate their new position the Arab High Committee would have to go. It had been an effective instrument, but it was composed of insubordinate, refractory men who had long taken literally the tradition of power and invulnerability British policy had woven around them. The Mufti, in particular, was regarded as too dangerous now to be useful. He had made the fatal mistake of defying his masters at a critical moment when they had asked him to issue a call to Holy War against the Italians. Like a cat sitting immobile at a rat hole, the British had waited patiently for a propitious moment to destroy him. Had Haj Amin been wise, he could have read the premonitory menace in the Peel Commission's statement, cautiously taxing him with "his due share of responsibility" for the riots, and ominously referring to him "as the head of yet a third parallel Government."

As it came about, *der Tag* was Sunday, September 27, 1937, when for the first time a high-ranking British official was assassinated. His name was Lewis Yelland Andrews and he had been District Commissioner for Galilee. The murder had been committed by unidentified thugs who, as usual, made a quick disappearance.

Until this time it was alleged by officialdom that no matter how truculent they became, the Mufti and Arab High Committee had to be handled with kid gloves. "Britain," they asserted, "had to think of the Moslems in India, her delicate relationships with the Arab world, etc." Now giving the game dead away, the Arab High Committee, always so bold and brassy before, precipitously swung over, becoming apologetic and cringing. It immediately met in urgent session and issued a frightened manifesto "condemning the assassins and expressing condolences for the victims' families." Its bravado had disappeared as completely as if it had yielded to black magic.

Ignoring these protestations, Jerusalem acted swiftly and ruthlessly. A reward of £10,000, unprecedented in the history of

Palestine, was posted for the murderers, dead or alive. Within twenty-four hours Haj Amin had been deposed from his Government-paid position as president of the Supreme Moslem Council ; and two hundred previously immune gentlemen, in or around the Arab High Committee, were rounded up. They included, among others, the Mayor of Jerusalem and the forbidding personality whom everyone was allegedly afraid to touch, the pan-Arab firebrand Awny Bey Abdul Hadi. Now it appeared that the Government had forgotten about the susceptibilities "of the Moslems in India" and the delicate feelings of "our friends the Arabs outside of Palestine," for it outlawed the Arab High Committee *in toto*, explaining this action, as if it had just awakened to the fact, by the existence of an organized terrorist and assassination campaign, directed by the arrested gentlemen.

It was soon apparent that careful preparations had long been made in advance by the Government for this coup. All police and military leaves had been canceled and the order given to stand by. Friday morning, at dawn, the homes of the Arab High Committee members were surrounded. Telephone service throughout the country was completely suspended. Lulled to a sense of false security by past experience with English rule, the Arab leadership was taken completely by surprise. Without formality of trial, the erstwhile 'patriots' now found themselves roped like so many sheep on the British cruiser *Sussex*, and headed for permanent exile on a barren island in the Indian Ocean.⁹⁸ Moving with the speed of lightning, this Government, which had been so unbelievably supine before, went to ferocious extremes. In a relentless purge, strikingly reminiscent of what was taking place in Germany and Russia, suspected persons were punished and their houses blown up with dynamite without the slightest pretense at judicial inquiry.⁹⁹

Despite twenty years of dire prophecy, the sensitive Moslems of India and the fire-eating politicians of the Arab world remained as docile as lambs. For weeks, until the cabal in Whitehall thought to bestir itself again, Palestine, too, was as quiet as a churchyard. In vain the Mufti sent out his official bulls demanding intervention by the Arab kings. Not an Arab prince-

ling let out a peep — not even when the Palestine *Official Gazette* announced that henceforth the Moslem religious funds were going to be administered by a triumvirate consisting of two Christian officials and one Mohammedan sheikh for makeweight.

It was evident that Whitehall did not contemplate sharing Palestine with anyone and that consequently the Jews were next on the agenda for official attention. The cabal was playing its cards with the shrewd, practiced hand of a gamester who knows how every card is marked. Their moves came in rapid-fire order. Within a week it was known that Jerusalem was starting preparations for the establishment of an Arab Agency to offset the Jewish body, an overt move which would in itself shatter every obligation of the Mandate to bits.

Into operation were placed all the 'palliatives' proposed by the Peel Commission, as if they had already received the approval of Parliament. On October 21 an ordinance was promulgated empowering the High Commissioner to set political limits on immigration, which in no case was to exceed one thousand a month irrespective of absorptive capacity, and to *establish a Jewish proportion of this maximum*. "In cases where a dispute arises," the Government Director of Immigration was to decide whether or not a person was a Jew. The new schedule announced several weeks later to cover the ensuing eight-month period, consisted of 9600 certificates. Of these, 1600 were reserved for non-Jews, thereby setting up a principle which could be extended in any direction at officialdom's whim. For the first time capitalists were lumped with all other immigrants, and a limit placed on their entry within this same number of certificates.* It was also announced that another ordinance was being drawn up which would rigidly restrict Jews on the land in accordance with the Royal Commission's recommendation.

Though all this went off with little or no trouble, Whitehall's plan was still highly vulnerable. Neither Parliament nor the League had yet agreed to it. The Zionists could conceivably

* On March 15, 1938, when the schedule for the ensuing six months came up, the British Government announced a further reduction, limiting the Jewish immigration quota to one thousand labor certificates and two thousand certificates for capitalists for the six months beginning April 1.

about-face, overturn Weizmann, and unhorse the whole program. There were signs that such a contingency was by no means remote.¹⁰⁰ Already harried by these problems, officialdom now found another, equally serious, obtruding on its view: the Arabs themselves had begun a definite movement for *rapprochement* with the Jews. To London's consternation it gained ground with surprising momentum. "For the first time in the twenty years since the Balfour Declaration," writes the *New York Times*' correspondent on August 5, 1937, "the Arabs openly censure the Palestine Government for never having attempted to bring the two peoples together." *Falastin*, once the pet of the Administration, commented caustically a day later that despite British allegations of an unbreachable enmity between Jews and Arabs, "we cannot recall a single instance since the British occupation here when they have made the slightest effort to bring the Arabs and Jews together. Pre-war Jewish residents lived here peacefully with Arabs for hundreds of years. To this day these Jews, in addition to the Arabs, maintain that if it were not for British policy of divide and rule, the Arabs and Jews would again live in Palestine in peace and harmony."

On November 15, 1937 the Arab daily *Ad-Difaa* asserted that the British Government had categorically rejected all proposals for a round-table discussion between Jews, Arabs and British, though the Jews and Arabs alike were anxious for such a meeting. After talking to all sections of the Arab population, the Near East Correspondent for the *New York Times* again reported on November 21, that their unanimous cry was "we've suffered enough and we don't wish to have any more trouble. May Allah curse them and cut off the lives of these intruders from the outside who are disturbing our existence." Pamphlets were distributed in Arab villages, violently attacking Great Britain as being the cause of their ruin. Publications which for years had heralded the most extreme Arab nationalism, published conspicuously on their front pages manifestoes of Arab and Jewish leaders appealing to the public for peace. A similar appeal was issued by the councilors of the Jerusalem Municipality, Jews and Arabs, in the form of a joint resolution, followed by another

from a conference of Jewish and Arab merchants. Even the extremist Jaffa daily *Al Jamia Al Islamia* gnashed its teeth, threatening terrorists "with the wrath of judgment day and the anger of posterity, for fanning the embers of hatred and animosity."¹⁰¹ The planned Arab Congress which was to have aroused world-wide sympathy for the nationalist cause, proved a fizzle, with responsible Arabs both in and out of Palestine refusing to have anything to do with it.

There was good reason for this change of face. The plot had overreached itself so far that everyone faced bankruptcy. Preceding events had "gradually but effectively ruined Arab merchants and tradesmen."¹⁰² A financial crisis was rapidly developing. As cash was withdrawn in increasingly heavier amounts, the banks shut down on credits. Real estate values tobogganed downward. In Tel Aviv alone, the Property Owners Protective Association registered five thousand owners who were faced with foreclosure due to inability to meet mortgage interest. Arab towns, such as Jaffa, Acre, Tulkarm and Ramleh, were gripped with a virtual paralysis; their business centers practically deserted. 'To Let' signs hung over thousands of stores and apartments. In the villages "tens of thousands of fellaheen began to experience starvation. . . In very many cases the disturbances ruined fellaheen for life, and perhaps their families after them."^{102a} The debts of the Arab peasantry had "at least trebled."^{102b} An economic collapse threatened the entire country. Budgets of all concerns, large and small, were cut to the bone, with the inevitable result that unemployment was rampant. Wages fell. Jewish enterprises which had always employed Arabs set themselves resolutely against the practice. During 1936, Jewish investments had dropped by more than half from the previous period. In 1937, reversing the accustomed process, foreign capital was liquidating its investments and fleeing from the country.

For the first time in years the Government announced a deficit, £25,000 for the sixth-month period ending October 1, 1936. The High Commissioner warned that there would have to be a drastic increase in the land tax, to cover. Arabs, who

suddenly remembered that they owned 97% of all the land, were in a panic. Even Transjordan, feeling the repercussions, was having serious trouble, bordering on open revolt. Awakening as from a bad dream, responsible Arab opinion shied away from the Royal Commission's solution, considering it a measure which would only add further to their already crushing miseries. What they wanted was a return to the golden age of prosperity which had come in with the Jews.

Once more officialdom started pulling the strings necessary to make its puppets move. Bloody insurrection broke out over the Holy Land with renewed savagery. Arab notables who indicated that they wanted amity were shot down or intimidated.¹⁰³ Moderates among the Arab Government employees received warnings to resign or be killed. When the *Mukhtar* of Siris, a town near Jenin, notified the District Commissioner that he was resigning following receipt of such a threat, he was arrested and sent to the Acre Concentration Camp.¹⁰⁴ Terror settled over this stricken land as hand-picked Arab hoodlums went on record with torches and bullets to the effect that the Mandate must be abolished, to be superseded by a treaty between Arab Palestine and England "along the lines of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty." Their attitude was now, "We yield nothing."

This time the insurgents consisted almost altogether of some fifteen hundred ruffians imported from Syria and other nearby countries. The disgusted villagers not only gave them no help, but in many cases actually drove them out of their vicinity.¹⁰⁵ George Meyer, Cairo correspondent for the influential Paris daily *Le Temps*, states that the leaders of the new disturbances are the identical Syrian Arabs and Kurds who had participated in the Druse uprising in 1925 against French rule in Syria. There are twenty of them who "constitute an executive and contact committee," writes Meyer tersely. "These twenty usually meet in Damascus in a house located in the *Salhiye* quarter, and from this headquarters they control the terrorist bands in Palestine, organize the recruiting and the transport of reenforcements, as well as of arms and funds." Most of the recruits he specifies to be villagers from the Syrian Hauran, attracted by the opportunity for ad-

venture and loot. In addition there is a considerable group of Moroccans and some Druses, Circassians and Armenians. "Crossing the frontier," continues Meyer, "is a very easy matter for the terrorists. . . Daily they enter and leave the country without hindrance. So far [July 1938] there is no instance on record of terrorists being arrested at the boundary." * 106

The insurgents operated with bold effrontery, levying on villages for both funds and supplies. In several cases mentioned by the *Palestine Review* where bandits raided Arab villages whose residents were suffering from temporary financial embarrassment, they agreed to accept promissory notes from their victims on condition that they bore the signatures, as guarantors, of two of the leading men of the village. It may be presumed that they proceeded to discount these bills in the usual way.¹⁰⁷

The new outbreak shook the country with unmitigated savagery. Daily, orchards and homes were wrecked, railroads bombed, men, women and children assassinated and pitched battles fought. Christians, too, were made the object of violence. Many were slain, including the Reverend Pietro Rossini, an Italian principal of a mission school near Jaffa. He was beaten almost to a pulp, his school looted and practically demolished.

Perfectly timed for its publicity value, a great engagement took place between Government forces and Arabs in Galilee on Christmas Eve, in which fifty men were killed. It was the bloodiest battle the Holy Land had witnessed since the World War. The farcical maneuvers of the previous years were now reenacted all over again. Prominent Arab residents 'suspected' of having a hand in the disorders had to remain helpless "while their homes and goods were blown to smithereens" by charges of dynamite set by British troops.¹⁰⁸ When the airport at Lydda was damaged, a succession of Moslem houses were officially dynamited in reprisal. Collective fines running into huge amounts were levied on entire villages without the slightest judicial inquiry or proof of guilt.

With engaging hypocrisy, the British went about the business

* This is the same border which Jewish illegals find it almost impossible to cross due to drastic supervision.

of changing generals as if they were facing a major crisis. Major-General Archibald P. Wavell ^{108a} who had replaced General Dill, was in turn replaced by Major-General Robert H. Haining, much as players are substituted in sporting contests. As if reluctantly put into operation by liberal humanitarians who had been pushed as far as they could go and who now meant to end the terrorism at any cost, courts martial were decided on and loudly announced on November 17, 1937. To advise the General Staff on the correct points of law before such courts, it was advertised that "the noted British jurist," Major William Henry Stoker, had been appointed Deputy Judge Advocate General. Stoker, as it happens, had been in Palestine news before as the chief counsel for the Arab Executive when it appeared before the "Commission of Inquiry" after the 1929 upheaval.

Determined to make this whole procedure look like the end result of a serious imbroglio between warring Arabs and Jews, the Administration seized a number of Jews and threw them into concentration camps. Jewish leaders, in particular Jabotinsky's Revisionists, were picked up *en masse* under 'preventive arrest' and sentenced to long terms, or simply thrown into concentration camps without trial or charge. Jewish passersby were seized indiscriminately in the streets and laborers in the colonies were grabbed and sentenced without even being questioned. For the first time in the history of the National Home, the Authorities established punitive police posts in Jewish quarters. With mock solemnity, Arab busses passing through Jewish areas (where Arabs had lived in peace even during the worst of the riots) carried elaborate police protection.

The brunt of the disorders as well as this farcical arrest of Jews, came just before the League of Nations Council meeting in Geneva, where the partition proposals were to be considered. It is at least noteworthy, too, that during that week the Authorities allowed posters to be put up in the Jerusalem mosques signed by Fawzy Bey el Kaougji, the old public enemy number one of the previous year, appealing for a renewal of terrorism.

This synthetic state of affairs had been impressively staged but there were men high in the councils of Europe to whom similar

phenomena were not new. The Report of the Mandates Commission to the League Council unexpectedly threw the lie in the face of British reports by absolving the Jews completely from any responsibility for the 1936 disorders. It viewed London's explanations with unconcealed disbelief, and held the newest restrictions on Jewish immigration to be a flagrant violation of the Mandate. "It was inconceivable," said Commissioner M. Orts, "that during the transition period between the present régime and the institution of a new régime, Palestine should be administered entirely at the pleasure of the former Mandatory." ¹⁰⁹

At the League of Nations Assembly held a few weeks later, the British plan was unmercifully criticized. In a searing analysis, President De Valera of Ireland declared that "partition is not the solution — it is the cruelest wrong that could be done any people." ¹¹⁰ Dr. Christian Lange, the beloved and influential delegate from Norway, demanded the inclusion in the Jewish State of the strategic areas which Britain had reserved for itself. Poland's delegate, Mr. Komarnicki, made it plain that his Government would agree only if the proposed Jewish State were to get an area large enough to make it economically sound, and capable of absorbing a compact Jewish immigration. On this position he was solidly backed up by the representatives of the Little Entente. Uruguay, Lithuania, Latvia and even Haiti joined in demanding that if the Jews were to be given a State, it should be a State in fact, and not the spurious makeshift proposed by Great Britain. Guided by what seemed to be the abdication of Weizmann's official Zionists, the League finally authorized Britain to "study" a solution of the Palestine problem on partition lines, but emphasized that it was in "the meantime entirely reserving its opinion and decision." ¹¹¹ This meant that the Mandate continued to remain in full force as heretofore.

For the time being at least, Whitehall's play had fallen far short. This result was more than disappointing. The permanent officials had counted on bringing their program to a quick head, after which it could rest as a *fait accompli*. In this lengthening interim it became a dangerous plaything. Had these men

been dealing with anyone but inexperienced Jewish theorists, the results might have been extremely unhappy. In Britain's current situation, the label of "perfidious Albion" reburnished and flung in her face would have effected a disastrous loss of moral position ; and there were Parliamentary leaders who suspected that Whitehall was exposing the nation to this hazard.

During an angry debate on supplementary estimates for Palestine defense, David Lloyd George asserted that the continued disturbances in the Holy Land were "entirely due to matters of policy."¹¹² Winston Churchill warned that partition "will not lead away from violence but into its very heart."¹¹³ On the floor of the House, Colonel Wedgwood charged the Government with failing to give the military in Palestine authority or power to pacify the country, impeaching it scornfully for not using the forty thousand Jews capable of bearing arms. Sarcastically he pointed out in a letter to the *London Times* (July 21, 1938) : "For two years murder and destruction of Jewish property have gone unpunished under British rule. The Administration continues to be strictly impartial between the murderers and the murdered. I have not known of such a black page of incompetence and hypocrisy in British history."

Even more disconcerting was a bill introduced without warning by Commander Oliver Locker-Lampson for the purpose of "giving the potentially persecuted Jew in Europe the chance, if he wishes, of becoming a Palestine subject."¹¹⁴ The measure contemplated extending to all Jews who required it, an extra-territorial Palestine nationality, placing them automatically under the protection of Palestine law. The bill unexpectedly passed Commons by a vote of 145 to 144. This was a matter the startled Bureaucrats would sabotage effectively before it came to the Lords ; but it offered proof positive that beneath the comparatively smooth surface there were hidden snags, well capable of capsizing the craft when the matter again arose for final disposition.

The news from America was still more disquieting. The influential Foreign Policy Association dubbed the British plan "a political absurdity . . . fraught with the greatest danger."¹¹⁵

Such eminent statesmen as President Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, expressed "their deep and continuing sympathy for Jewish efforts to build a National Home." "With cruel pressures against Jews in Europe unrelaxed and access to Palestine no easier," Secretary Ickes told a Zionist gathering robustly, "the need for a viable Jewish homeland in Palestine is greater than ever. . . The enemies against whom you are forced to contend are not so much your enemies as the enemies of all human progress. . . As the darkening shadows lift from a troubled world, the sun will also rise over Palestine, and law shall again go forth from Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."¹¹⁶ In the American Congress, Representative Hamilton Fish introduced a concurrent resolution demanding that Great Britain lift its unjust and inhumane restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine.¹¹⁷

It was evident enough that this whole ferment of intrigue was teetering on the verge of self-defeat, and that nobody but Whitehall was assuming even vaguely that this was a matter exclusively for Britain to deal with. It was clear that Palestine was not yet British property and was still playing its independent part in international politics. Moreover, the Powers needed little encouragement to resist any encroachment on their special position in the Near East. London was profoundly shocked when it was reported late in October 1937 that Germany had suggested to Italy that a four-power commission, to include Britain, France, Germany and Italy, be sought to rule Palestine in place of the present Mandatory Government. Modeled along the lines of the Saar Commission, it would be empowered to send an international militia to Palestine to preserve order.¹¹⁸ Another piece of annoying news reported that Ibn Saud, bitterly resentful of this attempt to strengthen the hated house of Hussein, had mobilized his horsemen on the Transjordanian border under orders to be ready for action if Abdullah were given Palestine.¹¹⁹

The situation focused itself logically on the Jews themselves. Would they accept partition? Was Weizmann's mesmeric influence still strong enough to hold, with nerve-cracking tension

turning Israel over half the world, bitter and dangerously restive? What to do! Should the Jews be frightened further into submissiveness by continued riots? Should the pill be sugar-coated with a heavy dose of the old promises? Would the leopard change its spots or would the Zionists take their licking like decent fellows? These were the questions running through the mind of the London cabal.

Not quite knowing their proper course, they attempted to make things look right by a violent shake-up of the *gendarmerie* in Palestine in which the resignation of virtually every police head was found acceptable. Included in this collection of scalps was that of the High Commissioner himself. It was 1920 all over again.

The new High Commissioner was a man with a high-domed head and a shrewd face creased with tired lines, named Sir Harold MacMichael. MacMichael had been former Governor of Tanganyika Territory, and later a high official in the Sudan Government. He was reputed to be a renowned Arabic scholar. "If anything could reassure the Arab world particularly, and the Islamic world in general," says *Great Britain and the East* succinctly, "that the problems of Palestine will be handled sympathetically, they need but refer to the Bedouin and the fellaheen of the Sudan for their opinion of Sir Harold MacMichael."

Before leaving for Palestine, MacMichael pledged himself in a leonine oration to eradicate the terror, root and branch. His arrival on March 3, 1938 was marked by violent samples of the very lawlessness he had promised to eliminate. One of his first acts was arbitrarily to return control of the city government of Jerusalem to the Arabs, giving the acting-Mayor, Mr. Auster, his walking papers and appointing an Arab majority in the Municipal Council. In the official announcement it was made perfectly clear that had Mr. Auster been a Moslem he could have continued as Mayor.¹²⁰ Along the full length of the northern frontier, allegedly to keep out terrorists, was built an elaborate barbed-wire entanglement of the most substantial and permanent wartime type, six feet high and six feet deep, strung

on stakes set in concrete.¹²¹ Despite this 'precaution,' terrorists seemed to have little difficulty in continuing to go and come as they pleased.

Meanwhile tension was considerably eased by the new accord signed with Italy, in which Mussolini agreed not to oppose British policy in Palestine. Long grueling months of riot and uncertainty had all but destroyed Palestine's economic life. With their principal enemy out of the way for the moment, the Bureaucrats decided that now was the time to strike in a decisive effort to force a conclusion. A new partition Commission was announced. Swiftly organized, it sailed from London on April 21, 1938 to begin its task. Coincident with its arrival, terrorism of the most frightful kind again stalked the country, with the police and military seemingly powerless to halt it. Peaceful Arabs as well as Jews were slaughtered daily, colonies attacked, and houses, schools and other buildings blown to bits. Arson, stoning and sniping became part of the regular routine.

In a determined attempt to justify its interpretation of these events as "Arab-Jewish clashes," the Administration concentrated its efforts on the unfortunate Revisionists. Once more there were mass arrests of Jewish workmen and students, who were promptly referred to in dispatches sent abroad in the same terms as were the Arab desperadoes. Among them was a young boy named Shlomo Ben Josef who was sentenced to hang for being allegedly in possession of arms.¹²² The Government did not assert that he had killed or injured anyone.

A general strike shut all Jewish shops in Jerusalem as the case became a *cause célèbre* for all Jewish Palestine. Over the entire country widespread demonstrations took place and a spontaneous walkout emptied all schools in Tel Aviv. Sickened and outraged, the struggling *Yishub* endeavored desperately to make itself heard.

These manifestations were contemptuously ignored, and Ben Josef was officially put to death, the first Jew to be hanged in the history of modern Palestine. The Jewish *Yishub*, to a man, considered him an innocent victim of the Government's determination to prove that Jews, too, were terrorists. In the British Parlia-

ment itself, John McGovern M. P. did not hesitate to refer to the execution of this boy as "perfectly outrageous."¹²³ Making the event as offensive as possible, the day selected for the hanging was a Jewish holiday so that no rabbi could be present to administer last rites. An appeal by Chief Rabbi Herzog to postpone the execution till the next day was refused, as had been the unanimous demand of Palestine Jewry for a retrial.

For once the Jews sunk their ideological differences. Defiantly the Jewish Council and the Chief Rabbinate issued a manifesto saying: "The entire *Yishub* mourns the loss of a son of Israel. Let us bear the pain quietly and with restraint suitable to the dignity of a people struggling for life." Jewish Palestine seethed with dangerous tension. General strikes were called in the principal cities. Jews carrying black flags of mourning were beaten down by the police in the Jerusalem streets. But Jewish leaders, who had been urging self-restraint in the face of all provocations, managed to make their influence felt again.^{123a} The *Yishub* settled back to its old dogged policy of patient waiting.

Haifa, which had been so miraculously free of disturbance during the earlier period of the revolt, now became the very center of terrorist activity. By the usual coincidence, this synchronized itself exactly with Whitehall's latest agitation to detach Haifa from the Jewish State, and to include it in the Arab area. It is also worthy of remark that the worst outrages took place at the very time President Roosevelt was calling his Evian Conference to arrange for an orderly resettlement of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria. The deadliest bomb explosion in Palestine's current history shattered the crowded Haifa market place, killing thirty-five Arabs, including women and children, and touching off a day of terror which left forty-five dead and seventy-five wounded. Aghast at this atrocity (which was promptly attributed to them) the Jews made no bones of the fact that they considered the explosion to be the work of *agents provocateur*,^{123b} and that its purpose was to impress upon the Evian Congress the supposed perils of settling large numbers of Jews in the Holy Land.¹²⁴

These provocations had their effect. Deep unreasoning hatred

paralyzed the Holy Land. It was the Arab turn now to be outraged. The terror expanded into unprecedented proportions, with stricken Haifa the chief battleground. A whole series of disastrous bomb explosions followed, blowing Arabs and Jews to pieces indiscriminately. The list of dead mounted into the hundreds. Property of untold value was destroyed. The normal economic life of the country continued to deteriorate rapidly.

Despite the presence of innumerable British soldiers, Haifa, particularly, became a death trap for the Jews, who could not go to work or return home without running the risk of ambushade. "One entire section of the city," writes Roman Slobodin, correspondent for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, "is overrun by the *Shabab* — the organized Arab mob — whose leaders boast that they rule supreme in the Arab quarters, and who, by this correspondent's personal observation, make good that boast."¹²⁵ Four large bands operated apparently with impunity in the vicinity of this great seaport city. One consisted of two hundred Palestine Arabs headed by Yussef Abu Dura; another of a hundred and twenty Palestine Arabs led by a relative of the exiled Awny Bey, one Fakhri Abdul Hadi; a third group comprised four hundred Syrian Arabs and was led by Abdullah el Asmat of Damascus; and a fourth band consisted of several hundred Iraqians headed by a lieutenant of Fawzy Bey, Sheikh Salach Issa Laoh.

Meanwhile the country was rife with reports that these and other bands were not only controlling entire sectors without interference, but were imposing collective fines and preparing mobilization lists. From Beirut came reliable information that a general uprising was in preparation, to be coincident with the presentation of the Commission's plan to Parliament. Armed men were reported pouring unchecked across all Palestine frontiers. Agents were said to be openly recruiting villagers throughout Palestine, fixing an orderly levy of men and cash in proportion to village populations.¹²⁶ In Iraq and the desert, the old reliable threat of a *jihad* in the name of all Islam, suddenly became a threatened reality. The fanatical Shi'as (who had been peti-

tioning the League, voicing passionate indignation at the outrages committed against them by the hated Sunnis) now incomprehensibly issued a solemn *fatwa* demanding that Iraqis engage in a holy war to aid their Arab (Sunni) brothers in Palestine.¹²⁷

In this turbulent setting the latest 'Commission' sent down from London to 'investigate,' completed its labors. What it had in mind was more than hinted at by the columns of *Great Britain and the East*, which referred to the "false premise which caused the Commission [Peel body] to propose including Arab Galilee in the suggested State." The Zionists were thus put on warning that the tiny area suggested by Lord Peel was itself about to be drastically slashed. The Jews, in short, were to be pushed out of Palestine by being compressed into an uneconomic mud-hole on the coast, which could not possibly continue its existence as an independent unit. *Great Britain and the East* did not mince the matter. It 'predicted' that the Arab State would, eventually, either join an Arab Federation or become part of that larger entity provided by Transjordan and Palestine. The future of the Jewish 'State' it found no difficulty in forecasting, remarking: "It may find a way of accommodation, and even help to fructify those States [Arab]. It may ultimately end as a dream."¹²⁸

The plan was thus to reduce the Jewish 'State' to a mere "token home," and to confine it to some 400 square miles in the Sharon Valley. Galilee, Acre and Haifa were to be added to the permanently mandated British area. Under this scheme the British would also take over southern Palestine to protect Suez.¹²⁹ The remainder of the country was to be united with Transjordan as an Arab 'State' under Abdullah.¹³⁰

Convinced that the Jewish stag had finally been run to earth, the exultant Bureaucrats now dallied with the idea of abrogating even the Jewish "token home," repudiating the Balfour Declaration and setting up an Arab government "permanently allied with Great Britain." For this purpose, under the sponsorship of the British Foreign Office, Tewfik es-Suwaïdi, foreign minister of Iraq, was introduced to official London; and it was he who went through the motions of demanding this solution in the name of an aroused Arab world. At this psychological moment an imposing

Arab Congress, consisting of delegates from various countries of the Peninsula, had been gathered in Cairo, where, under the approving eye of both Egyptian and British authorities it stentoriously threatened the British nation with the eternal enmity of all Arabia unless these minimum demands were promptly met.

Timed to absolute precision the revolt in the Holy Land, itself, assumed major proportions. Calling themselves the "provisional Arab Government" the rebels announced that they had taken over responsibility for "law and order, life and limb" in their territory.

With unparalleled audacity they swiftly assumed authority over practically the whole of Palestine with the exception of a few isolated military outposts held by the British. Persons in the vicinity of Jerusalem's American colony stated that they were halted in broad daylight on the charge of violating this 'provisional Arab Government's' laws, and taken into custody by the insurgents after being marched right past the Mandatory's policemen who looked on passively. The insurgents not only set up their own courts but issued laws and decrees like a bona fide government and began to collect taxes. According to the *Chicago Daily News* of October 19, 1938, an old Englishwoman, resident of Jericho for forty years, was given twenty-four hours' notice by the 'Provisional Government' to pay taxes on her orange grove. When she repaired to Jerusalem for advice she was told by British officials there "to pay and look pleasant." Returning to Jericho, she not only paid the tax but was "fined additionally for not paying on time."

Over the whole length and breadth of the Holy Land sanguinary violence flared wickedly. The most shocking acts were committed, as when twenty-one Jews were butchered in cold blood on October 22 in Tiberias, including ten little children who were roasted alive.

For all its perfect timing, it now became apparent that the Bureaucrats had once more over-reached themselves. News from Europe of a new succession of barbarities against the Jews was profoundly stirring international Christian opinion. As a result of the Munich settlement, 30,000 Sudenten Jews suddenly found

themselves penniless refugees, fleeing in mortal terror from the invading Nazi legions. Czechoslovakia, which the Munich pact had reduced to complete vassalage, now, under Nazi pressure, turned to anti-Semitism, threatening its 340,000 Jews with expulsion or pauperization. The news from Poland and other European countries grew worse daily.

As it became apparent that London was about to repudiate its obligations under the Balfour Declaration, voices of protest, of indignation and anger began to make themselves heard, particularly in the United States. American Jewry, too, aroused itself from its apathy and became articulate. Hundreds of mass meetings were planned to denounce this final outrage. This swelling tide of opinion quickly enlisted the sympathetic support of noted political leaders, of organized labor, church dignitaries, and the majority of influential newspapers. The National Council of Catholic Men appealed to President Roosevelt to take immediate action in regard to Palestine "to the end that misfortune and misery be not further heaped upon the afflicted peoples of the world." More than one hundred thousand telegrams and memorial resolutions poured in from all sources, urging the American Government to intercede. It was once more pointed out that the *American-British Mandate Convention on Palestine* prohibited any change in the Mandate without the prior consent of the United States Government. Both the Senate and House of the Pennsylvania legislature adopted a unanimous resolution asking President Roosevelt to inform London "that this country looks to Great Britain to adhere to her commitments and to hold fast to the terms of the Palestine Mandate and to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration." Another petition signed by 51 Senators, 31 Governors of States, and 194 members of the Lower House, voiced an almost identical sentiment. Additional protests emanated from still other legislative bodies as well as religious and social groups throughout the nation.

In view of the dangerous situation both in the Far East and on the Continent, London had been feverishly courting American public opinion. If America refused cooperation in the event of a new world war, the great vulnerable British Empire was sure

to find itself in a desperate position. The very thought of such a possibility was sufficient to throw Whitehall's masters into a panic.

In England itself there were signs that the Munich pact was not popular and that a growing section of British opinion viewed it as a direct betrayal of Britain's future. The Government's own party was split wide open with dissension. Opposition leaders were searching frantically for some issue which would throw the hated Tories out of power.

In its very dying moments the League, speaking for the nations which still believed in the fundamental principles of international law, taxed Great Britain with a flagrant breach of the Mandate, calling attention to her "virtual suspension" of Jewish immigration.

To the Bureaucrats the situation had, unexpectedly, again become tense and fraught with ominous possibilities. It was apparent that the attempt to wreck the Jewish Homeland now, might bring on a reaction of enormously unpleasant proportions. This was the situation when the British Cabinet hurriedly met on October 19 and announced that no drastic action was about to be taken against the Jews. All the carefully built plans for a reorganized Arab Palestine were immediately shunted out of sight; and it was authoritatively stated that military action would be taken at once to put down the few thousand Arab 'rebels' who had so unaccountably checkmated a major British army in Palestine. The Woodhead Commission's report, which was to have been issued late in October, was withheld apparently to undergo a drastic revision.

The Bureaucrats themselves are now eager to allay the grave suspicions visibly growing in the world conscience. The much heralded partition plan has, from all appearances, been quietly jettisoned. Judging from the inspired propaganda arising from London sources, the latest strategy is to perform the operation by degrees. It seems fairly certain that the Jews are to be placated for the time being by a gift of several thousand additional immigration visas. At the same time a cantonization scheme is to be presented, to be elaborated in a round-table conference at which

will be seated hand-picked Arabs and Jews. Coincident with this maneuver a great campaign to the Christian world is to be pressed, placing the Mandatory in the role of a champion of Christianity. The Jews and Arabs, both, will be reminded forcibly that Palestine is not of interest to them alone, but that there is also a third party — the Christian churches. Under this pretext, Haifa and the whole of Galilee is to be taken over by Britain under permanent Mandatory rule, and closed to Jewish settlement. The new cantonized Palestine would thus consist of a large permanently mandated area which would include all the Holy Places as well as the strategic points; a small and circumscribed Jewish sector (where Jews would be given certain illusory rights); and a remaining Arab section, to be set up under some other form of British control.

When all of this has been settled, the Arabs can be expected to mysteriously quiet down like decent fellows, and the rebellion in Palestine will suddenly evaporate into thin air. The intransigent politicians of the rest of the Arab world, too, will undoubtedly then find their attention distracted elsewhere.

Thus, with the exception of a few hundred square miles of virtual ghetto on the maritime plain, Western Palestine eventually would become, like Transjordan, *Judenrein*.

BOOK FOUR

CHAPTER I

THE COLLAPSE OF EMANCIPATION

'ENEMIES OF ALL MANKIND'

There are few passages in the history of modern man which can equal in wretchedness the shocking situation of the Jewish people today. Throughout half the known world they are ostracized from the community of men, shunned, hounded and reviled as if they were dangerous animals. They are the butt of the most malign accusations which abuse and hatred can invent : they crucify and slaughter little children, using their blood in the preparation of their unleavened bread ; ¹ they are deicides ; they are usurers, pimps, and parasites ; they are responsible for all the immorality of the times ; they bribe kings, emperors and cabinet ministers ; they created both Plutocracy and Communism ; through their financial operations they control the world press. Free Masonry, the Roman Church, and Social Democracy are their secret tools ; they are bloodthirsty, rapacious, cunning and crafty. They hate the whole world and are seeking to destroy it so as to be able to form themselves into a ruling super-caste. In the wake of every disaster rises the ugly cry : "The Jews are responsible. . . The Jews are the enemies of all mankind ! Out with the Jews !"

Through all the Liberal period uncontested doctrine had ruled that anti-Semitism was only the product of a people held in the densest ignorance ; but now it is among the educated classes themselves that the poison is being brewed. It is in the universities, once held to be the strongholds of human progress, that Jew-hatred is being dragged up out of the gutter, rationalized, and rounded up into a respectable philosophy of life. The brutal accusations by which unfortunate millions were butchered, tortured and torn during the Medieval period, are being exhumed

from the museums and given a new coat of varnish. A monstrous flood of literature embodying all the old libels, modernized and embellished, rises like a tidal wave and spreads unchecked in all directions.

In the cellars and cubicles where they have taken refuge, like the early Christians in Rome, the Jews tremble. In Germany half a million cultured people have been outlawed overnight and exposed to every violence and humiliation. In the schools it is taught that Jews kill little children on Passover Eve in order that the rabbis may drink their blood, that they create nothing, that they are responsible for every evil on this earth, and that no decent German will have anything to do with them.² Anyone with a single Jewish grandparent is considered to be hopelessly tainted with the contaminating blood.

A cold pogrom deliberately planned to destroy him is driving the German Jew to the wall. By single strokes whole groups are deprived of a livelihood, as when forty thousand traveling salesmen suddenly had their permits canceled by a single legislative act.³ They may not work the land, they are forcibly ejected from the trades and professions. They are boycotted, harassed, and their enterprises forcibly closed down or confiscated. Fully one hundred thousand small business men alone have had to appeal like beggars to outside benevolent associations for help. The completion of the present four-year economic plan, the Nazis promise, will see the absolute elimination of Jews from Germany's economic life.

They are expelled from associations for the blind, may not enter consumptive sanatoria, and in the Berlin parks must sit on 'ghetto benches.' The Jewish child's first attempts at spelling out public notices on the billboards will inform him that he is not a human being, like other children, but a beast whose parents were not human beings but loathesome animals. The textbooks used in the schools will teach him that "the non-Nordic man is a transition stage between Nordic man and the animal kingdom as represented by the anthropoid apes" and that his characteristics "are animal ones and at least sub-human."⁴ The torture of these little victims is artistic and heartrending. They are com-

pelled to sit and pay attention while the teacher explains to the rest of the class that they are actually a species of vermin and a menace to the German nation. Outcast, crushed and beaten, these childish figures are often found following in the footsteps of their elders in suicide. Dr. Edouard Turner gives the typical case of a child of twelve who died with a gas tube in her mouth ;⁵ and the *London Times* mentions a little girl of eight who begged her mother : "Pray God, mamma darling, that he will make me very ill or let me die. I cannot bear this any longer."

In a number of towns it is even impossible for Jews to buy foodstuffs at any cost. In the Province of Pomerania and in whole districts in Prussia and Hesse, Jews may not purchase food. In some towns such as Halle, they may buy bread between noon and 12:30 P.M. The authorities at Gowowitz in Upper Silesia not only issued the usual ban forbidding grocers to sell to Jews, but in addition issued a warning to individuals against donating food to them. In at least fifty cities, among them Magdeburg with three hundred thousand inhabitants, it is forbidden to sell milk to Jewish children.⁶ Everywhere Jews are evicted from houses, and at such places as Mayence and Wiesbaden all electric current and gas is cut off from their shops and homes.⁷

Deprived of the most elementary human rights, Israel in Germany looks on the future with the glazed eyes of death. Out of a once proud community of half a million, about one-third have escaped and wander the globe like gypsies. Deprived of passports, unwanted anywhere, they move wearily from border to border ; most of them young people who will never see their families again.

In 1938 two hundred thousand Austrian Jews and an uncounted number of Jewish Christians were thrown bodily into this frightful maelstrom. In one grisly blow this dignified ancient community was ground to ruins. Jews were ejected from business and the professions. Their institutions were raided and closed, shops pillaged and synagogues desecrated. Police refused them protection as if they were outlaws. The most inhuman, savage beatings became part of the daily routine. Girls of fine families were daily dragged into Nazi barracks where

they were viciously abused. Some of them were later thrown into the Danube. A large number are now undergoing treatment for venereal infection in the Jewish Rothschild Hospital in Vienna. Jewish men and women were picked up on the streets and forced to scrub pavement and buildings with water filled with a corrosive acid for the amusement of their jeering tormentors. From towns in Burgenland they were expelled *en masse* on a few hours' notice and all their property confiscated. On April 20, press dispatches carried a harrowing story of fifty-one such unfortunates, men, women and children who had been cast adrift in mid-Danube on a breakwater, without food or warm clothing. Caught like a toad under a harrow, Austrian Jewry writhes in mortal agony. In a single week seventeen hundred are reported to have committed suicide.⁸

In Poland are another four million Jews who live in even more appalling misery, if that is possible. Here they are terrorized and degraded with a ferocity not exceeded by that of wild beasts. Only Jewish enterprises will employ Jews and these are blocked in every direction by a vast network of producer and consumer cooperatives under the control of an intrinsically anti-Semitic Government. Jews are not permitted to teach in Polish schools, work as clerks in the banks or even as laborers in the large industries. There is not a single Jew among the forty thousand postal employees though Jews are twelve percent of the population. The last Jewish postman was dismissed on the excuse that "Jews don't know how to walk."⁹ They are rigidly kept out of the professions and are restricted to petty trading which, says Deputy Minzberg, "is crushed ten times more than any other branch of activity in the midst of this general catastrophe." Over one hundred thousand Jewish trading enterprises have been shut down, and hundreds of thousands of artisan workshops owned by Jews have had to close.¹⁰ Those that remain are being mercilessly squeezed by a cruel boycott which grows in organized efficiency daily.

Without exception, every political party in Poland is anti-Semitic and aims at the extermination of this hated people. Even the porters at the railway stations have demanded the dismissal

of Jewish porters and won their demands ; and in Lodz, Socialist workers struck against the employment of Jews in the very textile mills whose proprietors are Jews.

Nowhere is Jewish life safe. Police allow the stabbing and beating of Jews on the streets. Pogroms, assaults, looting and burning go on daily. The Authorities regard Jew-baiting as a game, the excusable indulgence of a pleasure-seeking population. Children are beaten daily on coming to and leaving school. Whole cities have been wrecked and evacuated of their Jews overnight in organized mob attacks. A typical example occurred at Brzesc, where after sixteen hours of unchecked rioting led by the police, on May 21, 1937, every Jewish shop and home was either demolished or wrecked. Twenty-two thousand of the city's twenty-five thousand Jews were left penniless, without bread or shelter.

Not even in squalid China is there anything to compare with the depths of poverty and squalor which are evident in the ghastly Polish ghettos. Sixty percent of the Jewish workers are unemployed, receiving neither dole nor insurance. At least one million men, women and children are totally destitute, dependent entirely on outside charity. There are hundreds of thousands of homes where dry bread is a luxury, where children have never tasted milk. The report of the American Joint Distribution Committee states that eighty percent of the children in the elementary schools are hungry all the time. In a single town the rate of tuberculosis among Jewish children reached the staggering figure of eighty percent.¹¹ In the Warsaw ghetto, Sholem Asch describes "men going about like ghosts, pale as sheets, living corpses with mad flaming eyes, continually jabbering to themselves," and young women of twenty with "dead eyes, swollen bodies, legs like matchsticks, dragging along in rags, breathing asthmatic breath."¹² Jewish peddlers must support entire families on no more than fifty groschen a day (about 10¢ in our currency). Men are glad to stagger under the burden of draft animals in order to secure a pittance which will allow them to live, and will work cheaper than a horse.

From all over Poland come the same shocking reports, of a people sinking daily deeper in the mire of want, but struggling bravely to save their children. The moral and physical degradation to which these people have been reduced, defies description. "Entire families, ten, twelve or fifteen people, live in a single room. Usually three or four have but one bed." ¹³ A horror-struck observer describes dens where "hundreds were crowded in, where no human or animal should have lived at all. Men and women were in incredible rags and dirt, unkempt, starved, emaciated. . . . But above all the stench, the suffering, was the terrible sense . . . of a group in jail, set apart as leprous, stamped as unworthy, held down by force to the level of animals." ¹⁴

All over Poland these white, thin faces, stunted bodies, hopeless eyes, tell the terrible story of the Polish Jew. Always the same frightened look, the hacking cough. George Backer describes this common scene in the little town of Czystochow, home of a hundred and fifty Jewish families: "I went to the house of the rabbi. In an uncomplaining voice he told me the record of his town. His little synagogue had been bombed. Every single man, woman and child in that town had been beaten at least ten times since the first of July. The roads were blocked by peasants so Jews could neither leave nor have anyone come in to help them. There was no telephone, no policeman — only despair." ¹⁵

Cut off by hatred from the population in whose midst they live, the vitality of Polish Jewry nears the breaking point. At least one and a half million are doomed to death by starvation and tuberculosis. The rest have only two alternatives: emigration or suicide.

Jabotinsky calls it a 'frozen stampede.' Like caught animals they cannot move. No nation wants them. With the eagerness of eternal hope they besiege the Zionist offices, seeking the coveted visas; trembling mothers, weeping fathers, who would thankfully sacrifice their own lives if only their little children could escape this hell.

Like men in a dream they read the letters received from

friends in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem. They con the Zionist propaganda : the pictures of smiling happy children, of sun-tanned muscular workers. Caressingly they scan each printed countenance until its posed assurance and quiet happiness is photographed on their souls. Frenzied by this promise of paradise where Jews, too, may live as beings with human rights, they chase after the automobiles in which ride well-fed visiting Zionists or smug, annoyed British officials ; offering to sell their lives, their bodies, anything, for a precious visa. Many cut their throats or drown themselves.

Neighboring Rumania with another million Jews, is a boiling inferno in which the Polish picture is reproduced all over again, and if anything, in ghastlier pigments. At the business of exploiting the sufferings of this unhappy people, Rumania never grows tired. The neighboring Baltic countries with other hundreds of thousands of Jews, follow an almost identical performance. In Hungary and the States of Central Europe, they are being slowly starved to death. In this devouring quicksand they quietly sink. There is no beating of drums to herald their doom, such as focused attention on the fate of German Jewry. In Greece, Turkey and Spain crisis after crisis develops, with the Jews continually hounded in a swirl of anti-Semitic parties and envenomed propaganda. In Moslem Africa and Asia, they live under a continued barrage of looting, murder, rape, beatings and enforced conversions. From Soviet Russia, also, come muffled reports of a growing tide of anti-Jewish hatred. Violent pogroms were said to have taken place in the Ukraine and White Russia, led by members of *Komsomol* (Communist Youth Organization).^{15a} In Kiev anti-Jewish riots were reported which had to be suppressed by Red Army troops.^{15b} That left wing doctrine in itself is not impervious to the anti-Semitic disease is clearly shown in Mexico, where Jews are continually threatened with exile in a campaign of harassment led directly by the radical Socialist elements. In a caustic editorial on August 23, 1938, *El Popular*, organ of the powerful Confederation of Mexican Labor, lays the onus of anti-Mexican agitation in the United States at the door of the Jews, who it alleges are the authors of

the "Semitic pseudo-democratic capitalism of the United States" and hence responsible for "the anti-radical propaganda" carried on there.^{15c}

The Western countries, too, are riddled with this spreading anti-Semitic virus. Daily this incurable condition grows worse.

THE REFUGEES

This pitiful case history is a typical example of the fate of Jews, wandering the earth as refugees.

Johanna and Julia are two sisters. Their father had been a well-to-do business man in Mannheim, Germany, when Hitler came to power. Unable to stand conditions any longer, in October 1933 they bade a tearful farewell to their parents and fled to Switzerland. Harassed by the police they tried Belgium, then France. Prohibited by the laws of these countries from finding work, and shipped from border to border like cattle, they finally went to Turkey where they found employment in Istanbul. After a time they were expelled from that city, put on a steamer, deported to Greece and then to Brindisi where they were refused permission to land. Since no country would accept them they were sent back to Istanbul, arrested and put in prison. Released, they were shipped to Adrianople, and having no passports, transported back to Turkey. After strenuous efforts on the part of Jewish agencies, the Turkish Government finally agreed to give them passports on condition that they left the country. They then went to Belgrade in Yugoslavia. From there they were sent to Budapest, Hungary. Thrown out once more as undesirable aliens, the intercession of the Jewish community in Belgrade got them temporary sanctuary in Bratislava. Finally they arrived in Vienna, where relief organizations took up their case once more. When last heard of, broken in body and spirit, they had been shipped to Prague.¹⁶

These unfortunates had been lovely and cultured Jewish girls, whose only previous knowledge of life had been the tender affection of adoring parents and the protecting shelter of a fine Jewish home. They are a symbol of many thousands of other

ruined creatures who, bewildered and broken, skulk like plague-carrying rodents all over Europe and Asia. Brother is torn from brother, son from mother, sister from sister. Wherever by hook or crook one can find temporary shelter, he grabs it with the desperation of a drowning man reaching for a life preserver. A single refugee family may in consequence be scattered over the length and breadth of two continents.

No country wants them. A fair example is Belgium, certainly not less liberal than the rest. In 1934 this country placed a high tax on foreigners with, significantly, a yellow identification card. The refugees were put under rigid police supervision. A whole series of petty harassments were enacted to dog their footsteps. Both entry into the country and naturalization suddenly became very difficult. The States where liberals made the loudest outcry against Nazi persecutions were far too realistic to extend this fine sympathy to actual practice. England will not even let a refugee land on her island unless he can prove that he is not taking a job away from an Englishman. France, going England one better, will not grant the exile a labor permit at all. This means that the hapless refugee must live entirely on his own resources, a practical impossibility in the case of Germans and Austrians, who are not permitted to take with them more than ten marks (approximately \$4.00).

Everywhere, as a result, is a trail of fine, honest Jewish girls who have been forced to turn to prostitution, a growing list of misanthropes ready for any mischief, a skyrocketing suicide toll.

In addition to those wanderers who possess passports, there are many hundred thousands who are actually 'stateless.' Thirty thousand of these are in the Reich alone. A large proportion of these luckless exiles consist of the all-but-forgotten men who fled Russia at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution. Others had their citizenship revoked by fiat of the State in the shuffling of territory in eastern and central Europe after the War. The usual procedure is to notify the stateless Jew that his residential permit has expired and that he must leave the country within fourteen days. As no European country will admit such persons, the stateless Jew has only two alternatives — the concentra-

tion camp for failure to obey the deportation order, or jail in a neighboring country for entering it illegally.¹⁷

Meanwhile new rivulets threaten to swell the already engorged river of refugees to devastating proportions. Hungary makes ready to declare thirty-five thousand of her Jews men without a country. Rumania suddenly brands as aliens another three hundred thousand whom it asserts secured their citizenship illegally. In Italy a decree of expulsion is issued against the twenty thousand Jews who acquired citizenship there after 1919, ordering them to leave within six months. Bulgaria and Turkey cancel the naturalization rights of still others and throw them to the wolves of Europe. This epidemic of cruelty and heartlessness seems only to be beginning, with even such countries as Costa Rica and Ecuador threatening expulsion. What is to be done with these people, and with the millions more who are clawing like frantic beasts at the dark walls of the suffocating chambers where they are imprisoned?

The Christian world has practically abandoned them, and sits by with hardly an observable twinge of conscience in the midst of this terrible catastrophe. The Western Jews, still potent and powerful, rotate in their smug self-satisfied orbits and confine themselves to genteel charity. Their attitude is, on the whole, that of a fat rich gentleman towards his poor relations. They are totally unable to visualize the general extent of this disaster. They are obscured by beautiful dreams of humaneness and twentieth-century liberalism, which have degenerated into self-delusions. Instead of making a manly effort to resolve this problem finally and for all time, they settle back into the old palliatives. They seek new nooks and crannies for the fleeing victims of oppression to hide themselves in, new islands of human tolerance and kindness, such as the old America, Australia and Argentine which once welcomed their fathers with open arms.

Tried, discredited, but always bouncing up again with irrepressible vitality, a brilliant spotlight plays on these illusory schemes, shunting realistic possibilities into the shadows. Every impalpable notion is explored and presented with all the dignity of a permanent solution. An American Congressman secures

some well-earned publicity by an investigation of Cuba as a place for settlement. The Negro republic of Santo Domingo suddenly springs up as the land of promise. Romantic Jewish leaders enter into long negotiations with Ecuador. French and English leaders suggest the Belgian Congo. Muddled Jewish philanthropists even went so far as to take over the anti-Semite scheme for exiling the Jews to Madagascar. The invariable fate of these hopelessly futile efforts is shown in the collapse of these latter negotiations, which ended with a statement by the French authorities that "if Jews overran the Island they would be deported, because France did not wish to create a 'Jewish problem' on the Island."¹⁸

Another of these tinselled propositions is the Soviet scheme for a Biro-Bidjan Republic. Highly publicized with all the arts of Socialist fanfare, it occupies the public mind as a providential alternative to Palestine as a land for Jewish settlement. British bureaucracy looks on this scheme with real favor. A Foreign Office man protested to a Zionist leader recently: "Why don't you Jews go to Biro-Bidjan? It's really a much nicer and safer place."

It may as well be realized that this territory is not being considered as a homeland for the dispossessed Jews of the world. The Soviets are not at all interested in developing a cultural Jewish center in Russia. Hebraic culture and Zionism, the two most driving forces in Jewish life, remain outlawed as counter-revolutionary forces. Thousands of Zionists still rot in Soviet jails. Biro-Bidjan is actually to be only a new bulwark against Japanese aggression, with Yiddish to be allowable as the language of instruction, whether spoken by Jews or non-Jews. No inclination is discernible to open up this colony to the Jews of Germany or Austria. According to Dr. Rosen of the Joint Distribution Committee, not a single Jewish family from Poland has been allowed to settle there.¹⁹

Despite the publicity which accompanies this project, there were only fifteen thousand Jews in Biro-Bidjan in 1936, out of a total population of fifty thousand. The term 'autonomous Jewish Republic' is more than misleading. One need only refer

to the rabid attack of *Geserd* (the official Communist Colonization Agency for this territory) on the Zionists, in October 1936, charging them with "killing innocent Arab women and children" and alleging them to be "responsible for the terrible bloodshed in Palestine."²⁰ How could such a statement possibly be issued if this were a Jewish country in fact? Even more pointed was the arrest of all Jewish Communist Party chiefs in the 'Jewish autonomous region' during February 1937 (including Katell, President of the region's Executive, and Professor Liberberg former President), drolly charged with "fomenting Jewish nationalism."²¹

Recognizing the seriousness and extent of the refugee problem, the Evian Conference was called in July 1938. The intention of the thirty-two participating nations was to seek, by international agreement, avenues for an orderly resettlement of refugees from Germany and Austria. The meeting took place at the French watering place of Evian-Les-Bains, but as laudworthy as the purposes of this assembly were, its results were wholly disappointing. The British Government itself, commented the *Yorkshire Observer*,²² only "grudgingly acquiesced" to President Roosevelt's proposal. To Evian it sent the Earl of Winterton to whom the *New York Herald-Tribune* refers as "the anti-Semitic leader of the British delegation."²³ "The appointment of Winterton cannot fail to arouse serious misgivings," adds the *London Jewish Chronicle*, labeling him as a pro-Arab who was "out of sympathy with the Jews in general."²⁴ The result was what could be expected, with Winterton standing firmly on the ground that Palestine could not be taken into consideration as a center for refugees. Britain, he asserted, considered as "wholly untenable" the idea that the Jewish problem could be solved if "the gates of Palestine were thrown open."²⁵

The final upshot all around was not encouraging, though a permanent Intergovernmental Committee, comprising the representatives of the thirty-two participating governments, was finally set up.²⁶ The *London Spectator* comments that "if the Conference has not been a complete failure, it has achieved little to boast about, all the States sympathizing and none desiring to

admit refugees. Even the United States, as prime mover, offers no more than the quota." ²⁷ Some, like Brazil and Canada, were polite but non-committal. Others, as Belgium, Argentina and the Netherlands, stated that they could admit practically no more refugees. Australia was blunt, its delegate stating that his country "does not have a racial problem and does not wish to import one."

It is obvious that this effort to redistribute these homeless and outcast people is doomed to failure in advance. At best it can only serve as a palliative, since no one wants them in large numbers. This already chronic problem must therefore become more desperate with each passing month.

The masses of European Jewry have instinctively rejected these projected solutions as worthless makeshifts. They realize that every place they attempt to seek a haven they are aliens and refugees. Only in the Holy Land can they enter as citizens. With the eyes of little children they have turned back to the demand of the Prophet Isaiah: "Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye were digged; look unto Abraham, your father." They have become Jewish nationalists with every fiber of their being. With all the frenzy of desperate longing they look toward Palestine, the Land of the Jews. Its name sobs in the wake of every disillusionment. It is echoed in every indignity, in each heart-rending sorrow. Their eyes like those of beaten dogs, spell it out endlessly.

Here is a phenomenon almost unique in the world of man; the development of an intense nationalism on the part of a people scattered everywhere, separated by every conceivable barrier of education, language and economic interest. They are in a wild stampede from every condition they now face, a group of millions of human beings who have courageously set out to remake themselves, body, mind and soul. This is the miracle of the new Jew, that something larger than his five individual senses has gripped his being. He longs now for a community of men forever his, from which no historic disaster can ever exclude him, because he exists through it and it through him. These people

through the Zionist offices, lawyers willing to work as stevedores, cultured girls ready to be housemaids or farm-workers. But they cannot escape like the Pilgrims and Quakers from England or the Huguenots from France. They are hermetically sealed in, condemned to live in a world that is neither in the past nor in the future, a grotesque world of clutching shadows and leering unreality, in which they glide like men in an evil dream.

In the hovels of Poland where miserable, emaciated creatures sit with dumb longing in their eyes, in the flats of Berlin where shivering children nurse their maimed spirits in silence, in the menacing streets of Algiers where the proud gaze of the Sephardic Jew stares sadly toward the East, in stricken Yemen, in savage Rumania, from widely separated ghettos where Jews lie tormented and imprisoned, a single brooding question repeats itself interminably in agonized eyes and numbed brains: why is the door of Palestine closed to its children in this, their most desperate hour of need? Why are they compelled to skulk like wretched animals outside the barred door of their own house? For whom does the sweet warm light stream through its windows, if not for them? For whom are its fires lit, and for whom its steaming table set? Why are they thus condemned to perish in the night?

Patiently they wait for an answer to this terrible question.

CHAPTER II

SOLVING THE JEWISH QUESTION IN THE HOLY LAND

ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY

Whether Whitehall wills it or no, the Jews must go to Palestine since there is no other place for them to go. Europe's ghettos will either empty or the Jews will perish there, bestially like moles gassed in their runways. Hence the irresistible force of sheer necessity, being what it is, must finally compel the British to give way, no matter what pious fabrication or legality they may invent to prevent it. Attention must consequently be directed to a very real problem, lying mysteriously beneath these cobwebby coverings — the question of *the actual absorptive capacity of the Holy Land*. If that absorptive power does not exist, then all the argument is for nothing, and any intelligent solution of the Jewish problem outside of the calamity of world revolution is hopeless.

It is obvious, to start with, that the capacity of a given area to support a large population depends on something more than its own resources and measurements. *The quality of the human material available*, its endurance, intelligence and experience, must be taken into account. So must the possibilities of capital investment, and its application to industry. It is evident from the existence of such densely settled nations as Belgium and Holland, that an absorptive capacity is far from determined by area alone. What estimate, for example, would the politicians of a century ago have placed on the possibilities of such a place as Lancashire, or Manhattan Island? "It is a suggestive fact," writes Sir Norman Angell, "that some of the most prosperous States in the world . . . are among the least self-sufficient; while those abounding in natural resources, like some of the Central and South American nations, have an extremely low standard of living and an unstable civilization." ¹

Actually, states the distinguished British authority, Sir William Beveridge, "the optimum of density is never the same for two moments together." The arc of population is not static, but dynamic. The momentum of growth in itself tends to create opportunities for still further expansion. Natural adjustments take place, new appetites and markets emerge. The possibilities of large-scale production by the use of equipment which a smaller body of inhabitants would find uneconomic, opens up an increasing succession of vistas. Specialization is sharply stimulated. For an outstanding example of this process one need only look at America, where a long-continued deluge of immigrants paralleled a general rise in the country's prosperity. It was only when this stream stopped that the fundamental economic asthenia which plagues all old countries developed, due as always to the stabilization (hence constriction) of the nation's internal market.

The circumstances of Jewish life today are providentially perfect for the successful duplication of just such a colonization project — provided that no powerful, restraining hand exists to wreck it from within. A modern colonization attempt which is faced with the active antagonism of the ruling government must fail in advance. The concentration of public services in the hands of central authority, the intricacies of existing taxation systems, the delicately balanced adjustments which depend for their smooth operation on the search for markets, places a modern resettlement operation completely at the mercy of the ruling power on the spot. If in no other way, it can be effectively halted by the simple expedient of preventing the would-be colonists from entering altogether, or by sequestering them in cities so that their new-born economy develops into a sickly and lopsided growth.

Granting that a sympathetic régime existed in place of the present Government of Palestine, no element required for the triumphant realization of this program is wanting. There is the man-power, the experience, the energy, the intelligence, the will, the money, the absolute need. Deeded to Jewry by international law is a practically empty territory. "Save for a few bright spots made by the Jews," writes Broadhurst, "[Palestine]

is a country of desolation and a wilderness in its truest sense."² Surrounding it on all sides are vast undeveloped reaches, the major part of which are as empty of people as the moon, *so that the country is not even necessarily limited by its own boundaries*, which are more artificial than real. The Bedouins ignore them, hardly aware that they exist.

For a period of twenty years the Mandatory has justified its defaulting policy with the oft-repeated claim that this territory had no resources, was infertile and overcrowded, and presented no possibilities for either commerce or agriculture. This was the great stalking-cry of Shaw, of Hope-Simpson, of French and of Passfield. It was the ritual by which every depredation and vandalism committed against the returning exiles was sanctified and made honest. Hidden beneath this conspiracy of distortion lies another, and quite different, condition. In its general aspects it is more than hinted at in the following fulsome description contained in an official paper of 1921 :

"The prospects of Palestine are not limited, on the economic side, merely to a return to the standard attained before the war. It has the possibilities of a far more prosperous future. . . Its geographical position rendered it in ancient times, and may render it again, a centre of the large territories that surrounded it. Within the limits of a province, it offers the varieties of soil and climate of a continent. It is a country of mountain and plain, of desert and pleasant valleys, of lake and seaboard, of barren hills, desolate to the last degree of desolation, and of broad stretches of deep fruitful soil. . . *It is obvious to every passing traveler, and well-known to every European resident, that the country was before the war, and is now, undeveloped and under-populated. . .* There is now in the whole of Palestine . . . a population *much less than that of the province of Galilee alone in the time of Christ.*"³

LANDLESS ARABS AND AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES

Leaving out all questions of trade, manufacture or natural resources, which may be regarded as a disputable penetration into

futures, there is still plenty of sound evidence to judge the country's real ability to sustain a large population. Lord Melchett's careful analysis shows a capacity of at least nine million people on both sides of the Jordan, supported largely on an agricultural base.⁴ The Near East authority, Henry W. Nevins, estimates that Palestine west of the Jordan alone could support at least four million souls in comfort.⁵ Professor Elwood Mead, heading a commission of American experts, estimated that "Western Palestine alone could absorb between five and six million Jews without injury to the existent Arab population,"⁶ a figure concurred in exactly by Professor Ballod⁷ and Major Cecil Quinlan.⁸ Lloyd George, whose word may be accepted as authoritative, declares that *the Government's own experts have officially estimated that the country could easily maintain a population 1600 percent greater than that existing there in 1920!*⁹

In 1929, just a year before Hope-Simpson was setting up a whole body of precedent with his 'no room' report, Dr. John Haynes Holmes describes the depression that settled over his heart on his first morning in Palestine as from the train his eye encountered nothing but wilderness and desolation. "No villages," he exclaims, "no gardens, no people!"¹⁰ Duff specifies "hundreds of square miles of barren land, excellent soil for the cultivation of citrus fruits," on the plains of Sharon and Philistia alone, "left to the wild grasses and the gorgeous flowers of Palestine's spring," where "another million Jews could be settled" with benefit to the surrounding Arabs.¹¹ The coastal plain reaching from Gaza to Haifa is described by Dr. Mead as being "in everything except its development, a counterpart of the coastal plain of Southern California from San Diego to Santa Barbara."¹² One can travel, in fact, from Jerusalem to Gaza, two-thirds of the length of the country, and see only an occasional wandering shepherd to relieve the deadly monotony of dreary wilderness and waste.¹³

Actually, less than half of the west of Jordan is under cultivation of any kind. The eastern three-quarters of the Jewish National Home is so empty as to be terrifying. Jarvis recounts mournfully that "every mountain is terraced for vine and olives,

and in those days [dim antiquity] it must have resembled southern Italy or Sicily, but today not a tree exists." ¹⁴

It is in the face of material like this that the Government of Palestine has fashioned the 'landless Arab' romance! It is a strange commentary on this Mandatory that even its own garbled figures seldom agree; nor does it hesitate to alter them as it believes occasion warrants, studiously ignoring anything it might have committed itself to before. It does not even make the overall figures for the country's total area add correctly. Lord Stanhope gives it in the Lords as 22,087,000 dunams.¹⁵ The Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government computes it to be 24,786,000 dunams.¹⁶ Sir John Hope-Simpson estimates 25,900,000. The Government survey for Imposition of the Rural Property Tax, 1934, alleges 27,009,000 dunams.¹⁷ But the Administration's Report to the League for 1935, shrinks it again to 26,159,000 dunams.

Peering behind this strange curtain further, we find the Government declaring in its report for the year ending March 31, 1921, that out of a total arable area of some 2,000,000 hectares only 500,000 hectares were under cultivation; but this does not restrain it from reversing itself less than a decade later, to show in the Hope-Simpson Report that there was no arable land left at all! Again, in its report to the Mandates Commission for 1935, it states in one place that the area planted to citrus is 146,758 dunams, while in another place (in the same report) the citrus area is given as 265,000 dunams. The identical paper totals the forest area as 698,181 dunams; whereas the Blue Book of the Palestine Government, published the year before, fixes this area at more than double that figure, or 1,400,000 dunams.

Turning back to Hope-Simpson, we find the entire cultivable area given as 6,540,000 dunams. Just before Hope-Simpson, the Johnson-Crosbie Report gave the same cultivable area as 12,233,000 dunams! Not to be outdone in this hopeless jumble of mysterious bookkeeping, the Department of Agriculture, appending a statistical summary to the published results of the last census, showed an area *already under cultivation* of 10,000,000 dunams — whereas, still having difficulty in properly juggling its

figures, the Government report based on *valuation for tax purposes*, shows a *total existing cultivable area* of only 7,780,000 dunams. Accepted official estimates based on survey returns made for revenue purposes, are always strikingly discrepant to the Department of Agriculture estimates calculated according to crop returns. It is amusing to note that the Government's definition of cultivable land excludes some twenty-five percent of all acreage now being profitably farmed by Jewish agriculturists. The Government figures prepared for the Peel Commission, for example, lists as *uncultivable* the entire Wadi Hawareth area, though it had actually been transformed into one of the most fruitful and promising areas of Jewish farm settlement.

The soil of Palestine is fertile. It has not changed since Flavius Josephus boasted that "we are seated in a fruitful land which we make more fruitful by good husbandry." An acre of irrigated land yields eight crops of clover per year, with a harvest up to thirty-five tons when properly farmed. In neighboring Egypt, with its natural irrigation from the Nile, five crops a year with a total yield of twenty-five tons is considered good. Even the desolate hills, so much despised in official accounts, are ideal for the cultivation of fruits and berries in the hands of a progressive intelligent people. In the early days they were famous for their olives, figs and grapes. The writer has seen a few acres of this hill country, in the hands of the German Hospice at Kubeibeh, so covered with luxuriant growth that it looked like a veritable Garden of the Lord, a true symbol of what loving human effort can do with the rest of this gaunt territory.

In most cases the pin-pricking and scratching given this responsive earth can hardly be dignified as 'cultivation.' Sir William Flinders Petrie relates in exasperation that he has "improved Arab land fivefold, only to see it left to destruction." The horrible gutting of good land that goes on, he exclaims, "is all a criminal waste . . . increased by the ancestral preference for the desert, leading to destroying trees by Arabs on Arab land as well as on anyone else's."¹⁸ For countless generations they have been exploiting and abusing the worn earth, never troubling to manure it or to maintain its fertility, leaching it for

unending years by their improvident, primitive methods until it was exhausted. Neither stones nor weeds are ever removed. Almost no effort is made to combat disease. Trees and other binding materials are relentlessly clawed from the ground and never replaced. The stony, treeless valleys offer mute testimony to this cruel squandering of once-rich resources, as do the desolate highland regions, which wanton neglect have allowed to be washed down to bare rock.

It is only where the foot of the Jew treads that the land has been revived. The ability of this country to sustain a compact agricultural body is indicated wherever Jews have settled. If the Jewish district around Jaffa, where intensive tillage is practiced along European lines, can be taken as an index, Western Palestine would support a farming population of close to eight millions. The land on which the colony Benjamina is situated was once occupied by only twenty families. Now it supports several thousand persons in comfort. At Petach Tikvah, 35,000 dunams support 15,000 Jews and 2500 Arab workers; while 20,000 dunams at adjoining Jalil keep 300 persons only. The Hedera land formerly maintained a few hundred people on an area of 30,000 dunams. Now it provides a livelihood for 4650, on a European standard of living. Herzlia, with 7599 dunams, once kept 162 people in a precarious livelihood. Now 5417 live there in comfort.

It is, of course, true that if the 122,000 Bedouins are to be provided with ranging space, privileged to destroy all vegetation with their herds of goats as they have since the days of the Pharaohs, then Palestine is already overpopulated. There can be no doubt that the spread of cultivation results in the gradual driving back of the nomad races. The principles of roving tenure over vast areas, and of fixed possession for purposes of intensive farming, directly conflict. They represent two opposite conceptions of life, which have struggled with each other for mastery here for as long as the memory of man. All historians, from Strabo onward, describe the same pathetic fate of this beautiful country — a period of brilliant civilization terminated by invasions of primitive tribes, always flowing in like the wild

ocean and reducing it again to the cinders of history. Dr. Smith, greatest of living authorities on this area, characterizes it as "a land which is blessed more than most with health and fertility ; but its health is paralyzed by its danger, its fertility . . . checked and blasted by the floods of human barbarism to which it lies so exposed." Half a century ago, the noted American archaeologist, Selah Merrill, named the conditions under which the Holy Land could be redeemed for civilization. The first of these, he wrote, "was a power strong and respected, which should know how to hold the Bedouin at a distance, and to prevent their access to cultivated regions." ¹⁹

'NO WATER'

A favorite claim adopted by the Mandatory, when it found itself caught in a corner and directly accused of faithlessness and disloyalty to its trust, was that appearances were deceiving. The country, it explained sadly, was in large part really a desert : it lacked water, and was therefore completely unsuited for colonization.

One would think under these circumstances that the Government would show at least some interest in water surveys, in the mapping of water tables, or in engineering calculations for conserving the vast rain supply. This would seem all the more called for since each of these regions for which the claim of hopeless aridity is made is literally covered with the ruins of once-prosperous villages, with traces of extensive road and canal systems and other relics which could only have been left by a large and thriving population. However, the Mandatory was far from concerned. It left the problem severely alone. Whatever efforts were made were by the Zionists themselves. It was they who hired the engineers, who pored over intricate calculations, who made the borings, and who even undertook the work of afforestation so necessary to such a program.

Operations of this sort are obviously far beyond the scope of private initiative, and normally would be undertaken by any Government interested in the welfare of its subjects. The enor-

mous irrigation works on which Egypt depends for her very life, the constructions on the Euphrates, the numerous stream regulation works, dams and other constructions used all over the world, are built by the State, not by private individuals or institutions. The little irrigation practiced in the Holy Land today is dependent on shallow wells and piddling individual methods. It is far from an effectual solution of a problem which calls for an extensive system of dams and water channels.

The attitude of the Administration can hardly be described as anything but hostile. Operating with its usual contrary logic, it has gone to the point of declaring that while a man may own the land, *he does not have title to the water under it*. Under the Safeguarding of Public Water Supplies Ordinance, any area may be declared a "public water area," without explanation or legal recourse. Once this declaration has been made, no one may sink any new wells within the area or alter any existing well without special permission from the High Commissioner. Anyone who does so makes himself liable to a prison sentence.

Despite propaganda to the contrary, Palestine is not a land poor in water. The visible surface supply from its springs and rivers alone amounts to $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 milliard cubic meters per year. This volume, were it fully used, would irrigate ten times the area which is irrigated at present.²⁰ These gaunt, parched regions, reported the explorer Tristram in 1865, "had once been fertile by the irrigation of the plenteous streams above. Nothing but neglect has reduced the well-watered plains to such desolation. We could detect the traces of the old water courses for irrigation."²¹ "It is one of the anomalies," wrote G. S. Blake, the Government's own geological adviser, in an official report, "that in such a droughty land as Palestine practically all the large springs run to waste." Yet the Government obstinately forbids the use of river water for irrigation purposes!

It was shown by the Palestine engineer Hausdorf that the deviation of the Jordan, where it emerges from Huleh through Galilee to the Valley of Jezreel, could be utilized to form an artificial lake; one channel to run through the Kishon Valley to the Mediterranean; the other to stretch into the Jordan Valley

towards the Dead Sea, where a waterfall would be formed 400 meters in height. The power generated here alone could irrigate fully one million dunams of southern Palestine.²² The Yugoslavian water expert Dr. Werber calculated that five hundred thousand people could earn a livelihood from the soil in the deserted Negeb alone if water were brought down from the hills.²³

In 1926 the French engineer M. Imbeaux published a plan to bring water from the Mediterranean to the Jordan Valley by utilizing the difference in levels. Had it been put into effect, this project would have dramatically altered the agricultural situation of both Palestine and Transjordan, making these regions as lushly fertile as any in the old world. But it was ignored.

The Government itself admitted in 1921 that "the water problem, over most of the country, is *not a question of quantity, but of storage*, of pumping and distribution."²⁴ Even the average rainfall of Palestine is a factor of no mean importance. It runs from 22 to 29 inches a year, almost double that of California. It is estimated that reservoirs could collect and store during a year 191,000,000 cubic meters of this precipitation, an item which in itself would make the country over from top to bottom.

If all this were ignored, deep borings would still provide ample water for every possible purpose. At the identical time that the Government was most vociferous in its contention that there was no water in this part of the world, the builders of the Iraq Pipeline demonstrated the presence of a huge water table below the entire surface of the desert. *Along the complete length of this line, borings produced abundant water at an average depth of 600 feet.* American engineers sent later by the Palestine Economic Corporation demonstrated that artesian wells sunk according to modern methods struck the life-giving fluid even in the apparently hopeless hill area. In the supposedly dry Negeb, exploratory borings at Asir (near Beersheba) produced a 40-foot geyser when the drill reached a depth of 130 feet. The report of the American water expert Julius Fohs has proven conclusively that by the sinking of deep wells *no part of Palestine can be said to be without water.*

Though few actual data exist in reference to the territory east of Jordan, travelers have been fulsome in their descriptions of its fragrant pastures, rich valleys and well-watered moors and uplands. From Jerusalem, the blue range of Moab, shimmering in the hot sun, appears barren and forbidding. Beyond this fringe of hills the scenery of Trans-Jordan bears evidence of ample natural irrigation. Four large rivers, the Yarmuk, 'Arab, Jabbok and Arnon drain the entire country. The Yarmuk, with its picturesque falls, is as large as Jordan. These streams are fed by numerous springs and tributaries, causing the geographer George Adam Smith to remark that next to its cool, bracing air Trans-Jordan's "waters are its most charming feature. . . Luxuriant vegetation," he states, "is therefore, almost universal [there]. . ." ²⁵ Trans-Jordan, it must be remarked, however, does suffer in some years from severe drought, which would necessitate artificial irrigation.

A PROSPECT OF AGRICULTURAL COMPETENCE

All kinds of gloomy conjectures could be brought forward as an argument against such a far-reaching scheme of land-development. It could be contended with sober logic: you complain now that markets are seriously constricting — who then is going to buy this vastly increased production? Will the country not be glutted with a mountainous surplus of undisposable produce and fall rapidly into bankruptcy? In some States such a cautious position might be more than reasonable. But as it happens, ignoring the export market (which plays an important part in the calculations of such agricultural countries as Syria), the Palestine of today cannot begin to care for its own consumption needs. In 1936 it imported nearly 2000 tons of dairy products, 80,000,000 eggs, more than 20,000 tons of vegetables and over £200,000 worth of sugar, in addition to meats, poultry and other foodstuffs.

A comprehensive investigation by Dr. Ludwig Samuel of the Jewish Agricultural Experimental Station in Rehovoth, showed the value of agricultural produce consumed by Jews during

1935 to be £4,739,000. Of this amount Jewish farmers supplied twenty-one percent, Arabs supplied twenty percent and imports accounted for the rest. These representative figures speak depressingly enough for the economy of a country still mainly in the agricultural stage of its development. Actually, the total of Palestine's requirements in agricultural, fish and forest products is supplied half locally and half by imports. Since most of the domestic contribution is consumed by the agricultural population itself and does not come on the market, by far the larger part of the market requirements (probably seventy-five percent of it) is supplied by imported produce.²⁸ Such a mad situation would have made the development of its agricultural economy a ruling imperative to any other government but that of Palestine.

There is no vegetable or fruit imported in any quantity which cannot be successfully grown in the Holy Land. Even in the field of dairy farming, the Jews have proven that whole settlements devoted to this type of enterprise can be made self-sustaining and prosperous. Such crops as potatoes, not believed adaptable to Near East conditions, have been experimented with and new varieties developed. As a result the country's production rose in five years from 821 tons to an expected 6000 tons in 1936. Experimentation goes on in an effort to acclimatize other fruits, such as the papaya, mango, sugar-apple, guava, avocado and persimmon.

The extent to which Palestine agriculture could be expanded all along the line is indicated in the increased production figures wherever Arabs have profited by neighboring Jewish example. Despite Hope-Simpson's lugubrious predictions, between 1932 and 1935 wheat production jumped from 51,000 tons to 103,000 tons; barley, from 47,750 tons to 68,030 tons; lentils, from 1610 tons to 2660 tons. The total of winter crops rose from 81,240 tons to 183,950 tons. During the same three years an even greater relative increase was shown by the summer harvests. In a single year, grapes gained by 71.2%. Tomatoes, almost an unknown crop in Palestine before, stepped up to 19,000 tons in 1936 and found, in addition, a lucrative export market.

The consumption of sugar, which reached twenty thousand tons in 1935, would easily make a sugar factory profitable, and the raw material could be produced in neighboring fields. The adjoining countries of Egypt, Turkey and Iran have done very well with this staple in the past few years. Egypt's young industry already supplies the larger part of the local demand of more than one hundred thousand tons a year. By 1934 Turkey managed to provide the whole of its requirements from home production, and now has four sugar factories producing seventy thousand tons annually.

Syria, Turkey and Iraq have also successfully introduced the cultivation of cotton. In two years the area under this commodity in Syria shot from 80,000 to 270,000 dunams. In Turkey the cultivation of another staple, rice, has increased tremendously in recent years. Conditions for these crops are even more suitable in Palestine, where they are completely neglected.

In all of the countries mentioned, the government takes an active hand in promoting these developments, by means of loans, helpful information and large-scale irrigation works. Cultivation of such products, which presupposes governmental interest, opens up still other prospects for industrial expansion which would absorb countless droves of new settlers in addition to those sustained directly on the land. Milling, canning of vegetables, tanning, cotton spinning and weaving are only a few of the related industrial possibilities which Jewish enterprise might take on and develop.

Judging from present day timber imports of £1,000,000 annually, even industries connected with the finishing of wood could conceivably amount to a large figure if a comprehensive plan of afforestation were attempted, particularly in the empty stretches of Trans-Jordan.

MINERAL RESOURCES

During the entire period of its administration, the Mandatory has treated the question of Palestine's mineral wealth as if it were

one of the secrets of the War Department. Prospecting is practically prohibited. An owner may not even explore his own land without official permission.²⁷ Information on this important subject is consequently vague and inadequate, and must be pieced together from data gathered here and there. But beneath the mass of camouflage which seeks to prove that this is a poor, resourceless land, gleams tangible evidence that these resources are hardly negligible.

During the Biblical period, iron mines were described in the north of Edom, near the town of Pinon. Josephus mentions the "hill of iron" which "extended as far as the land of Moab." There were certainly many such mines in Trans-Jordan. Merrill specifies a deposit of ore in Tel Ekweder to the south of Aj'lun, which was worked at the time of the Crusaders; ²⁸ and Ibrahim Pasha used to quarry iron near Jebel Ma'rad during the last century.

Recent findings have disclosed the existence of a rich field of copper in the Arabah, south of the Dead Sea.²⁹ Solomon is known to have possessed extensive copper mines in the south of the country. In 1938 the American School of Oriental Research (in Jerusalem) announced the discovery of the great Hebrew king's seaport on the shore of the Red Sea (the Ezion-Geber of the Bible); unearthing on this site the most complete copper smelting and refining plant so far found in the entire Near East. It was, incidentally, this very territory which Deuteronomy viii, 9, described as "a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills you can dig copper."

Transjordan, hermetically sealed off from the rest of creation, is known to contain vast mineral deposits, in addition to rock phosphates and bituminous limestone. In the Aqaba region are unplumbed deposits of copper and manganese. The latter mineral occurs at the base of the Nubian sandstone in this district, and known deposits are now estimated to be about five hundred tons.

The High Commissioner's Report for 1935 mentions the presence of baryta, cuprite, malachite and galena. Gypsum also

occurs abundantly. Near the Jewish settlement of Melhamie large deposits have been worked for years. The possibilities of this native substance are great. It is useful for making plaster of Paris and is an important medium for the blending of colors, as well as a source of sulphuric acid.

Palestine has immense quantities of cement-producing material, large amounts of basalt, and a lavish choice of marbles of various tints. There are large amounts of pumice rubble of a kind marketed under various trade names as a household cleanser ; and an inexhaustible supply of the so-called *zif-zif*, a sand rich in salicylic acid and pieces of broken shell, widely used as a constituent of concrete.

The asphalt of the Dead Sea was so famous in Roman times that this material became universally known as 'Judean pitch.' It is of such high quality that it can be used in the manufacture of varnishes and dyes, yet the cost of obtaining it is so low that it could easily be made available for road-making.

Rock salt found in large amounts could, with sulphur and phosphate-producing substances, lay the basis for a series of key chemical industries. The Salt Mountain of Jebel Udsdum contains unlimited quantities of pure salt.³⁰ Tremendous deposits of phosphate exist all over the Holy Land,³¹ and the beds of sulphur are literally inexhaustible. At Gaza alone, the Government geologist estimated a deposit of several million tons.

Materials for the manufacture of glass, and ochre and other raw substances for the production of dry colors, exist in abundance. Chalk, which is heavily imported, is to be found in many parts of the country. Bituminous limestone is likewise plentiful, though no use is made of it. The total reserve of this substance is estimated to amount to at least 200,000,000 tons, with an oil content of five to twenty-five percent. It is mainly located in the neighborhood of Nabi Musa and in the vicinity of Safed and Tarshiha in Galilee. These deposits are sufficient to satisfy the internal oil demand of Palestine for another century. During the World War the bituminous beds in the Yarmuk Valley were utilized by German engineers, who erected a plant to distill petroleum there. The British are reliably reported to be

counting on the use of these deposits as a wartime emergency in the event of damage to the pipeline leading from Iraq to the Mediterranean.

There is also every evidence that Palestine is fabulously rich in natural oil. D. P. Brown, oil geologist for the Oil Trust Ltd., after exploration in 1911 and 1912, stated that "there is every indication of petroleum existing in depth. Taken from east to west this oil belt can be clearly seen for nearly thirty miles; from north to south the oil field, so far as we know, reaches to a distance of about 90 miles."

Professor Day of Beirut and the German expert Blankenhorn arrived at much the same conclusion; and in 1913 Dr. Arthur Wade reported that "there is good evidence that liquid petroleum occurs in quantity in the beds let down by the great system of fracture which forms the trough of the Dead Sea." In 1926 the presence of visible oil was recorded in the report of an expedition to southern Palestine by Hebrew University.³² The same year, petroleum was discovered in the village of Sakia near Jaffa. The report of experts on the scene averred that the whole district from Beersheba to Jaffa contains "a wealth of oil." On April 5, 1927, states General R. B. D. Blakeney, the Colonial Office admitted in an official letter that great quantities of oil existed in the Dead Sea area, but "discouraged further exploration."

The latest official summary of Palestine's mineral position, quoted in the 1935 Blue Book, indicates that a large petroleum structure has been located in the neighborhood of Gaza, and that it is also likely that oil would be found near Jebel Udsdum in the Ghôr; and in 1937 the Imperial Institute's survey of the mineral resources of the British Empire refers to oil seepages noticed in various localities in Palestine, notably at Masada.

Meanwhile colonists at Beer-Tuvia, digging for water, struck oil. "Had they dug another twenty meters," says Pierre van Paassen, "the whole colony would have been washed away" in a bath of petroleum. The next morning the High Commissioner and a retinue of Government experts appeared on the scene to investigate. The astonishing outcome of this official

survey was an order that the well be filled up again without delay. Inspectors remained on the spot until the last shovelful of earth had been dumped back into the hole.³³

The Government flatly refuses to allow any further investigation of this fabulous source of national wealth. All title to bore for oil, irrespective of ground ownership, has been vested in large British concerns who utterly forbid drilling for fear it will affect their investments in Iraq and Persia by depressing the market price. The concept which rules this situation is indicated by the Iraq Petroleum Company's offer to pay the Syrian Government a compensation of £1,000,000 if it would agree to postpone any actual working of the new Djezireh oil fields until 1945, after which the Iraq Petroleum Company would undertake their gradual development.³⁴

Despite this body of facts, we find the Colonial Secretary informing Commons (in reply to a question on oil concessions), on March 13, 1938, that "we have no reason to believe there is oil in Palestine."

Be this as it may, it is certainly no exaggeration to say that Palestine, if it possessed nothing else, is wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice through a natural phenomenon which makes it the greatest chemical crucible on earth. From the waters of the Dead Sea alone, the amount of potash, so essential to agriculture and to war, would supply the world with one million tons a year for two thousand years. The Dead Sea holds 2000 million tons of potassium chloride ; 11,900 million tons of sodium chloride ; 22,000 million tons of magnesium chloride ; 6000 million tons of calcium chloride ; and 980 million tons of magnesium bromine.³⁵

These figures are staggering in themselves ; but there are still others which sound almost fantastic. The French scientist Georges Claude asserted that a fabulous amount of gold also lay in the recesses of this queer salt lake, the concentration being forty times that of sea water, "making its extraction highly profitable." He estimates the actual gold content at ten milliard pounds.³⁶ That this is not altogether crazy is shown by the estimates of British chemists who compute the gold at half this

figure, or £5,000,000,000.³⁷ The British ban any attempt at further speculation by limiting operations at the Dead Sea to the extraction of salts only.

The coming to life of this strangest of all waters is certainly not the least of the latter day miracles taking place in the Holy Land. Today in that eerie, depressed spot where Sodom and Gomorrah were reputed to have stood, where David sought sanctuary, where Herod and Marianne fled from the pursuing Parthians, the shores ring with the sound of hammers. The winding highway which carries you from Jerusalem to this isolated industrial center is never forgotten. The arid wastes of unbelievable kaleidoscopic color, the sinking feeling of suffocation as the serpentine road dips slowly below sea level, the glittering indigo waters of the Dead Sea itself and the colorful bustling activity around it, are sights like those out of a child's fairyland.

The Dead Sea concession was obtained originally by a Jewish company through the far-sighted vision of the Zionist engineer Novomeysky. It is one of the few franchises of any kind allowed to Jews. At the time this concession was granted it was looked upon as a visionary project. The overwhelming preponderance of opinion throughout the scientific world was that Novomeysky's plan could never be put into practical operation. Final approval was only obtained after much wrangling. When it appeared that Novomeysky's faith would ultimately be justified, the French claimed prior title under the old Ottoman Act. To forestall this claim, London backed the Zionist company solidly. (As it was, the French vigorously protested, threatening to take the matter before the International Tribunal at the Hague.)

The British drove a tight bargain. The concession does not extend to "gold, silver, precious stones, mineral oils or antiquities that may be contained on or beneath the shores of the Dead Sea or in or under the waters." The Palestine Government receives royalties of five percent of the bulk value and, in addition, up to forty percent of the net profits. The concession runs for seventy-five years, but the Authorities hold the whip hand and can terminate it on one month's notice, for causes which may

for all practical purposes be said to lie directly within their own discretion. Though apparently a Zionist company, the concessionaire is now largely dominated by the English themselves. Its headquarters is in London, and such figures as the Earl of Lytton (its Chairman) and Lord Glenconner (an ardent pro-Nazi) sit on its board.³⁸

It may be suspected also that, in view of its great importance to the Empire, London intends to quietly remove the Zionist finger from this pie altogether. This was believed to be one of the actuating reasons operating behind the scenes during the riots. Such a construction is certainly reflected in the subsequent sophistries of the Peel Report, recommending the detachment of the Dead Sea area from the zone of Jewish influence and settlement.³⁹

OTHER POSSIBILITIES

There are many other unplumbed resources which an enterprising population could make use of. One is obviously the fishing industry. The Holy Land catches only thirty-three per cent of the fish it uses, though its waters teem with aquatic life. Foreign vessels fish regularly off the Palestine coast, but as we have seen, the Administration has efficiently discouraged any local development by various destructive regulations.

Another fine potential lies in the growth of seaweed which is plentiful in the whole surrounding water belt.⁴⁰ There has recently been a revival of interest in this industry, especially because of the increasing importance of algin and its salts, used as a colloidal substance with a wide range of adaptations in modern chemistry. In France alone, the value of seaweed harvests is estimated at around thirty million francs. The growing interest in this commodity is illustrated in the recent paper read by the Norwegian chemist, Dr. G. Lunde, in which he reported that the specific colloidal properties of alginic acid and its salts were opening an expanding field for new products and applications in modern technique.⁴¹

Not the least of the country's resources lies in its compelling

beauty, and the profound majesty in which Jewish history has clothed it. If a reasonable Government existed which tried to attract visitors instead of discouraging them, the Holy Land could easily become one of the great tourist attractions of the world. This tourist influx, in wide-awake States takes on the proportions of an industry, not only enhancing the name of the country and indirectly assisting even its exports, but capable in itself of supporting an army of people. Even under present conditions, more than one hundred thousand tourists visited Palestine in 1935, bringing in with them over £1,000,000. If Palestine deliberately catered to sightseers, and advertised for them, as do France, Italy and other tourist nations, these figures would radically enlarge themselves.

Again, if instead of putting up *numerus clausus* to keep out the famous Jewish physicians of Germany and Austria, they had been welcomed with a brass band, the disastrous advent of Hitler might have sent the famous specialists of these nations to the Jewish Homeland and made Palestine, in one coup, the medical center of the world. The many thousands who would come here for medical treatment and advice would have provided another fruitful source of employment for all sections of the country's inhabitants.

Health specialists agree that Palestine is potentially one of the great health centers of modern times. A string of resorts could be built all along the blue Mediterranean. Wonder spots could be erected here that would rival Cannes and Nice. "Sooner or later," says Dr. Elwood Mead, "the homes and gardens around the Bay of Haifa will be one of the show places of the world."

There are spas here second to none. In Roman times the baths at Tiberias, Gaderah and Kalirroe were internationally known. The mineral waters at Tiberias today, as well as those at Kalirroe and El Hamah, compare with any in Germany or France. The water of the Dead Sea, too, is reputed to have great curative qualities. With a climate much like that of the famous Egyptian resorts, only a sympathetic régime is required to develop this area into an international attraction.

The country's greatest single asset is probably its geographical

position. Strategically situated between great producing and consuming populations on three continents, it is located at the crossroads of the three main arteries of the Old World. The road from the Cape to Cairo, passing through Suez and thence north to Europe and Asia, will certainly in the days to come be the great highway by land. The sea route from Liverpool to the Far East is the principal water artery. Following these routes almost exactly are the great air lanes. Palestine's coastal corridor also has great tactical value and is destined to become one of the great international traffic centers of the future. There is not the slightest doubt that with the development of Asia and Africa in the next generation, "this corner of the earth will certainly be populated to a great density," if only by reason of its location.⁴²

As an outlet for the oil fields, and key to both land and air routes to south and east, the absorptive possibilities of this conventionally despised country leap enormously in power. Even today, comments U. S. Senator Austin, "its ports are performing functions hitherto fulfilled by the Egyptian ports on the Suez Canal. Haifa is on the way to become the key Mediterranean harbor" to the whole vast dark hinterland which lies at its back.⁴³ An identical function would be performed by Aqaba on the Red Sea, enabling it to become the nerve center for transit shipments to and from the Orient, though at present there is not even a road to this important port.

AN OVERCROWDED COUNTRY

It seems evident that if the Mandatory did not deliberately contrive to limit the absorptive capacity of the country, Palestine with all its natural advantages, plus the levers of Jewish need and enterprise, could have absorbed sufficient immigrants to have made the Jewish problem virtually non-existent. A brief foray into the realm of comparative statistics brings these potentials into closeup view. If it equaled Massachusetts in density, Western Palestine alone would keep a population of over 5,270,000. If it held the same population per square mile as England itself, the

Jewish National Home as it was originally mandated (East and West of the Jordan), could maintain 32,933,000.

Belgium with 11,780 square miles, sustains 8,159,000 people. The Netherlands, almost without natural resources beyond the native intelligence of its inhabitants, has another 8,500,000 domiciled within 13,200 square miles. Sicily, which is slightly smaller than Western Palestine, and a purely agricultural land to boot, holds a population of 4,426,000. Why then, could not at least a similar number exist here? *

To speak of Palestine at the present time as being overpopulated, or even in terms of a limited absorptive capacity, is to talk rubbish. Even in ancient times, before the magic of modern industrialism created opportunity for great concentrations of population, this favored land harbored its millions. As Josephus has indicated, fully twelve million people lived and prospered here at the time of the Roman wars. With all its natural advantages, some day it must again become a country of teeming cities and pleasant green countrysides, its long sickness and prostration merely a dark chapter in history.

* For further comparative statistics see Appendix C, p. 581.

CHAPTER III

*"AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?"*¹

The horrible fate of the Jewish people today can no longer be ignored if Western civilization itself is to survive. Even if the world of Western humanity is so lost to common decency that it can calmly watch this terrible procession of suffering and degradation without a twinge of conscience, it cannot escape the general disaster of which these savage persecutions are a forewarning. "The time has come," the American delegate, Myron C. Taylor, told the Evian Congress, "when governments are recognizing that the disorderly movements of peoples in great numbers makes for general unrest" and that an orderly directed migration is essential to world peace. The war of extermination against the Jews, declares Senator Wagner grimly, has been "rationalized into a crusade against the liberal and democratic ideals which are an integral part of the Jewish outlook on life. . . . If Palestine fails, democracy is endangered. It is an essential responsibility of the great democratic nations to assure the preservation and success of the Jewish homeland."² Returning from Germany in January 1938, Ambassador Dodd solemnly warned his hearers that "mankind is in grave danger" and facing a murderous onslaught implacably bent on destroying all personal, religious and economic freedom.

It is now widely recognized that Hitler means to go down in history not in the character of a German political hero, which the forgetfulness of a few centuries will obscure, but in the tradition of Jesus, Buddha and Mohammed. The Christian and Jewish mentality are both the mortal enemy of this phase, to which he is willy-nilly being swept by the fanatic emotion of his force-crazed followers. This rapidly emerging religion (for it is no less than that) now refers to Christianity as "the Asiatic-Semitic world priesthood." Its aggressive campaign is only modified in the various countries to suit local conditions. "Je-

hovah whom the Jews worship," asserts *Der Stuermer*, leading Nazi weekly, is "the greatest of all criminals." ³ "Instead of thanking God for their daily bread, German children are taught to thank Hitler," states Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. ⁴ And thunders the Nazi apostle, Dr. Engelke: "God has manifested Himself not in Jesus Christ but in Adolf Hitler."

Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, number one Nazi ideologist, whose book, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, is compulsory reading in all German schools, is the most fanatic anti-Christian alive. Christianity, he claims "is the unsuccessful attempt during the last millennium and a half to make us mentally Jews." "No one," announces Rosenberg decisively, "has the right to find fault with those of our people who have found their Son of God [Hitler] and have thus regained their Eternal Father." ⁵ In the same vein General Ludendorff writes: "Christianity originates in the Jewish spirit and must be crushed if the German people are to be saved." ⁶ And the powerful *German Action*, official organ of one of Nazidom's most sacred institutions, declares: "Christianity is part of the Jew's diabolical plot against the world. It is therefore a trail blazer for Bolshevism. Bolshevism is the fruit of the Jew's Bible." ⁷

The ethical scruples, the regard for the individual, the principles of justice taught by the Judeo-Christian creed, are contemptuously rejected by the new anti-Semitic dogma as a poisonous system of slave morality, cunningly palmed off on the noble Aryan peoples by the Jews, in order to destroy their hardihood and further the Jewish plot against the world. According to literature distributed in ton-lots all over Europe, Masonry is a particularly vicious Jewish prop, and "the entire Jesuit order, responsible for so much Catholic mischief throughout the world, was founded by a Jew, Ignatius Loyola . . . [and is] based upon an iitrovert form of the Jewish Cahilla." The Jews, asserts this new scholarship, are far from the 'Chosen People' but a group of debauched culture-Bedouins who plagiarized the Scriptures themselves from earlier originals.

This may again be seen in Italy's new alignment with Nazi

racial principles. Fiercely, Mussolini refers in the Foreign Ministry organ *Informazione Diplomatica* to a conspiracy "proved during the past twenty years in the life of Europe, between Judaism, Bolshevism and Free Masonry."⁸ These attacks on Jews and Free Masons were coincident with a tirade against the Catholic Church led by the identical section of the Fascist press which was conducting the campaign against the Jews. Membership in the Catholic Action "is incompatible with membership in the Fascist Party," thunders the anti-Semitic leader Robert Farinacci in the authoritative *Regime Fascista*.⁹ To receive their instruction in these theories from their source, four hundred Italian Blackshirts left for Vienna in August 1938, reports the *London Daily Telegraph*, for special courses of teaching in the new pagan curriculum.¹⁰

The extent and danger of this program is well recognized by the German Church. In a defiant letter read from Church pulpits on August 28, 1938, Germany's Roman Catholic hierarchy asserted the existence of a large scale persecution designed "to eradicate Christianity in Germany" and supplant it with a new pagan doctrine. "The fate of the catacombs is meant for us," it warned bluntly, "by moves intended to mark the beginning of the end." It can hardly be doubted that modern anti-Semitic doctrine is no less rabidly anti-Christian than it is anti-Jewish. "Anti-Semitism of the present era," declares *Osservatore Romano*, official organ of the Vatican, on December 27, 1937, "is not only a fight against the national aspirations of the Jewish people, but is also an aspect of the struggle provoked by the new paganism in large sections of international political life." "Spiritually," pronounced Pope Pius XI, meeting the challenge of Nazi doctrine squarely, "we are Semites."¹¹ From other Christian sources comes an identical estimate. Averred the Greek Catholic Bishop of Lemberg, Dr. Jan Butchko: "The fight against anti-Semitism is a fight for the defense of Christianity."¹² And warns Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury: "The outrages and attacks on Jews are only a preliminary to an attack on Christian civilization."¹³

Wherever Nazi philosophy has gained control so that it can

come boldly out into the open with its aims, repressions of Christians as well as Jews, have followed. When the need for placating outside Christian opinion vanishes, Christianity in Germany will be crushed like an eggshell. "No Jew will be alive [there] twenty-five years from now," says Dr. John Haynes Holmes, "and if the Christian Church survives at all it will be an underground movement as it was in the days of its beginning in Rome." ¹⁴

Not since the time Mohammed's frenzied legions surged over three continents has the world been presented with as formidable a body of doctrine as this. Its followers are hardly even nominal patriots of the countries of their residence. Like that other group of renegades which takes its orders from Moscow, they no longer know loyalty to nation or State, but only to idea. The religion of blood and race has become a fixed obsession, blotting out every normal consideration. Can it be doubted that this hypnotic cult which bred traitors and renegades in Austria, which has its inspired converts throughout Europe, seeks ultimately to embrace England and America within its fold? ¹⁵ It was not for nothing that General Goering bellowed to the rubber-stamp Reichstag: "We welcome England to the Germanic community of nations!"

Can it be believed that the fanatic followers of Hitler who occupy high places in British official life are any less traitors than the Nazi renegades of Austria or those troublesome groups who seek to undermine the Netherlands, Brazil, Switzerland and other States on which the covetous Nazi eye rests? Are they not ruled by the same fixed hatreds, the identical delusions? And have they not already betrayed the vital interests of their country on the Continent, as well as in the Holy Land, in the name of the greater Aryan destiny? Who can doubt that the final object of attack is to be the Anglo-Saxon peoples and the free philosophy of life which distinguishes them. Leading the paean of hatred against the Jews, the prominent Fascist journalist Giovanni Ansaldo roars in the *Gazzetta del Popolo* (August 14, 1938) that countries unwilling to succumb to the Anglo-Saxon world system of which "Jews are the agents," must or-

ganize a rigorous counter-offensive. By every innuendo, German leaders have been fully as explicit. Certainly sober British thinkers such as F. A. Voigt, brilliant Foreign Affairs Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, have little doubt in their minds as to the extent and direction of the storm which is gathering.¹⁶

The great weapon by which the Liberal world is to be beaten to its knees is anti-Semitism ; and always bearing the brunt of this attack are the Zionists, "the shock troops of the world Jewish conspiracy," sub-human, cunning-creatures who skulk from the shadows as the prime movers in every catastrophe, from whose contaminating touch even the savage Bedouin must be saved lest he be defiled and outraged !¹⁷ In this mortar Western culture is being pounded. The old love for truth and justice, the sturdy character which once armored it, have all but worn away. Its once proud soul has been corrupted by gross materialism. It is full of corroding fears, but cannot act to defend itself.

What a dreadful prospect humankind faces unless it can force itself to act now with purpose and resolution ! Not the Jews alone, but Christianity and all its cherished institutions, must be ground to bits between the crushing millstones of Marx and Hitler's paganism. These themselves must fight another bloody conflict for mastery, since they are antithetic to each other ; after which the racial philosophy must devolve into a series of devastating conflicts of mutual extermination between the various white races, and finally one last great bloody holocaust, that final struggle for supremacy between the white and colored peoples, so frankly predicted by the philosophies of Nazism from Houston Stewart Chamberlain down to Rosenberg. Within the conquering nations themselves, the tolerant, the generous and the manly will be ruthlessly extirpated, and the cowardly and mercenary will usurp their place. Does any sane person think that civilization or man himself can survive such a hideous program ?

If the Nazi threat should turn out to be an overrated phenomenon, what then ? Communism ? Chaos ? What of the Jews of East Europe, whom sheer despair is slowly driving to madness ! When the flood of Communism rolls like a great tide

over the fall of the House of Hitler, will they resist it — or welcome it as a deliverer? That is a question whose importance to the world at large can hardly be overemphasized.

The soul of this people is now on a rack of hatred more powerful and shattering than any they have faced in their history. George Backer, Vice-Chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, returned from Poland commenting that the Jews, "exhausted, assailed on every side, have begun to lose their faith in the power of the Word." For the first time in a thousand years of Jewish residence in Poland, we are witnessing the complete breakdown of Jewish culture.

So far the inroads of Marxism among the Jewish masses, despite anti-Semitic assertions, have not been spectacular. At the Jewish community elections in Warsaw in 1936, the labor bloc, which presented a united front and was supported by the Communists, succeeded in securing only fourteen out of forty-nine seats all told. But Jewish deputies in the Polish Sejm have warned their government that unless this vicious war of extermination against the Jew is halted, he will turn towards anything that holds out a promise of rescue from this mortal horror.

A human being is not inert like a picture in a book, which may be maltreated with impunity until it is finally cast into the garbage heap. When underprivilege has reached a certain stage in misery, it constitutes in itself a stark demand on humanity which cannot be safely ignored. Often whole civilizations, as well as States, have discovered this to their amazement — and cost. The Romans found it out in the Sparticide rebellion. The French nobles could give you details from their graves on how desperate even despised serfs may become — a story which the Russian Romanoffs could punctuate in gory particulars. The English, too, discovered it in their dealings with the American colonists, and recently in their experience with the German people, who rendered desperate by exactions and tribute developed a Hitler, who now threatens to tear down the roof of the world.

In any system of social ethics worthy of the name, the pressure of absolute need takes precedence over all other claims,

even if this were the only title to consideration that could be presented. Otherwise need, inspired by desperation, will inevitably attempt to force its own rights, without caring whether the world of mankind goes up in smoke as a consequence.

It seems almost impossible to believe that the Powers have learned no lesson from the situation they forced on Germany. The chancellories of Europe can hardly afford to ignore the deadly explosion which is brewing in these pest-ridden areas, merely to satisfy the cold rapacity of a few Nazi-British officials. The bastions of European civilization are not so solid that still another of its props can be callously kicked out from under without hurt. "Economic unrest in Poland," reported Alexander Kahn of the Joint Distribution Committee, "coupled with the persecution of the three million Jews still living there, may soon set off a civil war that will involve all Europe."

Who would be the first and main sufferer in the event of such a calamity if not the vulnerable British Empire? Can this great Empire remain unaffected during any period of general unrest? If new forces appear in the world, do they not flourish at Britain's expense? The German, Russian and Chinese revolutions have already immeasurably weakened her position. Will it stand another and further assault?

Even if the Jews are to be murdered in a body, so as to do away with them and their problem together, it could only be done at the sacrifice of all existing liberty and culture. The eddies of such a monstrous proposition would not be lost until they had reduced Europe to a shambles. A population infected with such ideas is not likely to stop in its search for victims after the Jews have been butchered.

If there remains the slightest sanity or conscience in this distraught world, it must be realized that this whole affair is lifted far above the realms to which a handful of British political adventurers wish to consign it. It must be understood that it is a practical impossibility to ostracize and ruin ten million intelligent human beings (perhaps many millions more, if the Hebrew Christians are also to be included) without the most violent type of eventual repercussions on the entire world estate.

Do the English expect that the descendants of the Maccabeans will stand by in apathy while hatred and threat converge on their children from every side? That is too much to ask of flesh.

Here, too, plenty of historical warning is written. Count Coudenhove-Kalergi wrote bluntly that "should the aims of Zionism not be realized, cruel catastrophes are imminent, dangers of which no man can tell whether they will be limited to Jews alone." ¹⁸ The Norwegian member of the League of Nations Assembly declared in 1931 that "Palestine is the center of Jewish hopes," warning that any attempt to rob this dynamic race of its ancient homeland is to complicate the social uneasiness which characterizes the present epoch. Nearer home, Lord Robert Cecil, a member of the very cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration, asserted: "The Zionist policy seems to me of vital importance to the world. A nation without a country of its own is an anomaly, and anomalies breed trouble . . . therefore I am a convinced Zionist." ¹⁹

Christian theology also has a very definite stake in Zionism. Christianity cannot be separated from Jewish Prophecy, which is an integral part of Scriptures. These Prophecies rest altogether on the promised restoration of the Jewish nation to their own land. "This," says the noted Christian historian, Mayers, "appears to be the uniform language, the grand object, the final result of the entire series of Prophecy, from the beginning of the inspired volume to the end." ²⁰ It is echoed from Isaiah and Ezekiel to Jesus. The Apostle James repeats it in the words of Amos: "And I will bring again the captivity of my people, Israel, to an end, and they shall build the waste cities and inhabit them, and I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled out of their land which I have given them, said the Lord thy God."

No matter how cruelly they use the Jews, by what sophistry can the Church justify the abandonment of the millions of Hebrew Christians? The campaign of annihilation against the Jews does not except their blood brothers in the Christian faith. In Austria alone, where there are only two hundred thousand

Jews, Knickerbocker estimated that eight hundred thousand non-Aryan men, women and children are hiding or fleeing from the fury of Hitler's anti-Semitic Storm Troops. If the Nuremberg laws are one day to be applied all over the earth, they may affect as many as forty or fifty million people if the condition in Austria is a fair criterion. What is to become of these Hebrew Christians? Shall not the doors of Palestine be open to them as to their brother Jews? They, too, must evacuate Europe or perish. The Jewish National Movement is not a religious activity, but a question of National Restoration. In the days of Jesus, Hebrew Christians worshiped by the thousands in the Temple, but were none the less Jews.

Ignoring all related questions of morality and decency, it is not to the interests of mankind generally that these people be allowed to perish. Throughout Europe, in all branches of human endeavor, this ostracized race has made in the past and continues to make even under present disheartening conditions, the most brilliant contributions to human thought.²¹ These same unwanted Jews have already demonstrated in Palestine that they are well capable of extending Western Civilization into Asia, where a prosperous, proud Jewish State might well become one of the outposts of Europe in a permanently unstable and dangerous part of the world. It appears quite plain that if these barren stretches can be colonized by the Jews, at once ridding Europe of a serious problem and adding to the wealth and stability of the world, not only Israel, but all mankind will be the gainer by it. It is equally evident that if the purpose of Zionism is to solve the Jewish problem, the proposed British solution is doing the very opposite by adding still another area on which it can press. The only possibility for a sane solution lies in the creation of a Jewish State within boundaries allowing for its survival as an economic unit. Any definition less than that is like digging post holes for the purpose of filling them up again. At the very least, the Jewish Nation would require Western Palestine and Trans-Jordan. In addition it should have Sinai Peninsula, rectification of its northern borders, and a large portion of the bleak desert to the east.

The fact must be made clear that England has no vested interest in Palestine which entitles her to steal it from a people who need it to sustain their very life. The Arabs must be told, too, that this effort to expropriate, for their already bloated empire, a tiny province on the coast, will prove a futile and misguided dream. The vast international significance of the Holy Land demands that it be a separate State. And only through the Jews can this ever be possible.

The Jews in their present situation are not free agents and can concede nothing. Certainly the stark sequence of events must compel them to shake their present, hopelessly inadequate leadership. Fawning and international quixotism will gain them nothing. If their objective is to be achieved, they must be ready for whatever sacrifice is necessary and must approach Whitehall 'knife in hand.' In this bitter struggle for life, they have no choice but ruthlessly to eradicate their inner enemies, the pacifists, weaklings and advocates of class struggle, who do nothing but weaken them at a time when their utmost strength is required.

Urging that this has become an emergency matter which will not wait on debates, Jewry should seek a mass repatriation of at least five million people from the ghettos of Europe, under the supervision of the Great Powers and along the lines on which the League handled the repatriation of the Asiatic Greeks.* Such a proposition is essentially practicable, and may be carried out on an orderly, business-like basis if no insuperable obstacles are thrown in its path by the civil servants of His Britannic Majesty's Government, the present Mandatory.

The fight in that case should be carried to the Nations, and in England, to the British people themselves. The latter could profitably be told that if the coterie of Whitehall politicians speaks in their name, they have done them a great disservice; for the record these men have left says that this is an England whose word is worthless, who cannot be trusted, who robs the weak and fawns on the strong, and who has lost its soul.

The ideal situation for a Jewish Palestine would undoubtedly

* See Appendix D, p. 582.

be a permanent alliance with the English people ; but certainly if the politicians in Whitehall speak the true spirit of Britain, the Jews have no other recourse than to look elsewhere for allies. And they may then believe with confidence that their hopes based on the fall of the British Empire will not be long in fulfillment. For when the policy of a nation no longer depends on the broad outlines of creative action and degenerates into a mere olio of petty treachery and scheming, that nation has passed its heyday — it is decadent, and on the verge of a collapse which will be as swift as it is unexpected.

Then if the Jews are smart, they will turn to anyone who has a quarrel with England, and take their chances on the result. And they will say in effect to the Powers : "No, gentlemen, unless you wish the foul dreams of the anti-Semites to come true, and the soul of torn Israel turn in despair to that destroying agency it has so far manfully resisted (Communism), you had better curb this destroying British camarilla. They and their philosophy of intrigue and hate must yield ; for if the people of Jehovah are to be thus driven to national suicide because flesh and spirit can suffer no more, let the world take warning that one of its props of sanity is collapsing. It cannot gloat over the miseries of this determined, intelligent race, or be indifferent to its fate. The future of man is indivisible from morality, decency, fairness and honor. If these virtues in their broad outline no longer exist, and if the people of the Bible are to be wantonly wiped out in this Twentieth Century with no more mercy than if they were rats in a trap, then this civilization must fall. It is then proven hard and worthless, and the virtues you pose for it do not exist. By the very nature of things, men everywhere will instinctively seek a better morality, even if that attempt ends in death. Gentlemen of the Great Powers, this is not a Jewish problem alone. It is *your* problem too !"

Despite the drab cruelty which obscures it today, it may be deemed certain that the world conscience still exists. If the Jews take the lead with stern and unbending courage, yielding nothing that brave despair can hold, that conscience may be relied on to reassert itself. They have at least no other choice,

unless they are to go down in some general catastrophe which may well signal the end of civilized man on this planet. Meanwhile they can only fight on, sustained by that undimmed faith which valiant men have never questioned over the ages. It rings imperishably in the sad, beautiful words of Bialik :

"Around the last dead slave, maybe tonight
The desert wind and desert beast shall fight. . .
Beyond the howling desert with its sand
There waits beneath the stars the Promised Land."

NOTES

PREFACE

¹ De Haas and Wise, *The Great Betrayal*, pp. 21-22.

² See Balfour's introduction to *History of Zionism* by Nahum Sokolow.

³ Josiah C. Wedgwood, *The Seventh Dominion*, p. 3.

BOOK ONE

CHAPTER I — THE PEOPLE OF THE BOOK

¹ Sir Leonard Woolley, *Abraham*.

² J. Garrow Duncan, *New Light on Hebrew Origins*.

³ Sir Charles Marston, "Old Testament Corroborated," *The Jewish Spectator*, November, 1936.

⁴ R. A. S. MacAlister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, p. 254.

⁵ *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament*, ed. by Hugo Gressmann, p. 213.

⁶ *The Letter of Aristeas*, paragraph 112, translated by H. Thackeray, p. 47.

⁷ I Sam. 13:20.

⁸ Hos. 10:11.

⁹ I Sam. 11:5; cf. *A History of Hebrew Civilization* by Alfred Bertholet.

¹⁰ H. B. Tristram: *The Land of Israel; A Journal of Travels in Palestine*, p. 340.

¹¹ I Kings 5:25.

¹² Neh. 2:8; Ezek. 21:2.

¹³ Hermann Guthe, *Palästina*, Bielefeld, 1908, p. 75 ff.

¹⁴ Melvin G. Kyle, *Excavating Kirjath-Sepher's Ten Cities*, p. 82.

¹⁵ W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, pp. 119-120.

¹⁶ N. Glueck, *King Solomon's Copper Mines*, p. 26 ff.

¹⁷ Alfred Bertholet, *A History of Hebrew Civilization*.

¹⁸ Sir Harry Johnston, *Britain Across the Seas*, p. 24.

¹⁹ George Rawlinson, *The Story of Phoenicia*.

²⁰ *Herodotus History*, Book VII, p. 89.

²¹ Joseph Klausner, *The Economic Conditions of Palestine in the Time of Jesus of Nazareth*.

²² D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. II, p. 120.

²³ Flavius Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum III*, Chapter III, 2.

²⁴ Diodorus. Sic. xl. Eclog. 1. Strabo xvi. 2. Tacitus Hist. v. 8.

²⁵ Rev. H. G. Adams, *The History of the Jews from the War with Rome to the Present Time*, Appendix 1, p. 380.

²⁶ A. A. Berle, *The World Significance of a Jewish State*, p. 33.

²⁷ Marion E. Cady, *The Education that Educates*, p. 32.

²⁸ Dr. E. C. Baldwin, *Our Modern Debt to Ancient Israel*, pp. 6 and 7.

²⁹ Dr. F. T. Lamb, *The Making of a Man*, pp. 161-162.

³⁰ Graham and May, *Culture and Conscience*, pp. 11; 228-230.

³¹ D. B. MacDonald, *The Hebrew Philosophical Genius*.

³² The books of Jewish law.

³³ Exod. 23:4 and 5.

- ⁸⁴ Deut. 22:1-3.
⁸⁵ Exod. 23:5; Deut. 22:4.
⁸⁶ Deut. 25:4.
⁸⁷ Deut. 24:17-22; Exod. 22:21-24; 23:9.
⁸⁸ Lev. 25:35-38.
⁸⁹ Deut. 23:15 ff.
⁹⁰ Lev. 20:6, 27; Deut. 18:11 ff.; Isa. 8:10, 19:3, 29:4; II Kings 21:6, 23:24.
⁹¹ Dr. Victor Robinson, p. xv, Introduction, *Medicine in the Bible* by Chas. S. Brim, M.D.
⁹² Prov. 27:2.
⁹³ Eccles. 31:16-21.
⁹⁴ Max Radin, *The Life of the People in Biblical Times*, p. 82.
⁹⁵ Babylonian Talmud "Tract Kiddushin," 30 b.
⁹⁶ Exod. 22:28; Deut. 17:18, 19.
^{96a} Dr. J. H. Hertz, "Free Government in Ancient Israel," *Gibeath Saul*, pp. 14-19.
⁹⁷ Isaiah 2:4; Micah 4:3.
⁹⁸ Lamentations, 1, 2, 5.
⁹⁹ The Jewish feast of Chanukah, beginning with the twenty-fifth day of Kislev, commemorates this Maccabean victory of over 2100 years ago.
¹⁰⁰ Henry M. Battenhouse, *The Bible Unlocked*, p. 406.
¹⁰¹ Says Tacitus: "Men and women were equally determined, and they plainly showed that, if they were forced to abandon their homes, they would dread life far more than death." — *History*, II, 10-13.
¹⁰² According to Tacitus, such an immense booty was acquired by the victorious Roman soldiery "that gold in Syria was reduced to one half of its former value." The loot included rich robes, purple and scarlet stuffs, gums, perfumes and other material such as one would expect from a rich and luxurious town. — *Ibid.*, *History* VII: 13.
¹⁰³ *Ibid.* VII: 28.
¹⁰⁴ So many Romans were slain in the war, writes Dio Cassius, that Hadrian "writing to the Senate, would not use the Emperor's wonted opening form of words, 'I and the army are well.'" Returning to Rome, he was given the great title of "Imperator" II, and the Senate voted him a monument "for his deliverance of the Empire from a redoubtable enemy." Says De Haas: "The shower of honors, medals, and titles awarded the officers eloquently attest how precious was victory, how great the stake involved." *History of Palestine*, p. 59.

CHAPTER II — "MAY MY RIGHT ARM WITHER. . ."

¹ These last few stones constitute what is now commonly known as the Wailing Wall. The plaint which has been recited there continuously through the ages by forlorn returning exiles cries: "For the palace that lies desolate we sit in solitude and mourn; for the Temple that is destroyed we sit in solitude and mourn; for the walls that are overthrown we sit in solitude and mourn. He who sees the cities of Judea in their desolation should say with the Prophets, 'Thy Holy cities are a wilderness' and rend his garments like a mourner. He who sees Jerusalem in its sorrow, should say with the Prophets, 'Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation' and again rend his garments." So the Jewish child was taught from generation to generation to keep the sense of great loss perpetually alive. R. Joseph Karo, compiler of the *Shulchan Aruk*, goes further and decrees that the rent in the garments "must be so thorough that

the heart is laid bare and the torn garments must never be sewed together again."

² Mordecai M. Kaplan, *Judaism as a Civilization*, p. 188.

³ Dr. William E. Blackstone, "May the United States Intercede for the Jews?", *Our Day*, Vol. 8, No. 46, October 1891.

⁴ *Peace Handbook No. 162 on Zionism*, prepared under the direction of the Foreign Office, Historical Section, and published by H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1920. This was part of a series issued for the instruction and information of British officials and representatives throughout the world.

CHAPTER III — THE WANDERING JEW

¹ Herbert B. Adams and Henry Wood, *Columbus and His Discovery of America*.

² For additional information see Professor Cortecao, J. T. A. *Interview*, October 15, 1926; Maurice David, *Who Was Columbus?*; Blasco Ibanez, *En Busca del Gran Khan*; and Laurie Magnus, *The Jews in the Christian Era*.

³ Werner Sombart, "Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben," S. in *Les Documents du Progres. Rev. Internat.*, 4b (1910), pp. 128-135.

⁴ Dr. M. I. Schleiden, *The Importance of the Jews for the Preservation and Revival of Learning During the Middle Ages*.

⁵ Valeriu Marcu, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, translated from the German by M. Firth, pp. 34-36.

⁶ Dr. Ignatz Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem*, pp. 351-353.

⁷ La Lumia, *Gli Ebrei Siciliani in Studi di Storia Siciliana*, ii, 38, 50.

⁸ Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 247.

⁹ Ismar Elbogen, *History of the Jews*.

¹⁰ Literally, Jews' quarters, i.e., the ghetto.

¹¹ *The Founding of New England*.

¹² *History of England*, Chap. I.

¹³ Charles Wareing Bardsley, *English Surnames*, p. 101.

¹⁴ They believed that the so-called Lost Ten Tribes of Israel had not been lost at all, and attempted to prove by a host of circumstantial evidence, that a number of these tribes had found their way to England through Europe. Among these was the Saxons, whose name they asserted derived from the Hebrew word *Saac* which, says the *Watchman of Israel*, organ of the American branch of the Anglo-Israelite Association, "is nothing more than Isaac with the prefix 'i' dropped according to a very common custom of the Israelites to allow the introduction of an affix, in this case 'on,' rendering it 'son,' meaning the 'Son of Isaac.'" (Issue of December 1918.) The merchants of Tarshish, identified by Ezekiel with Israel, they considered to be themselves — that is, that the British Isles were the actual isles of Tarshish mentioned. The Jews they therefore believed to be descended from Judah and the English from Israel. The two groups are distinct, but are due to be merged in accordance with Prophecy. Thus there will be an eventual composition of interests between the English (Israelites) and the Jews (descendants of Judah) along the lines of Jeremiah's prediction that "in those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel and they shall come together . . . to the land that I have given for an inheritance to their fathers."

Queen Victoria herself, says the *Pittsburgh Daily Post* of September 10, 1899, believed "that she was descended from the Psalmist [David] through Zedekiah's eldest daughter." It is said that Emperor Wilhelm's [of Germany] conviction of his *divine origin* is largely due to his grandmother's foible.

¹⁵ As late as the period just before the War the great orator and divine, Pastor Russell, had built up an enormous following based on this concept.

¹⁶ Lovers of Zion.

¹⁷ Theodor Herzl was born in Hungary in 1860. The Herzls trace their ancestry from the Spanish Jewish family, Halevi, with the great poet Judah Halevi one of their forebears.

¹⁸ Issued February 1896.

¹⁹ Lord Melchett, *Thy Neighbor*, p. 108.

Utterly unimpressed by the slogans of his time, Dr. Herzl had written: "My happier co-religionists will not believe me till Jew-baiting teaches them the truth: for the longer Anti-Semitism lies in abeyance the more fiercely will it break out. The infiltration of immigrating Jews, attracted to a land by apparent security, and the ascent in the social scale of rising Jews, combine powerfully to bring about a revolution. Nothing is plainer than this rational conclusion."

²⁰ At still another time the Sublime Porte offered a charter for any part of the Turkish Empire except Palestine. Indignantly, Herzl wrote: "A charter without Palestine! I immediately refused."

CHAPTER IV — THE JEWEL OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

¹ A Greek derivative of Assyria.

² Graham and May, *Culture and Conscience*, p. 10.

³ H. B. Tristram, *The Land of Israel: A Journal of Travels in Palestine*, p. 138.

⁴ Churton, *Land of the Morning*, p. 185.

⁵ Walpole's *Travels*, p. 206.

⁶ Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad*.

⁷ Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth, *Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Jews in Palestine*, pp. 6-22.

⁸ Selah Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 342, 468.

⁹ J. S. Buckingham, *Travels Among the Arab Tribes*, pp. 60-63.

¹⁰ The proper Arabic term for Bedouin is *Bedoui* or *Bedawi*. The plural is *Bedu*. The general, though incorrect, English usage of the word *Bedouin*, with its plural of *Bedouins*, is used in this volume together, as occasion warrants, with the more accurate Arabic terminology.

¹¹ Captains Irby and Mangles, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor*, pp. 334-335, 361-362, 370.

¹² Lord Lindsay, *Travels in the Holy Land*, Vol. II, p. 102.

¹³ *Bilu* is a contraction of four Hebrew words, translated loosely, "Sons of Jacob, forward!"

CHAPTER V — THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

¹ Glyn Roberts, *The Most Powerful Man in the World*, pp. 59-60.

The financial section of London is known as *The City*, analogous to Wall Street in New York.

² John Gunther, *Inside Europe*, p. 208.

³ Herbert Sidebotham, *Great Britain and Palestine*, p. 37.

⁴ Jacob De Haas, *Theodor Herzl — A Biographical Study*.

Count Von Bernsdorf declared November 1, 1928 in Berlin that, in fact, the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine had been the intention of the German Government if the War had ended differently.

⁵ German planes dropped leaflets urging Jews to repudiate the hated Russians. The following is an example: "To the Jews of Poland: The heroic armies of

the great mid-European governments, Germany and Austria-Hungary, have entered Poland. The mighty march of our armies has forced the despotic Russian Government to retreat. Our flags bring to you rights and freedom; equal citizenship rights, freedom of belief, freedom to work undisturbed in all branches of economic and cultural life in your own spirit . . . Remember Kishinev, Homel, Bialistok and the many hundreds of other pogroms! Remember the Beilis affair when the barbaric government itself spread the terrible lie of ritual murder by Jews . . . You . . . must rise as one man to aid in the holy cause. . . *Apply with the greatest confidence to the commandants of our military in the places that are nearest to you. Help bring the victory of freedom and justice.*"

⁶ British Peace Handbook No. 162 on Zionism.

⁷ Philip Graves, *Palestine, The Land of Three Faiths*, p. 43.

⁸ Says De Haas with some sly humor in reference to this debate: "The Zionist quest for Palestine, the character of the Zionist demands, and the alliance with Great Britain and subsequently with all the other Allied and Associated powers, was perhaps of all war policies the only case in which an 'open covenant' was 'openly arrived at.'" *History of Palestine*, p. 484.

⁹ *A History of the Peace Conference in Paris*, edited by H. W. V. Temperley, published under the auspices of the British Institute of International affairs, Vol. VI, p. 173.

¹⁰ Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, Vol. II, p. 52.

¹¹ Herbert Sidebotham, *Great Britain and Palestine*, pp. 58-60.

¹² Much has since been made by the British in distorting this innocuous wording; but it is interesting to note that the language of the Constitution of the United States (Article I, Section I), providing for the establishment of the Congress of the United States, employs like language, an able enough precedent in regard to usage: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives"; and that likewise, Article II, Section I, the source of the power of the President, uses the following language: "The Executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States."

¹³ See testimony of Louis Lipsky at hearing before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-Seventh Congress, Second Session, April 18, 19, 20, 21, 1922, pp. 4-5.

¹⁴ Herbert Sidebotham, *Great Britain and Palestine*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁵ *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, published July 1937, pp. 23-24; *London Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, Part 187, Vol. XV, p. 179.

¹⁶ *A History of the Peace Conference in Paris*, edited by H. W. V. Temperley, Vol. VI, pp. 171-173.

¹⁷ Among others promptly endorsing the Declaration were Greece, March 14, 1918; Holland, April 23, 1918; Siam, August 22, 1918; Italy, May 9, 1918; Japan, January, 1919.

¹⁸ Portland, Oregon, *Journal*, issue of December 3, 1918.

CHAPTER VI — BRASS BUTTONS AND STUFFED SHIRTS

¹ Dr. Josef Schechtmann, *Transjordanien im Bereiche des Palästina Mandates*, p. 55.

² *Ibid.* p. 62.

³ Famous discoverer of 'wild wheat.' Aronson was a landowner of the colony Zichron Jacob.

⁴ *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, August 17, 1918.

⁵ Jaffa, January 17, 1918.

⁶ Liddell Hart, *Colonel Lawrence*, p. 49.

⁷ Says Bertram Thomas: "Had the Arab revolt been a spontaneous Arabian movement, Sherif Hussein would scarcely have been the acceptable leader, even with the lure of gold and arms, poured forth like water to tribesmen fulsomely appreciative of them." *The Arabs*, p. 282.

⁸ Sir Ronald Storrs, *Memoirs*, p. 168; General Edouard Brémont, *Le Hedjaz dans la Guerre Mondiale and Yémen et Saoudia*.

⁹ J. de V. Loder, *The Truth About Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria*, p. 18; Mrs. Steuart Erskine, *King Feisal of Iraq*, p. 38 et seq.

¹⁰ Sir Ronald Storrs, *Memoirs*, p. 170.

¹¹ T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, p. 166; Sir Ronald Storrs, *Memoirs*, p. 170.

¹² C. S. Jarvis, *Three Deserts*, p. 301.

¹³ T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, pp. 124, 268; C. S. Jarvis, *Three Deserts*, pp. 299-300.

¹⁴ Liddell Hart, *Colonel Lawrence*, p. 58; Sir Ronald Storrs, *Memoirs*, p. 190; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, pp. 20-21.

The German generals facing the Allied armies also had a poor opinion of the tribesmen under their command. States a typical reference: "The low caste Arab recruit is . . . a traitor, liar and deserter by nature." — Rafael de Nogales, *Four Years Beneath the Crescent*, p. 294.

¹⁵ C. S. Jarvis, *Three Deserts*, pp. 298-299; Sir Ronald Storrs, *Memoirs*, p. 191.

¹⁶ Liddell Hart, *Colonel Lawrence*.

¹⁷ T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, p. 197.

¹⁸ Lowell Thomas, *With Lawrence in Arabia*, p. 189; Liddell Hart, *Colonel Lawrence*, p. 184; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, pp. 234-235.

¹⁹ Lowell Thomas, *With Lawrence in Arabia*, p. 152.

²⁰ Liddell Hart, *Colonel Lawrence*.

²¹ Lowell Thomas, *With Lawrence in Arabia*, p. 189.

²² Bertram Thomas, *The Arabs*, p. 222.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ J. M. Machover, *Jewish State or Ghetto*, p. 69.

²⁵ Yusuf Malek, *The British Betrayal of the Assyrians*, p. 36, 171.

²⁶ Douglas V. Duff, pp. 73-74, "The Mandates in Syria and Palestine," *The Quarterly Review*, London, January 1933.

²⁷ *Royal Air Force Quarterly*, April 1934, p. 156.

²⁸ Farid Kassab, *Le Nouvel Empire Arabe, la Curie Romaine et le Prétendu Péril Juif Universel*.

²⁹ Dr. Moses Gaster, late Chief Rabbi of Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Congregations, *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, February 1930, p. 111.

³⁰ The native name used for the incoming Zionists to distinguish them from the local Jews. The Zionists were all supposed to come from Moscow and to be uniformly rich and educated.

³¹ H. W. V. Temperley, *A History of the Peace Conference in Paris*, Vol. 5, p. 152.

³² This part of the agreement reads: "Immediately following the completion of the deliberations of the Peace Conference, the definite boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine shall be determined by a Commission to be agreed upon by the parties hereto."

³³ The text of this agreement is given in the *London Times*, June 10, 1936, in a signed article by Dr. Chaim Weizmann with photostat copy of the original agreement bearing Feisal's signature. It reads:

"RACIAL KINSHIP"

"His Royal Highness, the Emir Feisal, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom of Hejaz, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organization, mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine, and being desirous further of confirming the good understanding which exists between them, have agreed upon the following articles [Note : in the interests of brevity some of the articles have been summarized] :

"*Article I* — The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial good will and understanding, and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories."

[*Article II* provided for the determination of the boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine.]

"*Article III* — In the establishment of the Constitution and Administration of Palestine all such measures shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guarantee for carrying into effect the British Government's Declaration of November 2, 1917.

"*Article IV* — All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants on land through close settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development."

[*Articles V and VI* provide for full religious freedom and Mohammedan control of the Moslem Holy Places. In *Article VII* the Zionist Organization undertook to assist the Arab State with the advice of its economic experts. They agreed in *Article VIII* to act in accord on the matters embraced in the pact before the Peace Congress so as to present a united or common front at the Congress. *Article IX* agrees to submit any dispute to the British Government's arbitration.]

³⁴ Dr. Chaim Weizmann, address to London Zionist Conference, July 1920; *Political Report of the Executive of the Zionist Organization to the Twelfth Zionist Congress* (September 1921), p. 24.

³⁵ Address made at dinner held under the auspices of the Anglo-Palestine Club, London, November 11, 1927.

³⁶ An exultant statement issued by the Zionist Provisional Executive Committee, June 27, 1918.

³⁷ C. R. Ashbee, *A Palestine Notebook*, pp. 90-91.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, p. 37.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 37.

⁴¹ The anti-Zionist, Karl Kautsky, quotes a letter from a prominent Zionist written in 1919, saying: "We are no longer of our former opinion as to immigration. . . We are coming to the conclusion that a mass immigration is not only undesirable at the present time, but that it would be an *outright cruelty*" because it [the country] is infected with malaria and other diseases, and because "it must be built on a firm foundation if sweatshops and other undesirable European concomitants of industry are to be avoided." The millions of

refugees ready to flock into the country would just have to wait, he concludes, until these niceties have been completed. *Are The Jews A Race?* pp. 201-202.

⁴² Sir Ronald Storrs, *Memoirs*, p. 360.

⁴³ Horace B. Samuel, *Revolt by Leave*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Address by Colonel Patterson, London, April 27, 1936.

⁴⁶ Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, p. 59.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 60.

⁴⁸ Letter to be found in the *Biography of Michael Lange* by Margery Bentwich; cf., J. H. Kann, *Some Observations on the Policy of the Mandatory Government of Palestine*, pp. 34-35; and *Jüdische Rundschau*, November 20, 1923.

CHAPTER VII — THE MANDATE BY THE LEAGUE

¹ *Report of the Zionist Executive to the Zionist Conference, 1921, Vol. I*, p. 22.

² *A History of the Peace Conference in Paris*, edited by H. W. V. Temperley.

³ The Commission consisted of Dr. Isaiah Bowman and Dr. S. E. Mazes for national questions; Dr. R. B. Dixon, for ethnographic questions; Dr. James T. Shotwell, for historical questions; Prof. Mark Jefferson for geographical questions; Dr. A. A. Young for economic questions; Georges Louis Beer for colonial questions; David Hunter Miller and James Brown Scott as legal experts, and a number of other well known authorities. Their report was submitted to President Wilson and the rest of the American delegation on January 21, 1919, and read: "It is recommended (1) that there be established a separate State of Palestine. (2) That this State be placed under Great Britain as a Mandatory of the League of Nations. (3) That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing . . . and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish State as soon as it is a Jewish State in fact. . . ." The recommendation avers: "It is right that Palestine should become a Jewish State. . . It was the cradle and home of their vital race . . . and it is the only land in which they can find a home of their own; they being in this last respect unique among significant peoples."

⁴ Jacob De Haas, *History of Palestine*, p. 488.

⁵ Memorandum to the Council of the League of Nations by the World Zionist Organization, published July 1922, p. 15.

⁶ This latter proviso was similar in intent to the clauses which fixed the status of so-called minorities in the various States.

⁷ See *Official Gazette of Palestine Government*, Jerusalem, January 23, 1926; and *Mandate for Palestine*, U. S. Printing Office, Washington, 1927.

⁸ See Note 3, above.

⁹ Jacob De Haas, *History of Palestine*.

¹⁰ Josiah C. Wedgwood, *The Seventh Dominion*, p. 74.

¹¹ Address to protest meeting, London, April 27, 1936.

CHAPTER VIII — A MAN NAMED SAMUEL

¹ *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, published July 1937, pp. 121-122.

² De Haas and Wise, *The Great Betrayal*, pp. 110-111.

- ³ Abraham Revusky, *Jews in Palestine*, p. 291.
- ⁴ Sydney Moseley, *The Much Chosen Race*, p. 90.
- ⁵ Heinrich Margulies, *Kritik des Zionismus*, Vol. II, p. 44.
- ⁶ Speech at Twelfth Zionist Congress (1921), *Protokoll*, p. 287.
- ⁷ Jabotinsky was shipped out of the country. In Egypt, despite anything that the British could do about it, the populace made a hero out of him, literally strewing his pathway with flowers.
- ⁸ Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, pp. 64-65.
- ⁹ Issue of July 1925.
- ¹⁰ *Minutes of the Victoria Institute*, May 1930, p. 249.
- ¹¹ Gershon Agronsky, *Sir Herbert Samuel's Administration*.
- ¹² *Procès Verbaux des Sessions de la Commission Permanente des Mandats*, 5e Sess., p. 56.
- ¹³ Gershon Agronsky, *Sir Herbert Samuel's Administration*.
- ¹⁴ Rev. Amos I. Dushaw, "Who Provokes Riots in Palestine?" *Pro-Palestine Herald*, December 1936.
- ¹⁵ Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, pp. 71-72.
- ¹⁶ "Arab Riots in Palestine," *Current History*, 1921, p. 526; Rev. Amos I. Dushaw, "Who Provokes Riots in Palestine?" *Pro-Palestine Herald*, December 1936.
- ¹⁷ Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, pp. 71-72.
- ¹⁸ Dr. Wolfgang von Weisl, *Der Kampf um das Heilige Land*, pp. 41-42.
- ¹⁹ Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, pp. 72-73.
- ²⁰ A novel (*The Quisto-Box*) only slightly veiled as to persons and incidents, written by the Jewish barrister Horace Samuel, makes the charges circumstantially.
- ²¹ *Empire Review*, April 1924.
- ²² Rev. Amos I. Dushaw, "Who Provokes Riots in Palestine?" *Pro-Palestine Herald*, December 1936.
- ²³ Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, p. 74.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 73-74.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 75.
- ²⁶ Bessie Pullen-Burby, *Letters from Palestine, February-April 1922*.
- ²⁷ Berl Katznelson at the Twelfth Zionist Congress (1921), *Protokoll*, p. 150.
- ²⁸ M. Beilinson, *Zum Jüdisch-Arabischen Problem*, p. 15; Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, p. 71.
- ²⁹ Dr. M. D. Eder at the Twelfth Zionist Congress (1921), *Protokoll*, p. 355.
- ³⁰ Gershon Agronsky, *Sir Herbert Samuel's Administration*.
- ³¹ The word *Haj* means one who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.
- ³² Admitted Weizmann: "... the situation was fully discussed with us, and we agreed in view of all the circumstances - of our own difficulties in the execution of our work, as well as of the Government's difficulties - to the definition of the policy of the Jewish National Home contained in the Churchill White Paper." Address at 1921 World Zionist Congress.
- ³³ M. Haskel, *Ideals and Compromises*.
- ³⁴ Address by Weizmann before the English-Zionist Federation, London, October 7, 1934. This statement was repeated by Dr. Weizmann before the Royal Commission investigating the 1936 disturbances.
- ³⁵ Issue of September 19, 1920.
- ³⁶ From the influential French journal, *The French-Asian*, issue of March 1921.
- ³⁷ Lawrence had asserted emphatically just before this conference that there was no question about the incorporation of Trans-Jordan into Palestine "from

which it is inseparable." Dr. Joseph Schechtmann, *Transjordanien im Bereiche des Palästina Mandates*, p. 51.

³⁸ The part Samuel played in this affair is not too edifying. His complicity may be seen in his own reports for the years 1920-1925. See also pp. 20-23, *The Mandate for Palestine*, U. S. Printing Office, Washington, 1927; and the testimony of Dr. Chaim Weizmann before the Royal Commission, November 26, 1936.

³⁹ Dr. S. Fischelev, *The International Statute of Eastern Palestine*, pp. 41-43.

⁴⁰ Address delivered October 7, 1934 to special conference of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.

⁴¹ The dunam measures 1000 square meters. Urban land is usually measured by the square pic, which equals 0.58 meters.

⁴² Later the Jews, for propriety's sake, were to be handed a few acres of marsh and sand dune.

⁴³ *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, published July 1937, p. 261; Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, pp. 85-88; G. Holdheim, "Ueber die Voraussetzungen und das politische Ziel des Zionismus," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, April 1930, p. 62.

⁴⁴ Samuel was to be heard from again. When early in 1936 Mr. MacDonald resigned as head of the Refugee Committee, thus pointedly calling attention to the wretched situation of Jewish refugees, the British Government was in an impasse. At that moment it was indignantly asking the world to participate in sanctions against Italy as a treaty-breaking nation. It was at that moment that the Jews could have pointed to English hypocrisy in reference to Palestine. To safeguard itself from this possibility, Samuel was sent over to the United States with a vast scheme for settling refugees and for raising money. America was assured that if Jews would raise \$15,000,000, hundreds of thousands of sufferers in Europe could be transported to Palestine and settled there. Yet at the moment that Samuel, and his colleague Weizmann, were asking for these tremendous sums, they must have known that at least 75,000 German Jews, as well as innumerable sufferers in East Europe, who were being hounded over all the borders of the Old World, would have gladly gone to Palestine and could have done so on their own resources if the British would have let them in. Under Mr. Samuel's capable counter-attraction the critical point was soon over for England: no one raised the question as to why Britain had shut the doors of their homeland to these Jews.

⁴⁵ These loans are practically a gift. No one ever expects them to be repaid.

CHAPTER IX — THE WHITE PAPER BARRAGE

¹ For typical example see manifesto published in the entire Arab press of June 30, 1928.

Following the Communist line religiously, even the New York Communist paper *Freiheit* (Yiddish-language) asserted that "the war of the Jews against the Arabs was and is unjust. The war of the Arab masses against the Jewish invaders is just. The war of the Jews against the Arabs is a part of imperialist exploitation. The war of the Arabs against the Jews is, despite its religious shell, a part of the world struggle of the subjected masses." (Issue of September 6, 1929.) The American Communists went so far as to establish their own fund called "Workers International Relief," which in its proclamation asking for support, published in *The Daily Worker* of September 13, 1929, characterized Zionist defense groups as "Zionist gunmen." The West European Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued a wide-spread

circular stating that "it is the duty of all our Parties to fight against Jewish immigration into Palestine." With Machiavellian amorality it advises that "one must remember that the Communists are not instigating Marxian scholars. Phrases like 'class-struggle' mean very little to the illiterate *fellah*, the Arab peasant, but he does understand phrases like 'Zionists have succeeded in seizing the largest part of your community land' or words such as '*Don't stop the strike unless they disarm the Jews and arm the Arabs.*'"

² Ittamar Ben Avi, "A Self-Contained Jewish Homeland," *The New Palestine*, September 11, 1936.

³ A man of many affectations, linguist and litterateur, Luke's original name appears to have been Harry Charles Joseph Lukach — at least, such was the name used in the book he wrote while stationed in Sierra Leone, *Fringe of the East* (London, 1913). In 1927 he managed to write *Prophets, Priests and Patriarchs, Sketches of the Sects of Palestine*, in which he did not find it necessary to mention the Jews at all. Together with Keith-Roach, fellow anti-Zionist official, he wrote *Handbook of Palestine* in which the word 'Jew' was only mentioned when it became plainly impossible to leave it out, and in which Jewish accomplishments were again totally ignored.

⁴ In later years Storrs resented keenly any inference that he was anti-Jewish. He was afterwards elevated to the governorship of Cyprus, where his advent coincided identically with the issuance of anti-Jewish rulings there. During his term a wild anti-British outbreak convulsed the island, the enraged Cypriots burning Storrs' personal library.

⁵ *Jüdische Rundschau*, September 13, 1929; Horace B. Samuel, *Beneath the Whitewash*.

⁶ Spanish and Portuguese Jews and their descendants are known as *Sephardim*, differentiating them from the Eastern Jews, known as *Ashkenazim*.

⁷ Maurice Samuel, *What Happened in Palestine*.

⁸ J. H. Kann, *Some Observations on the Policy of the Mandatory Government of Palestine with Regard to the Arab Attacks on the Jewish Population in August 1929*.

⁹ Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood, "Palestine," *Pro-Palestine Herald*, Fall Issue, 1937.

¹⁰ Maurice Samuel, *What Happened in Palestine*, p. 176.

¹¹ *Jüdische Rundschau*, September 17, 1929; J. H. Kann, *Some Observations on the Policy of the Mandatory Government of Palestine with Regard to the Arab Attacks on the Jewish Population in August 1929*; Maurice Samuel, *What Happened in Palestine*.

¹² J. H. Kann, *Some Observations on the Policy of the Mandatory Government of Palestine with Regard to the Arab Attacks on the Jewish Population in August 1929*.

¹³ Eye-witness report in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Morning Edition, October 3, 1929).

¹⁴ *Berliner Tageblatt* (Morning Edition), September 13, 1929.

¹⁵ Douglas Duff, *London Quarterly Review*, issue of July 1933.

¹⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, May 20, 1935.

¹⁷ Interview with *Jewish Morning Journal*, November 1, 1930.

¹⁸ Evening Edition, September 3, 1929.

¹⁹ Minutes of the Seventeenth Session, Geneva, June 1930.

²⁰ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Evening Edition, October 8, 1929.

²¹ Statement signed by all of the Jewish National Institutions, including the Jewish National Council, the Chief Rabbinate, and the Central Agudath Israel. In sickening detail this communication outlines the whole shocking train of events, accusing the Government of having taken steps which led the Moslems

to conclude that it supported their movement. It reads on: "During the first days of the riots, the Jewish community, which suffered a general attack, was deprived of all Government defense. . . In many cases the police were passive onlookers. . . Not even fines were imposed on those who looted Jewish property, as though the looting was lawful. The Government has neither arrested nor tried any of the principal agitators. . . Officers of the Government whose responsibility for the events is beyond doubt, have to this day neither been dismissed from their posts nor committed for trial." Instead of strengthening the hands of those who were in danger, the Administration "has prosecuted and is still prosecuting those Jews who defend themselves. It disarms them, arrests them and commits them for trial as ordinary offenders. . . . The Government has attempted in its official communications to distort the truth concerning these events. *This distortion of the truth is an inevitable epilogue to the plan of destruction which was only partially realized, thanks to the Jewish self-defense.*"

²² See docket for June 22, 1931.

In striking contrast was the severity with which the slightest offense offered against an Englishman was punished. A characteristic incident occurred on February 4, 1930, when over a hundred Arabs were arrested in a thorough scouring of the whole vicinity, in connection with the firing of the house of Mr. Strawberrys, English manager of the Athlet quarries.

²³ Issue of January 4, 1930.

²⁴ The Jewish Labor Parties, as always pathetically unaware of the empty character of Socialist resolutions and promises, actually thought they had won a great victory. Jarblum exults: "In its heroic struggle Jewish Labor does not stand alone. The opponents of Labor Zionism, both those of the anti-Zionist Socialist camp and those of the bourgeois Zionist camp, must reckon with this fact." (*The Socialist International and Zionism*, p. 23.)

²⁵ K. W. Stead, *Report on the Economic and Financial Situation of Palestine*, London, 1927, Department of Overseas Trade, p. 6.

²⁶ *New York American*, April 13, 1930.

²⁷ The part played by Hope-Simpson is rather puzzling. Though events proved him to be obviously an anti-Zionist, he was not an anti-Semite *per se*, many of his attitudes apparently being guided by what he conceived to be Imperial interests. Recently (1938) he has altered much of his attitude and admits the "most remarkable development of the country [Palestine]," and that it has been literally "transformed by the energy of the Jewish immigrant." (Sir J. Hope-Simpson, *Refugees, Preliminary Report of a Survey*.) In 1938, also, he has shown a deep interest in the plight of European Jewish refugees and, though ignoring Palestine as a potential home for these people, has strongly advocated that the British Government allow large groups of them to find sanctuary in Britain itself. Sir John, however, remains an anti-Zionist, holding Jewish nationalism in large measure responsible for the present plight of the Jew in Europe. "Zionism," he writes, "has given to the anti-Semite a plausible though baseless argument against the Jew which 'is being used to justify the process of reducing the Jew to a position of political inferiority' in the various countries. (Ibid.)"

²⁸ Known almost immediately as the Passfield White Paper, due to its sponsorship by Lord Passfield.

^{28a} In nearby Cyprus, where standards of living are a great deal higher than in Palestine, *Great Britain and the East* estimated (issue of September 1, 1938) that "about 27 acres of *unirrigated* land is needed to keep a man and family of four. . . But less than six acres of *irrigated* land is enough to keep a family."

²⁹ Not three years afterward, an official report published by the Palestine Department of Agriculture, showed that excluding State lands, fallow lands, and the great hill country, there were at that time 10,000,000 dunams actually under cultivation. (See Palestine Census Report of 1933, including a statistical summary of Palestine's cultivated area.) In 1935 Dr. Alfred Michaelis estimated a cultivated area of 12,000,000 dunams.

³⁰ The actual wording is: "Control of all irrigable water should remain with the Government and all surplus water above that on which rights may be established should be the Government's property."

³¹ Interview November 11, 1930 by the correspondents for the *Jewish Daily Forward*, radical Yiddish newspaper.

³² Herbert Sidebotham, *Great Britain and Palestine*, p. 169.

³³ The question was, explained Weizmann at the following Zionist Congress, whether a compromise should be reached "or whether we should insist on the clear and simple withdrawal of the Passfield White Paper . . . On such a demand on our part . . . our friends in the House of Commons, at the end of a debate on Palestine, would have had to press the question of the White Paper to vote. Such a vote . . . would, I am afraid, have turned the great mass of the Labour Party against us, and Palestine would have become a party question at Westminster."

³⁴ The eminent French Senator, Justin Godard, had recommended that the whole matter be brought up for airing before the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

³⁵ The expert whom Shiels was referring to was the Colonial Office functionary Lewis French, whose later report, considering all of these circumstances, is no less remarkable than the matters which had already preceded.

³⁶ Geneva, June 16, 1931.

³⁷ Andrews was murdered in Galilee late in September of 1936 by Arab thugs.

³⁸ It is worthy of note that Hitler, a number of years later, actually did reestablish this Medieval institution in relation to the peasants of East Prussia; indicating clearly the general pattern of thought to which French and his associates subscribed.

BOOK TWO

CHAPTER I — JEWS HAVE A REPUTATION FOR INTELLIGENCE

¹ This arrangement caused Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to flatly accuse Weizmann of handing autocratic authority to "the same men who went to President Wilson and asked him to take back his word endorsing the Zionist ideal."

^{1a} The attitude of these Marxist extremists reached such lengths that it was embodied in the axiom, "An organized Arab is more important than an unorganized Jew." In 1927 the Third Congress of the *Histadruth* adopted a resolution favoring the establishment of a joint union of Jewish and Arab workers (*Brith Poale Eretz Israel*), and began to organize Arab labor unions, going so far as to publish an Arab newspaper, *Itahad el Amal* (Workers Unity).

The Arab Labor Federation, which had thus been instigated into being, as one of its first acts decided to picket Jewish enterprises and to conduct an anti-Jewish boycott (October 28, 1934). Pickets from these labor unions forced Jewish workmen from their jobs. An example taking place early in 1936 is connected with the erection of Jaffa school buildings by a Jewish contractor affiliated with the Contracting Department of the *Histadruth*. Employed on

this project were an equal number of Arabs and Jews. The Arab unions picketed the enterprise, insisting upon one hundred percent Arab labor. A few months later, the most blood-thirsty of the attackers who signaled the outbreak of the 1936 insurrection, was the Union of Jaffa Arab Stevedores which the *Histadruth* had organized.

² Held in September 1930. Adding a note of grim humor to these destructive proceedings, a message came to the same Congress from the 'Comrades' of the British Labour Party, concluding with the sage hope that "the recommendations of Sir John Simpson will inaugurate an epoch of prosperity in Palestine."

³ September 24, 1933.

⁴ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 236.

⁵ Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, *Race, Nation or Religion*.

⁶ Charge of Deputy Isaac Gruenbaum, member of Polish Parliament, at Basle Congress, 1927.

⁷ Wise had leaped to his feet, characterizing Weizmann's opening address as a personal apologia and not a political address, roaring that "Weizmann's speech sounded like a statement by the British Government."

⁸ *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, November 27, 1934.

⁹ Address at 1931 World Zionist Congress.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, February 14, 1934.

¹² *Palestine Review*, December 25, 1936.

CHAPTER II — "THE DESERT SHALL BLOOM LIKE THE ROSE"

¹ Including £3,000,000 in agriculture, £6,500,000 in industry; £2,000,000, housing; £750,000, transport; £3,000,000, distribution; £750,000, professional services; £2,000,000, cafes, restaurants, hotels, theaters, etc.; £500,000, banking and insurance; and £1,500,000 miscellaneous.

² Ernest Main, *Palestine at the Crossroads*, p. 31.

³ *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1936*, p. 236.

⁴ A wild arhythmic dance in which participants gather in a huge circle with interlocked arms as children do in the old American game of *London Bridge is Falling Down*, whirling themselves in a dizzy circle until they literally drop from exhaustion. The compelling gaiety of this dance can hardly be described or appreciated unless seen.

⁵ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 225.

⁶ Quoted by Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 227.

⁷ Organized in 1935 by Bronislaw Huberman. It is composed of eminent musicians exiled from Germany and contains a number of non-Jewish exiles as well as 65 prominent Jewish players.

⁸ Hebrew had degenerated into a stratified medium for religious instruction and service, intoned invariably in a sing-song fashion. Its use in secular affairs came to be looked on by the devout as sacrilegious.

The early Zionist immigrants were impressed by the peculiarly soft, even elegant quality, of the Hebrew spoken by the handful of Sephardic Jews in Jerusalem. Its lyric flow struck the ears of these psychically thirsty men like the swift roll of mighty rivers. It still held that commanding quality which made Renan describe it as "a quiver full of steel arrows, a cable with strong coils, a trumpet of brass crashing through the air with two or three sharp notes."

Hebrew is written like shorthand. Much is compressed in a little space. In this superlative tongue a flow of abstractions and nuances, difficult to capture in other languages, may be perfectly expressed. It is the almost perfect medium for poet or philosopher. As a vehicle for sentiment and love-making it is unsurpassed.

⁹ Spoken in the ghettos of Eastern Europe, Yiddish is a 'low German' or *Plattdeutsch* tongue written in Hebrew characters and bastardized with some Hebrew and an infiltration in each country of the local language.

CHAPTER III — BUREAUCRACY LOOKS AT JEWS

¹ *Scotsman*, issue of February 8, 1938; c.f., *New York Journal and American*, March 15, 1938.

² Ladislav Farago, *Ken*, April 7, 1938.

³ Dr. J. Morton Howell, *Egypt's Past, Present and Future*, pp. 244-245.

⁴ Quincy Howe, *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty*. See also speech by former Ambassador Dodd, *New York*, January 13, 1938.

Particularly during the latter part of the Nazi fight to attain power, English influence alone was a factor of strong importance in swaying the aged Hindenburg, the Rhineland industrialists, desperately seeking foreign relief, and the Hugenberg nationalists through whose efforts Hitler finally secured control. When Nazism was desperately weak and on the point of disintegrating, Sir Henry Deterding, the master of Shell Oil, placed at their disposal 4,000,000 guilders. (*The Brown Network*, with Introduction by William Francis Hare, Earl of Listowel, pp. 66-69, 129; Glyn Roberts, *The Most Powerful Man in the World*, p. 305.) Deterding secured the aid of prominent English moneyed men who gave liberally. Among others said to have contributed heavily was the great Vickers munitions firm in England. Hitler's bid for anti-Communist support in the Western democracies was the cry, *Deutschland kämpft für Europa!* (Germany fights for Europe.) The common denominator of all Nazi contentions was a violent anti-Semitism which accused the Jew of being at the bottom of all troubles.

Such noteworthy figures as the Marquess of Londonderry (see Londonderry's book, *Ourselves and Germany*) and Lord Mount Temple, used their influence to assist the Nazi Government. Generous loans were granted to Germany by British bankers, and, from the Bureaus, pressure was brought to bear on France to restrain her from interfering with the Nazi program. With the aid of English permanent officials the first direct breach was made in the Versailles Treaty. An example is the sweeping provision made in the Anglo-German Naval Agreement reached in June 1935. General Goering's report entitled "German Air Force Manual," revealed that Great Britain had officially placed its seal of approval on Nazi torpedo-carrying seaplanes, bombers fitted with machine guns, large aircraft carriers, warships fitted with seaplane catapults and seaplanes for spreading smokescreens. (The Versailles Treaty absolutely prohibited any German Air Corps.) Today, as a result of Britain's action, Germany's rebuilt air fleet is the paramount threat to the peace of Europe.

What England never deigned to do for Republican Germany, she hastened to perform for the swashbuckling Nazi. Though English Liberals expressed horror at the Nazi outrages, in the practical business of life England as a nation has been the best friend Hitler has had. At the very moment the Jews and Liberals were boycotting Germany, Whitehall sent (during 1937)

one of her ace manipulators, Walter Runciman, to America in an attempt to get a loan of \$500,000,000 for Germany, designed to keep the Reich afloat economically. Accompanying him was Sir Otto Niemeyer, a director of the Bank of England. In addition to exerting all possible influence on the American Government, the British have been pressing American bankers in favor of this loan.

The general attitude may be read in Lord Redesdale's exclamation when Hitler marched in on Austria: "The gratitude of Europe and the gratitude of the whole world is due at this time, in my opinion, to Hitler!"

⁵ George Stewart, *The White Armies of Russia*, pp. 244-253.

The British hoped in this adventure to secure control of the new Caucasian republics and thus to get at the rich oil fields of Baku. Its unfortunate result was the assassination of almost half a million Jews in the Ukraine under the most horrible conditions. Taking quick advantage of foreign intervention, the Bolsheviks used this psychological advantage to cement wobbling Russia behind them.

⁶ The Protocols were first published in 1905 in Russia, by Prof. Sergei A. Nilus of Moscow. In the 1917 edition Nilus for the first time linked them with the August 1897 Basle Zionist Congress of Theodor Herzl. The Protocols allege to present a detailed account of the secret meetings of the Elders of Zion. They are presumed to represent the essence of a Jewish attempt to seize world power by cunningly destroying the foundations of government everywhere. Like a gigantic, unseen octopus the monstrous depravity of these Machiavellian schemers is always present. They are responsible for Marxism, International Capitalism and cataclysms of all kinds. They operate with inhuman cunning and their chief weapon is the power of gold. Their hidden terrifying control is seen everywhere; and their ultimate purpose is to reduce the gentile world to abject slavery.

Philip Graves demonstrated that the Protocols were a rank forgery of a work written by the brilliant French-Catholic author, Maurice Joly: "*Dialogues aux Enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu, ou la Politique de Machiavel au 19me siècle*" (*Dialogues in Hell between Machiavel and Montesquieu, or the policy of Machiavel in the 19th Century*). It had been published in 1865, concealing a polemic against Napoleon III and his alleged plans of world conquest through guile. All that was done by the plagiarizers who issued the Protocols was to substitute the Jews in place of Machiavel-Napoleon. The fraud was shown in the *London Times* in its issues of August 16, 17, and 18, 1921, where it was clearly proven that the Protocols alleged to date from 1897, the year of the First Zionist Congress, had been in print since 1865. The anti-Semites immediately retreated to the position that the Protocols represented old Jewish ideas and had been written by a circumcised Jew named Moses Jöel, who passed under the name of Joly.

⁷ London, November 19, 1930.

⁸ Memorandum to the British Government by the Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress, October 1923.

⁹ *J. T. A. News Service*, September 2, 1931.

¹⁰ House of Commons Debate, June 21, 1936.

¹¹ Chief Political Officer in Palestine and Syria during 1919 and 1920, and military adviser of the Colonial Office's Middle East Department.

¹² Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, p. 35.

¹³ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 213.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 250.

- ¹⁵ Dr. John Haynes Holmes, *Palestine Today and Tomorrow*, pp. 151-157.
- ¹⁶ Beverley Nichols, *No Place Like Home*, p. 254.
- ¹⁷ Jewish section of London.
- ¹⁸ C. R. Ashbee, *A Palestine Notebook*, pp. 90-91, 107.
- ¹⁹ Ladislas Farago, *Palestine on the Eve*, pp. 245-246.
- ²⁰ *Palestine Post*, July 2, 1936.
- ²¹ Interview, January 23, 1931.
- ²² Dr. John Haynes Holmes, *Palestine Today and Tomorrow*, pp. 118-119.
- ²³ Senator Royal S. Copeland in the *New York American*, October 10, 1936.
- ²⁴ 'Here I am, and here I stay.'
- ²⁵ The English originally went into Egypt to support the authority of the Khedive and to suppress a military revolt.
- ²⁶ Statement by Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of the Admiralty, July 1936.
- ²⁷ Herbert Sidebotham, *Great Britain and Palestine*, p. 191.
- ²⁸ Great Britain holds controlling interests in the Iraq Petroleum Co., with its subsidiaries, Mosul Oil Fields, Ltd. and British Oil Development, Ltd. They have a concession of some 45,000 square miles in Iraq. The oil flows through the Mediterranean at Haifa through 1200 miles of steel pipeline, every foot of the way in territory under British military supervision.
- ²⁹ In 1935 the quotations for such a representative commodity as railway materials—steel rails, bolts, screws, etc., delivered in British South Africa, were £30-10s. per ton British and only £12 Japanese. In Malaya, India and Africa, Japanese textiles are underselling the British products. Even against the German manufactories, the apprehensive traders of England have watched themselves rapidly losing ground.
- ³⁰ Herbert Sidebotham, *British Interests in Palestine*.
- ³¹ *Control of a Vital Corridor*, London Daily Telegraph, February 15, 1929.
- ³² Canada set a precedent when in 1923 she signed the Halibut Fisheries Treaty with the United States, an agreement which bore the signatures only of the American and Canadian representatives. This was followed by a number of other independent treaties between Canada and the United States, and Canada and European Governments. When Lloyd George, sending a British detachment to stop the Turks who had just routed a Hellenic Army, appealed to the Dominions for immediate military cooperation, the Canadian Prime Minister bluntly refused, saying that the Canadian Parliament alone could determine whether the country should participate in wars in which other nations or other parts of the British Empire might be involved. The Dominions have since shown a certain amount of restiveness and a vigorous attitude where their own self-interests are concerned. This was brought out clearly in 1938, during the negotiations with Germany over the fate of Czechoslovakia, when South African, Irish, Canadian and Australian statesmen delivered sharp warnings to London that their assistance in time of war could not be taken for granted by Britain.
- ³³ A further sidelight on this subject was revealed by Sir John Chancellor on March 29, 1938, when he stated that he had discussed this projected incorporation of Palestine in the British Commonwealth with various authorities, who had assured him that there was no hope that any nation in Europe would consent to it.
- ³⁴ *Peace Handbook No. 162 on Zionism*.
- ³⁵ The bulk of Persian and Indian Moslems maintain the hereditary right of

Ali Mohammed's adopted son and son-in-law, Hashimid Ali Ibn Abu Talib, to the Caliphate, placing him above Mohammed himself.

³⁶ Yusuf Malek, *The British Betrayal of the Assyrians*, pp. 28-31.

³⁷ *Memoirs*, p. 379.

³⁸ J. de Vere Loder, *The Truth About Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria*, p. 16.

³⁹ Bertram Thomas, *The Arabs*, pp. 229-230.

⁴⁰ *La Vita Segreta Dell' Arabia Felice*.

⁴¹ *Palestine Review*, June 10, 1938.

⁴² pp. 307-310.

⁴³ Water C. Langsam, *The World Since 1914*, p. 151.

There have been a number of rebellions against the British in Iraq, and the country is still essentially anti-English. London's methods of handling this situation are simple. When the previous Cabinet grew obstreperous in the Fall of 1936, the British financed the politician, Hukmat Suleiman, who made a military putsch and treated his predecessors to the firing squad. Suleiman was an outspoken Nazi and anti-Semite. *Great Britain and the East* speaks of "his recognition that the British were hated in Iraq, and his personal resolve to 'try again' to convince the Iraqis of British honesty." (Issue of December 10, 1936.)

⁴⁴ *Great Britain and the East*, Issue of August 6, 1936.

⁴⁵ H. St. John Philby, "British Bombs Over Arabia," *World Review*, January 1938.

⁴⁶ *Palestine at the Crossroads*, p. 61.

⁴⁷ *Great Britain and Palestine*, pp. 290-291.

⁴⁸ Liddell Hart, *Colonel Lawrence*.

⁴⁹ *Palestine at the Crossroads*, pp. 58-59; cf., Quincy Howe, *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty*, p. 144.

⁵⁰ Dr. John Haynes Holmes, *Palestine Today and Tomorrow*, p. 127.

⁵¹ One needs hardly to be reminded that it is not possible to discover in the history of legislative practice any formula, however short or drastic, which does not provide for two or more 'obligations.' Even the law proclaiming the freedom of the subject or citizen, contains a limitative condition - 'provided' he obeys the law and does not encroach upon other subjects' or citizens' freedom, etc. The reservations are obviously appended to prevent abuses, not for the purpose of nullifying the main object.

⁵² Speaking in Commons, May 2, 1929, defending the Administration against charges of hindering Jewish settlement.

⁵³ A reply to an English-instigated Arab Memorandum to the League.

⁵⁴ Dr. Chaim Weizmann, "A Common Fatherland for Arab and Jew," supplement to *Palestine*, October 7, 1936.

The occurrences in Egypt to which Weizmann obviously refers, are of considerable interest. England entered Egypt in 1882. According to the scholarly Englishman, Francis Adams, she entered on a solemn pledge of temporary occupation, which she was later disloyal to. Just as the Suez Canal pact forbids military occupancy, and gives England not a shade of right to legal possession, her *de facto* possession argues ill for Palestine. Adams repeats the Khedive's mournful remark: "But it is impossible. A promise is a promise - the pledged word of England - it is impossible!" - Francis William Lauderdale Adams, *The New Egypt*.

⁵⁵ Berlin, August 28, 1930.

⁵⁶ *Great Britain and the East*, June 4, 1936.

CHAPTER IV — WELCOME HOME !

¹ Douglas V. Duff, *Sword for Hire*.

² *New York American*, October 13, 1936.

³ Chairman of the London Unemployment Insurance Fund and Director of the London School of Economics.

⁴ October 25, 1933.

⁵ In January 1936 the Government stopped receiving applications for immigration certificates for relatives of Palestine residents altogether.

⁶ This is at the rate of 200 per month. It may be contrasted with the High Commissioner's statement in his official report for the same year, in which he says: "We do not consider that the number of illegal immigrants exceeds 100 per month."

⁷ October 25, 1933, at Berlin.

⁸ Proclamation issued in November 1934, by the Syrian Government.

⁹ *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, August 13, 1934.

¹⁰ Jerusalem, May 9, 1931.

¹¹ *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the year 1936*, p. 236.

¹² Statement at British Imperial Conference, London, October 23, 1926.

¹³ *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*, p. 4.

¹⁴ Stated H. Frumken, head of the Histadruth Central Labor Exchange, on August 3, 1934: "The figure of 35,000 illegal Arab immigrants as reported in the Damascus press, is not exaggerated."

¹⁵ From the Damascus paper, *Al Ayam*; cf., *Palestine Economic Review*, January 1936, p. 10. The Damascus press stated, August 3, 1934, that a total of \$200,000 was remitted to families left behind by Hauran immigrants, who were sending for wives and children.

¹⁶ *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the year 1936*, p. 71.

¹⁷ *Palestine on the Eve*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁸ *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*, January 1937.

¹⁹ August 30, 1934.

²⁰ See formal complaint of the Zionist Executive to the Persian Government, March 12, 1926.

CHAPTER V — CLOSE SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

¹ *An Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine during the period July 1, 1920-June 30, 1921* (Cmd. 1499, 1921).

² *No Place Like Home*, p. 259.

³ Procurator of the Salesian Fathers in Palestine.

⁴ Head of Mount Carmel Bible School in Haifa. See *Minutes of Victoria Institute*, February 1930.

⁵ In reply to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, who had objected to Article II of the draft Mandate. (Article VI of the Mandate places the Mandatory under specific instruction to "encourage close settlement by Jews on the Land.")

⁶ There are private-estate owners in the United States and Canada who own larger acreage than this individually.

⁷ Israel Cohen, *Recent Progress in Palestine*, p. 8, published by the Central Office of the Zionist Organization, London, 1934.

⁸ Late officer of the Palestine Government Service.

⁹ This survey has not yet been completed.

¹⁰ A. Granovsky, *The Land Issue in Palestine*, p. 23.

¹¹ Says the British Report to the League for 1936, laconically: "16,000 dunams have been set aside for Arab cultivators in the area, and will be drained and irrigated by the concessionaires free of charge to the cultivators."—p. 54.

¹² *J. T. A. News*, January 27, 1937.

¹³ The inclusion in the Ordinance of the word "sufferance," that is, without the knowledge or authority of the owner, was a particularly significant innovation.

¹⁴ Dr. A. Ruppin, *Three Decades of Palestine*.

¹⁵ Turkey itself discarded them in 1926 in favor of statutes based on the most efficient European models.

¹⁶ *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, November 16, 1934.

¹⁷ March 13, 1932.

¹⁸ Announced by J. H. Thomas, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a message transmitted to the Arab political leaders through High Commissioner Wauchope, February 5, 1936.

¹⁹ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, pp. 243-244.

²⁰ *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, July 1937, p. 224.

²¹ This sum is paid direct to the Palestine Treasury. It is independent of local community levies, which must be paid in addition.

²² It may be expected that even this sum will usually be canceled.

CHAPTER VI — BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW

¹ "And the same day Pharaoh commanded the taskmakers of the people, and their officers, saying, 'Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick as heretofore . . . and the number of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them.' . . . Then the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying 'Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants? There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say unto us, make brick: and behold, thy servants are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people.' But he said . . . 'There shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the number of bricks.' And the officers of the children of Israel did see that they were in evil case . . ."—Exodus 5:6-19.

² This may be compared with the agreement of the same Company with Iraq, under which it pays over to the Iraqi Government a huge sum yearly for its privileges there. The agreement stipulates that drastic reductions are to be made in the price of petroleum products sold in Iraq. Iran was also not behind in demanding its compensation for any benefits given. In the concession signed at Teheran, April 30, 1933, a low price was fixed on oil sold in that country, on the score that "cheap oil is of importance for the modernization of agriculture and of transport." The Company is moreover required to replace, progressively, all its foreign employees with Iranians, and to spend £10,000 a year on the education of Iranians in England in all engineering and research work; to pay government taxes of £225,500 a year for fifteen years, and £300,000 a year for the following fifteen years. An additional royalty basis is provided for every ton of crude oil extracted.

³ Statement by S. Hoofien, December 29, 1935. (*Palestine Economic Review*, February-March 1936, pp. 16-18.)

⁴ Another attempt is now being made to erect a brewery enterprise in Palestine — it is understood, under more favorable conditions.

⁵ It is contrary to the American treaty with Britain covering the Palestine Mandate to levy any discriminatory tariff against American goods. This situation is all-important to both English and American manufacturers since Palestine is the jumping-off place for the fast-growing hinterland market of Middle Asia.

⁶ A mil is half a cent. A kilogram equals approximately two and one fifth pounds.

⁷ Statement to the Jewish Press, Berlin, August 1, 1927.

⁸ The Sachs Mills, opened in November 1933, had been the pride of the growing textile industries of Palestine. When together with other great textile factories it had to give up this unequal struggle, a host of skilled Jewish workers were thrown out of employment.

⁹ This transport system is practically valueless to the Jews of Palestine and is favored by the British for reasons of Imperial policy.

¹⁰ For the first nine months of 1937, states *Great Britain and the East* with undisguised alarm, Germany outsold England by 20% in Palestine. The figures are: Germany, £1,079,934; Great Britain, £909,268. Says this voice of Whitehall pointedly: "The irrationality of the whole procedure [open door policy] is obvious." — Issue of January 28, 1937.

¹¹ "The Economic Capacity of Palestine," *Palnews Economic Annual of Palestine*, 1936, p. 65.

¹² March 5, 1935. "The world," he declared, "looks admiringly on our prosperity, but disaster and ruin lie in wait for us if the government of the country will not awake to a correct appreciation of its duty before it is too late."

¹³ "Cyprus: The British Settler's Latest Colony," *Great Britain and the East*, February 4, 1937.

¹⁴ *J. T. A. News*, November 17, 1937.

¹⁵ P. 117.

¹⁶ Speaking by radio hookup, September 20, 1937.

¹⁷ In England, itself, a protected foreign trade is always foremost in the minds of her leaders. The economist Augur estimates that only 8,000,000 of Britain's 40,000,000 people could live off the land.

¹⁸ In respect to its own economy, Turkey was not so foolish. Rigid government supervision brought Turkey's trade balance from a deficit of \$47,288,000 in 1929, to a surplus of \$10,163,000 in 1933.

¹⁹ This treaty was signed December 14, 1936. Its face purpose was the facetious one of "facilitating trade between Palestine and Iraq." It is in such obvious contradiction to the actual status of the trade relations between the two countries, that little comment is required. There is no question but that this very valuable concession might have been used as a basis for bargaining, to allow for an expansion of Palestine foreign commerce into central Asia.

²⁰ *J. T. A. News*, August 16, 1937.

²¹ Protest Memorandum submitted October 13, 1925, by the Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress. The Turkish Piaster (PT) was worth about five cents before the War. It has since deteriorated heavily in value.

²² The Jewish Chamber of Commerce revealed the shortage in an appeal to the Palestine Government to "withdraw an order prohibiting import of flour from abroad, enacted to aid Arab peasants in Palestine."

²³ Minutes for July 1925.

²⁴ Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore, replying for the Government, February 17, 1937.

²⁵ June 21, 1935.

²⁶ Concluded July 6, 1934. As in the case of the similar treaty with Poland, it bears the signatures of Sir John Simon and Sir Walter Runciman for Great Britain.

²⁷ "Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he shall be for a haven of ships." — Gen. 49:13.

²⁸ Recent archaeological diggings prove that Solomon had a great port here, with full dockage, piers and warehouses.

²⁹ Jews have already invested almost £300,000 in the construction of this new maritime outlet.

³⁰ Temporary or no, the Jews are making the most of their opportunity. There are now some 500 workers employed at loading and unloading goods at this 'port.'

³¹ This despite the fact that imports through Tel Aviv in 1937 already totaled 98,000 tons compared with Jaffa's 127,000. Imports through Acre in 1937 were only 4000 tons, yet there is no question of Acre's independent status vis-à-vis its great neighbor Haifa.

³² Pp. 171-172.

³³ Known as Palestine Airways Ltd., it is closely connected with Palestine Air Transport Ltd. Its chairman is Mr. L. Amery, former Secretary of State for the Colonies.

According to last minute cable reports, a new civil airport was inaugurated in Tel Aviv (September 1938) under a 'temporary' permit from the High Commissioner (this permission was granted only because the roads to the Lydda Aerodrome were unsafe due to the presence of Arab bandits).

³⁴ The existing Turkish track had been laid along a route which removed it as far as possible from the range of naval gunfire. The British part, built from the opposite end, was deliberately constructed to be under the protection of warships. The later joining of these tracks accounts for this twisting indication, which remained uncorrected.

³⁵ *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*, July 1937.

CHAPTER VII — DUAL OBLIGATION TO TWO PEOPLES

¹ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*.

This proposed tax would have forced the largest part of Palestine business institutions to pay a double income tax. The majority of the large companies in the Holy Land are subject to British income tax, which at present is at the rate of 27.5%. Practically all large Palestine organizations are registered in England, including the Palestine Potash Company, Nesher Cement Works and the Jewish National Fund (which by decision of the English courts must pay an income tax the same as any commercial body). The two big electric companies in Palestine, while registered in Palestine, are managed in England and thus must, according to English law, also pay an English income tax. It is estimated that, on the basis of 1938 returns, about £170,000 is thus paid into the London Treasury from Palestine.

² From 1919 to 1928 alone, this amounted to £809,766.

³ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 216.

⁴ In addition to such indirect revenue as is secured through income tax, Palestine pays tribute to Great Britain through various other channels. A substantial part of the country's expenditure goes to English officials who also have a claim upon the Palestine Treasury for pensions. The various banks in Pales-

tine, too, maintain considerable cash reserves in the banks of 'The City' in London.

⁴ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, pp. 202-203.

⁵ Jewish Agency Report to the Government, June 1928.

⁶ "Children are to be cheated with cockles and men with oaths." — Lysander.

⁷ Indignant protest by the Jewish Agency, September 25, 1930; Dr. Isaak B. Berkson, "Jewish Education in Palestine," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 164, November 1932, pp. 146-147.

⁸ *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, July 1937, pp. 133-134.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 340.

He concedes that if Arab and Jewish children had been taught in school together, under a curriculum devoted to the languages, literature and history of both races, the barriers between Jew and Arab would have broken down. — *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, July 1937, p. 333.

¹⁰ Memorandum submitted to Permanent Mandates Commission, June 1926.

¹¹ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 230.

¹² Douglas V. Duff, *Galilee Galloper*, p. 249.

¹³ Memorandum of September 25, 1930.

¹⁴ *Palestine As We Saw It*.

¹⁵ The relative figures up to 1928 on health services showed that voluntary Jewish agencies had expended £1,160,000, compared with only £912,600 on the part of the Government for the entire country.

¹⁶ Michael Langley, "Jerusalem," *Great Britain and the East*, May 14, 1936.

¹⁷ Andrew Koch, "The Jerusalem Water Supply Today," *Palestine Post*, July 12, 1936.

¹⁸ This gruesome piece of Jew-baiting found its mark in the sheer horror with which religious Jews regard any disturbance of those who have gone to their final sleep.

¹⁹ Statement issued October 13, 1925, by the Executive Committee of the Palestine-Arab Congress.

²⁰ Much of their time is spent in the inevitable 'club' and at the hunt. In Palestine they chase the jackal instead of the fox over the countryside, following the strict English 'Shire tradition' of pink coat and white breeches, presenting a unique spectacle to an incurious East.

²¹ Through its subsidiary, the Jerusalem Electric and Public Service Corporation Ltd. Just what kind of a paying proposition this turned out to be, is shown by its net profit of £58,415 in the year 1936, a literally staggering sum for so small a city.

²² Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, pp. 202-203.

²³ Michael Langley, "Jerusalem," *Great Britain and the East*, May 14, 1936.

The latest cable dispatches describe the inauguration of a new automatic telephone exchange in Jerusalem (June 20, 1938). Just how this will affect the existing situation remains to be seen.

²⁴ Minutes of the Mandates Commission for February 1932.

²⁵ Maimonides, greatest of medieval Jewish scholars, was born at Cordova about 1131 and died about 1205. He was not only a great thinker from whom the Christian church borrowed liberally, but a famous physician as well. He systematized the whole mass of Jewish tradition, redemonstrating the rational principles on which Judaism is based.

²⁶ This particular case was unmasked by the Hebrew paper *Hashavua Ha Palestinai* in its issue of March 7, 1929.

²⁷ Palestine Defense Order in Council, Section 6 of regulation issued April 19, 1936.

²⁸ See House of Commons debate, September 23, 1931.

²⁹ Hyamson was one of that set of queer men who had been devoted disciples of Achad Ha'am. He had a large hand in helping the Shaw and Hope-Simpson Commissions in preparing their data. After his resignation from the Palestine Service, the British Government appointed him Secretary of the Board of Anglo-Jewish Deputies, who, to their credit, rejected the nomination, declaring him "unfitted for the office . . . in view of his past record."

³⁰ Protest Memorandum to the British Government, September 25, 1930.

³¹ *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*, issue of April 1937; *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, published July 1937.

³² *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, p. 139.

³³ £E is a symbol for the Egyptian pound. It is worth approximately \$5.00.

³⁴ Protest Memorandum submitted October 13, 1925.

³⁵ A few days after the Nazis took over Austria and began their bloody persecution of Austrian Jews, the King David Hotel flew the swastika flag in honor of a party of Nazi guests. Protests by the deeply indignant Jewish Community brought a cold rejoinder from the management.

³⁶ Joseph F. Broadhurst, former Assistant Inspector General C.I.D., Palestine Government, "The Underworld of Palestine," *Great Britain and the East*, April 1, 1937.

³⁷ Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 203.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 201.

³⁹ *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, published July 1937.

Symbolic of this whole disreputable business is the appointment of the anti-Jewish agitator, Musa Elalami, in February 1934 as Government Advocate for Palestine.

⁴⁰ *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 201.

⁴¹ This was at the same time that repeated assaults on Jews and the continued pelting of Wailing Wall worshipers with rocks, elicited no punishment at all.

⁴² Special correspondent for *The New Palestine*, issue of April 1, 1938.

⁴³ Admitted by Dr. Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, under questioning by P. Freeman, M. P., in Commons, April 21, 1931.

⁴⁴ *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the year 1936*, p. 96.

⁴⁵ Douglas Duff, *Galilee Galloper*, p. 251.

⁴⁶ Douglas Duff, *Sword for Hire*.

⁴⁷ December 21, 1930.

⁴⁸ August 1, 1928.

⁴⁹ April 1, 1930.

⁵⁰ Dispatch, August 13, 1928, by Dr. Alexander Mombelli, Jerusalem Correspondent for the National Catholic Welfare Council's News Service.

⁵¹ July 2, 1928.

⁵² Involving several cases affecting Americans, including that of an American girl, niece of a prominent American Zionist woman. Protest made in May 1928.

⁵³ September 28, 1932.

⁵⁴ *The Jewish Frontier*, March 1937.

⁵⁵ Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, p. 142.

⁵⁶ London, February 16, 1937.

⁵⁷ J. H. Kann, *Some Observations on the Policy of the Mandatory Government of Palestine with Regard to the Arab Attacks on the Jewish Population in August 1929*, pp. 37-38.

⁵⁸ May 20, 1927.

⁵⁹ Dr. Josef Schechtmann, *Transjordanien im Bereiche des Palästinaamandates*, pp. 120-130.

⁶⁰ Memorandum to the British Government, September 25, 1930.

⁶¹ Re-quotation in the *Jewish World*, November 9, 1936, from the *London Daily Telegraph* of a few days earlier.

⁶² Joseph F. Broadhurst, *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 240.

⁶³ *London Jewish Chronicle*, June 5, 1936.

⁶⁴ The J. T. A. News Service quotes a sample as of March 10, 1935, printed in Arabic and English, urging a Jewish boycott, screeching that "every cent which goes into a Jewish pocket is a nail in the coffin of an Arab!"

⁶⁵ It is sold in great quantities in both English and Arabic translation, apparently with official encouragement.

⁶⁶ Roman Slobodin, "I Cover Palestine," *The Jewish World*, December 27, 1937.

⁶⁷ In its defense it is alleged that this regulation was introduced in the interests of the Arabs. The fact, however, is that most of the Arab villages in Palestine have neither a doctor nor even a midwife. These villages alone could profit tremendously from the knowledge and experience of skilled Jewish physicians.

CHAPTER VIII — TRANSJORDAN THE JUDENREIN

¹ High Commissioner's Report to the League of Nations for Palestine and Transjordan for the year 1936, p. 316 (full title in Note 5 following).

² Mandates Commission Report issued August 25, 1930.

³ February 20, 1931.

⁴ *Minutes of the Thirteenth Session*, June 1928, p. 47.

⁵ Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the year 1936, p. 322.

⁶ Ibid. p. 376.

⁷ *Davar*, issue of May 21, 1927.

⁸ Issue of February 26, 1933.

⁹ *Great Britain and the East*, issue of January 25, 1936. See also issue of June 25, 1936.

¹⁰ Ibid., issue of June 11, 1936.

¹¹ J. M. Machover, *Jewish State or Ghetto*, p. 33.

¹² Fourteenth Edition, 1929, Vol. 22, p. 411.

¹³ Josiah C. Wedgwood, *The Seventh Dominion*, p. 74.

¹⁴ The High Commissioner allowed Abdullah £5000 a month for pocket money.

¹⁵ *Palestine at the Crossroads*, p. 56.

¹⁶ Madeleine S. Miller, *Footprints in Palestine*.

¹⁷ Kenneth Williams, "The Royal Commission Visits Transjordan," *Great Britain and the East*, December 10, 1936.

¹⁸ Letter to the *New York Times*, July 8, 1936.

¹⁹ Abdullah thought he was being canny in leasing the land instead of selling it outright, thereby getting around the restriction on outright sale to Jews.

²⁰ *Al Jamia Arabia*, December 10, 1932.

²¹ Dr. Josef Schechtmann, *Transjordanien im Bereiche des Palästinaamandates*, pp. 185-200.

²² Ibid. pp. 181-184.

CHAPTER IX — WHOOPING IT UP FOR DEMOCRACY

- ¹ *London Times*, December 28, 1934.
- ² See various petitions by Shi'a Community to the League; and recent statement by the Iraqi Prime Minister, *Great Britain and the East*, issue of July 18, 1937.
- ³ *Palestine at the Crossroads*, p. 110.
- ⁴ Prof. George L. Scherger, Ph. D., "Pan-Arab Aspirations and World Peace," *The Pro-Palestine Herald*, issue of April-May 1932.
- ⁵ *The Arabs*, pp. 249-250.
- ⁶ Brought out in evidence given before the Peel Commission, January 19, 1937, by Dr. Totah, Nationalist agitator.
- ⁷ *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, published July 1937, p. 91.
- ⁸ How the mayoralty was handed out on a platter to 'deserving' Arabs is graphically told by Ronald Storrs, *Memoirs*, p. 251.
- ⁹ J. H. Kann, *Some Observations on the Policy of the Mandatory Government of Palestine with Regard to the Arab Attacks on the Jewish Population in August 1929*, The Hague, 1930, p. 42.
- ¹⁰ Issue of February 1938.
- ¹¹ Daniel Auster, "Competence of Municipalities," *Palestine Review*, April 17, 1936.
- ¹² *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, published July 1937, p. 349.
- ¹³ Beverley Nichols, *No Place Like Home*, pp. 218-219.
- ¹⁴ Estimate by I. Ben Zvi, Chairman of the *Vaad Leumi*, September 17, 1934.
- ¹⁵ J. M. Machover, *Governing Palestine*.
- ¹⁶ Letter to *Great Britain and the East* complaining against disenfranchisement, censorship and despotism by the Colonial Office; signed by prominent Cypriots including the Mayor of Larnaca and members of the Executive and Advisory Councils. Issue of July 29, 1937.

BOOK THREE

CHAPTER I — "A PEOPLE IN DESPAIR"

- ¹ *Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine during the period July 1, 1920-June 30, 1921* (Cmd. 1499, 1921).
- ² Mrs. Steuart Erskine, *Palestine of the Arabs*, p. 26.
- ³ Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Lost Heritage*.
- ^{3a} *Qoraish* was the historic family which held hereditary rights to the traditional Ka'ba at Mecca. The Ka'ba, housing the famous piece of meteorite rock known as the *black stone*, was the center of all pre-Mohammedan Arabic worship. It has since become an object of adoration for all believing Moslems and is the most sacred of all their shrines. By visiting this sanctified place a Moslem achieves holiness and with it the distinguished title of *Hajj*.
- ⁴ *Asia Magazine*, issue of March 1930.
- ⁵ *Around the Coasts of Arabia*, pp. 137, 201.
- ⁶ Jacob De Haas, *History of Palestine*.
- ⁷ *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, p. 18.
- ⁸ Rev. W. M. Christie, *Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute*,

February 1930; Jacob De Haas, *History of Palestine*; Le Strange, *Moslems in Palestine*.

⁹ *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, Lieut. W. F. Lynch commanding (Official Navy Department Report), p. 446.

¹⁰ See Sir Charles Wilson, *Picturesque Arabia, Sinai and Egypt*; Dr. E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*; Isaac Ben Zvi, "Vestiges of a Jewish Tribe in Transjordan," *Palestine Review*, October 2, 1936.

¹¹ *Europe and Europeans*, p. 258.

¹² *Holy Land Under Mandate*, Vol. I, p. 183.

¹³ "Arabs and Jews in Palestine," p. 98, *Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, February 1930.

¹⁴ A black and white, or brown and white, striped coat.

¹⁵ A cylindrical red hat with tassel attached.

¹⁶ *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, Lieut. W. F. Lynch.

¹⁷ *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, p. 47.

¹⁸ *Three Deserts*, pp. 142-143; 159-161.

¹⁹ *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*.

²⁰ *Three Deserts*, p. 161.

²¹ *A Journey to Jerusalem*, p. 301.

²² *In the Steps of the Master*, p. 239.

²³ F. G. Jannaway, *Palestine and the World*, p. 179.

²⁴ Ermete Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, pp. 173-179.

²⁵ Submitted by Moslems of Nablus District, May 14.

²⁶ *Peace Handbook, Turkey and Asia*, published by H. M. Stationery Office, 1920, p. 14.

²⁷ *A Journey to Jerusalem*, p. 243.

²⁸ *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 105.

²⁹ *Palestine of the Arabs*, p. 216.

³⁰ *Galilee Galloper*, p. 53.

³¹ These are about six or seven feet high, rectangular in form, and are made of camel's or goat's hair. Generally black, they are spun by the women on a common loom.

³² *Among the Holy Hills*.

³³ *With Lawrence in Arabia*, p. 97.

³⁴ Ermete Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 256.

³⁵ Selah Merrill, *East of the Jordan*.

³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 144-145.

³⁷ *Footprints in Palestine*.

³⁸ Alfred Bertholet, *A History of Hebrew Civilization*, p. 160.

³⁹ *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, London, May 26, 1930, p. 261.

⁴⁰ *Three Deserts*, pp. 142-143.

⁴¹ These are the sects of Shafi, Hanbali, Hanafi, and Maliki.

⁴² The Druses consider prayer to be an impertinent interference with the Creator. They believe the last incarnation was Hakim, the Sixth Fatimite Caliph. Hakim will reappear in the world to make his religion supreme. Polygamy and the use of wine and tobacco are forbidden.

⁴³ *Memoirs*, p. 372.

⁴⁴ Zev Abramowitz, "Social-Economic Structure of Arab Palestine," *Jews and Arabs in Palestine*, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁵ *No Place Like Home*, p. 195.

⁴⁶ March 17, 1927.

⁴⁷ *Journal of Victoria Institute*, February 1930; Horace B. Samuel, *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*, p. 141; Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, *The Seventh Dominion*, p. 8.

⁴⁸ Quincy Howe, *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty*, p. 143.

⁴⁹ In his book, *Where Now Little Jew?*, the Swedish writer Magnus Hermandsson states that early in the present revolt "the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem ordered its Board to break off all relations with the Jews [this could hardly have been done without the consent of the Government]. They organized a meeting in the summer of 1936, on which occasion the speaker proved that God never promised the Jews the Holy Land." He states also that the Patriarch of the Greek Catholic Church has contributed large sums to the Arab strike leaders, and gives the case of an abbot in a monastery near Bethlehem who was caught red-handed having bombs made in the monastery itself. — p. 73.

⁵⁰ *Galilee Galloper*, p. 172.

⁵¹ Horace B. Samuel, *Revolt By Leave*.

⁵² It had accused the Catholics of lobbying to secure the Mandate for Italy.

⁵³ Issue of June 4, 1936.

⁵⁴ U. S. Consul Wilson, *Consular Reports*, October 1880, Vol. II, No. 37, p. 69; cf. Jacob De Haas, *History of Palestine*, p. 431.

⁵⁵ U. S. *Consular Reports*, October 1882, VIII, p. 411.

⁵⁶ U. S. *Consular Reports*, February 1881, III, p. 36.

⁵⁷ *Land of the Morning*, p. 185.

⁵⁸ Herbert Sidebotham, *Great Britain and Palestine*, p. 84.

⁵⁹ U. S. *Consular Reports*, December 1898, L.IX., p. 691.

⁶⁰ Jewish Agency Memorandum to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, June 1937, p. 36.

⁶¹ *Palnews Economic Annual of Palestine*, 1937, p. 23; cf. *Palästine*, 1937, No. 1; *Palestine Review*, issue of April 1, 1937.

⁶² *Palestine Executive Survey*, June 1930.

⁶³ Gerhard Holdheim, "Ueber die Voraussetzungen und das politische Ziel des Zionismus." *Preussische Jahrbücher*, April 1930, p. 65.

⁶⁴ December 1934. The newspaper contrasted its own situation with the prosperity of its southern neighbor.

⁶⁵ *Boston Herald*, November 30, 1926.

⁶⁶ Signed article, *New York American*, October 17, 1936.

⁶⁷ Interview in *Vienna Stimme*, August 14, 1930.

⁶⁸ See High Commissioner's Report for Palestine and Transjordan, 1935.

⁶⁹ *Hadassah News Letter*, July 1938; cf. *Pro-Palestine Herald*, August 1938.

⁷⁰ "The Mandates in Syria and Palestine," *The Quarterly Review*, London, January 1923.

⁷¹ *Near East and India* in its issue of April 9, 1925 quotes a letter from McMahon addressed to the Palestine Government on March 12, 1925, to this effect. On July 23, 1937, McMahon again wrote the *London Times*, stating: "I definitely and emphatically must declare that the promise to King Hussein for Arab independence did not include Palestine. . . The fact that Palestine was not included in this pledge was well understood by King Hussein."

⁷² Protest Memorandum of October 13, 1925.

⁷³ It is a historical fact that Jerusalem owes its place in Moslem tradition solely to its association with Judaism, and to a lesser degree, with Christianity. It is hardly as sacred as the Tunisian city of Kairwan, the holy city of all North Africa. Yet today there is a great French settlement in Kairwan, and a French administration. Any tourist can enter its famous mosques and no one seems the worse off for it.

⁷⁴ Ameen Rihani, "Palestine and the Proposed Arab Federation," *Palestine — A Decade of Development*.

⁷⁵ *Galilee Galloper*, p. 175.

⁷⁶ *New York American*, October 8, 1936.

⁷⁷ Hebrew: "Children of Israel."

⁷⁸ Series of League of Nations publications, 1930, VI-A, 37, 38. League of Nations, Seventeenth Session, Geneva, June 3 to June 21, 1930.

⁷⁹ *With Lawrence in Arabia*, p. 37.

⁸⁰ *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 250.

⁸¹ "A Protest, Prospect and a Compromise," *Pro-Palestine Herald*, Fall Issue 1937.

⁸² J. M. Machover, *Jewish State or Ghetto*, p. 180.

⁸³ Requoted from *Palestine Review*, August 27, 1937.

⁸⁴ Issue of May 16, 1936.

⁸⁵ *Palestine Picture*.

⁸⁶ *Palestine Today and Tomorrow*, pp. 102-103.

⁸⁷ Joseph J. Williams, *Hebrewisms of West Africa*, p. 210; Nahum Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa*, p. 362; R. V. C. Bodley, *Algeria From Within*, p. 198; Paul Odinet, *Les Berbères La Géographie*, Tome XLI, p. 137. This is also verified by the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 91a); St. Jerome (Onomastica Sacra); St. Augustine (Migne, "Patres Latini," Vol. XXXIV-V, p. 2096); and Procopius.

⁸⁸ *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 266-267.

⁸⁹ *Outline of History*.

⁹⁰ This condition is described by the Jews themselves with the term *abl ed dimma*. They were deprived of even the most elementary human rights, to say nothing of political rights.

⁹¹ *The Arabs*, pp. 223-224.

⁹² *History*, Book V, p. 1.

⁹³ *Palestine on the Eve*, p. 122.

⁹⁴ *Quarterly Review*, January 1933.

⁹⁵ *The British Betrayal of the Assyrians*, p. 138. The author, Yusuf Malek, was for thirteen years a member of the Iraqi Civil Service.

⁹⁶ See *Il Aryan*, Beirut, September 9, 1937.

⁹⁷ Lieut.-Col. A. T. Wilson, *Mesopotamia: A Clash of Loyalties*, p. 291; Sir A. Haldane, *The Insurrection in Mesopotamia*, pp. 288-296; Lieut.-Col. A. T. Wilson in *The Nineteenth Century and After Review*, October 1933.

⁹⁸ Sir Francis Humphreys, British High Commissioner for Iraq, speaking for His Majesty at Geneva, January 5, 1932.

Only four years later, *Great Britain and the East* (issue of June 4, 1936) is glibly repeating the same assurances that "Jews and Arabs have lived in amity . . . for many centuries without racial or religious friction of any kind."

⁹⁹ Hamilton's statement was carried in the entire Hebrew press. See also his book, *Road Through Kurdistan*.

¹⁰⁰ Yusuf Malek, *The British Betrayal of the Assyrians*, pp. 267-268.

¹⁰¹ Lieut.-Col. A. S. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, p. 168.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 169.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* pp. 174-177.

¹⁰⁴ Yusuf Malek, *The British Betrayal of the Assyrians*, pp. 269-270; 281-284.

¹⁰⁵ Dr. David Barsum Perley, *Nero's Rule in Iraq*.

¹⁰⁶ *The British Betrayal of the Assyrians*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁷ *Palestine Review*, October 2, 1936. See also *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, issue of November 14, 1934.

CHAPTER II — JEHOVAH ABDICATES IN FAVOR OF DOWNING STREET

¹ *Great Britain and Palestine*, p. 273.

² December 26, 1933.

³ Lieut. W. F. Lynch, *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, p. 360.

⁴ *Palestine at the Crossroads*, p. 29.

⁵ *Palestine on the Eve*, pp. 50-51.

⁶ While a Jewish deputation was received by the Colonial Secretary later, it was a voluntary body which had not been invited, but which took the initiative itself.

⁷ *Palestine Post*, June 28, 1936.

⁸ Palestine officials plainly resented the coming of these three Americans and practically told them they would have to go home. When the Senators replied that Americans still had certain rights under the Mandate, they were told by British officials that under no circumstances were they to visit the Jewish communities or colonies.

⁹ *Political Information Bulletin* #9, World Executive Committee of the Jewish State Party, Tel Aviv, April 22, 1936.

¹⁰ Horace B. Samuel, *Revolt By Leave*, p. 62.

¹¹ Dill had come in June with some 15,000 men, presumably to put down the emergency with a stern hand. His first act, described by Arab leaders as "evidencing great tact," was to let loose some 50 dangerous agitators who had been kept under surveillance.

¹² *World Jewry*, issue of September 1936.

¹³ Robert Gessner, *Some of My Best Friends are Jews*, footnote, p. 274.

¹⁴ *Palestine on the Eve*, p. 119.

¹⁵ *Palestine Picture*, pp. 116-118.

¹⁶ Issue of February 13, 1937.

¹⁷ *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, p. 135.

¹⁸ An open letter published in the entire Hebrew press, end of August 1936. Dizengoff asserted that the Government wanted to suspend Jewish immigration, "but lacking sincerity and courage to make a forthright proposal in that direction, wishes to impose the suspension under cover of a Royal Commission." This courageous old pioneer finally died on September 23, less than a month later, his heart filled to the brim with bitterness.

¹⁹ *Palestine Post*, April 23, 1936.

²⁰ *New York American*, issue of October 1, 1936.

²¹ Issue of July 1, 1938.

²² *Palestine Review*, August 14, 1936.

²³ Jaffa, July 1, 1936.

²⁴ Jaffa, June 8, 1937.

²⁵ *Associated Press Report*, June 1, 1936. The High Commissioner's house was not damaged.

²⁶ The reputation of this place was such that whenever a serious theft occurred in Haifa, the police went to Tيره to look for the loot.

²⁷ Lord Melchett in *Palestine Post*, June 23, 1936.

²⁸ Berl Katznelson, *Reaction Versus Progress in Palestine*.

²⁹ Issue of July 15, 1936.

³⁰ Horace B. Samuel, *Revolt By Leave*, p. 56.

⁸¹ Ladislav Farago, *Palestine on the Eve*, pp. 50-51. The French paper, *Paris-Soir* (issue of July 18, 1938) asserts that a great part of these funds came from the wealthy American, Charles Crane.

⁸² *J. T. A. News*, December 21, 1936.

⁸³ Issue of July 21, 1936.

⁸⁴ *Revolt By Leave*, p. 53.

⁸⁵ *Great Britain and the East*, issue of August 27, 1936; cf. *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, July 1937, p. 101.

⁸⁶ Issue of October 1, 1936.

⁸⁷ The organ of the Mufti, *Ad Difaa*, wails that "the voices of Mecca and Baghdad have been silent. The Arab kings have failed to express their opinions on the question of the highest importance. . . Seventy days have passed and all voices have been heard except those of the Arab kings." — Issue early in July 1936.

⁸⁸ *New York Evening Post*, August 28, 1936.

⁸⁹ Horace B. Samuel, *Revolt By Leave*, p. 29.

⁹⁰ Article headed "Army's Tact in Palestine," issue of October 27, 1936.

⁹¹ *Great Britain and the East*, issue of September 26, 1936. Fawzy's checkered career had not yet ended. He was soon after thrown out of Iraq for subversive activities.

⁹² *London Daily Sketch*, January 30-31, 1938.

⁹³ Issue of May 20, 1936.

⁹⁴ The only persons in Palestine able to read Italian are a handful of educated Jews and Catholic priests.

⁹⁵ When Mosley, the English Fascist leader, an avowed admirer of Hitler, went to Berlin a few years ago for advice on how to make his lagging movement successful, the Nazi *Fuehrer* advised him: "Forget all other issues. Simply concentrate on the Jews." Mosley, who had until that time vigorously denied any anti-Semitism, soon after joined the ranks of the most violent Jew-baiters in Europe.

Apparently the same advice has been given to Mussolini who, watching the success of Fascist groups in neighboring countries, with no better program than simple anti-Semitism, has taken the lesson to heart. Just as Germany found allies among reactionary groups in all countries when she adopted anti-Semitism as an instrument of State policy, so Mussolini, under German stimulation, hopes to similarly profit. In neighboring countries such as Rumania, Hungary and Poland, whose friendship the Italian dictator must cultivate if he is to avoid isolation, anti-Semitism has developed into almost a religious frenzy. It is the Nazi parties in each of these States who are in liaison with Germany and hence, *ipso facto*, with Italy. To fit into this ideological unity the Italian was forced to simulate an artificial racialism completely alien to the character of the country. Until 1938 a Jewish question had never existed there and anti-Semitism was practically unknown.

⁹⁶ In the Apennine Peninsula there are only 60,000 Jews, yet they have played a distinguished and brilliant role. The names of Luigi Luzzatti, recent Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ernest Nathan, late Mayor of Rome, General Giuseppe Ottolenghi, Minister of War, Guido Jung, until 1935 Minister of Finance, and Lodovico Mortara, Lord Chief Justice, are known to all who have followed news from Italy. Among others in the Fascist inner circle could be counted the banker Toeplitz, Mussolini's financial adviser; Professor Olivetti, chief Fascist theoretician; the airman Finzi, long Mussolini's right hand and leader with D'Annunzio in the Fiume campaign; Margherita Sarfati, author of the standard biography of Il Duce and much of the Fascist ideology; Amalia Besso, for years

President of the Federation of Fascist Women; Ilvo Levi, long President of the Fascist Students Union, Giuseppe Bottai, Fascist Minister of Education; Senator Theodor Mayer, and Professor Arcas, economic theoretician and adviser to the Government. The editor of the chief Fascist organ, *Regime Fascista*, was the Israelite Mario Levi. Another member of the Olivetti family was President of the Society of Italian Industrialists. It was he who was appointed a committee of one by Mussolini to study the economic possibilities of Ethiopia after the Italian conquest of that country. Of the fifteen lawyers appointed a few years ago to change the Italian Constitution to bring it in line with Fascist principles, three were Jews. The Trieste Irredentist movement was led almost entirely by Jews, Seure, Maier, Venizian and others. In the army were Ricardo Moizo, Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Carabinieri Corps; the distinguished and loved General Mario Jona; Field Marshal Graziani, conqueror of Ethiopia (of Jewish origin, though a professing Catholic); Admiral Paoli Maroni, Commander of the Fourth Naval Division; Admiral Aldo Ascoli, Commander of the Italian Naval Forces in Aegean; and the head of the Italian Marine Corps, General Umberto Pugliese. In commerce, the arts, professions and politics, Jews occupied the most prominent positions in Italian life. They held four hundred of Italy's eighteen hundred university chairs, not counting assistants and lecturers. When Jewish professors fled Germany, Mussolini gave fifty of them posts in Italian universities. Alone among the Governments, Italy granted the Hebrew University of Jerusalem a subvention for the purpose of establishing a chair in Romance Languages. Under the Jewish Communities Law, issued in 1931, a Federation of Jewish Communities and a Rabbinical Council were established with State subsidy and support.

It is to be assumed, however, in view of Italy's latest orientation that the happy position of Italian Jewry will rapidly deteriorate much as it has in neighboring countries on the continent.

⁴⁷ Statement to a group of Rumanian press representatives. See the Rumanian newspaper *Adeverul*, November 24, 1927.

⁴⁸ From the Italian Government organ, *Affari Esteri*, Rome, March 25, 1935.

⁴⁹ *The Brown Network*, pp. 135, 227-234.

Nazi conspiracy in Palestine was later brought forward beyond reasonable doubt when a delegation of one hundred Arabs embarked on the S.S. *Galilee*, for Germany, to attend the Nazi Party Congress at Nuremberg (*J.T.A.* dispatch, Sept. 2, 1938).

⁵⁰ Isaac Don Levine in the *New York American*, issue of May 3, 1936.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* (This manifesto, at first denied by the New York Communist press, was later acknowledged by them.)

⁵² *Palestine As We Saw It*.

⁵³ *Palestine on the Eve*, p. 103.

⁵⁴ *Palestine Picture*, pp. 146-147.

⁵⁵ *J. T. A. News*, January 7, 1937.

⁵⁶ Jerusalem, sitting of January 1, 1937.

⁵⁷ "A National Home for the Hauranis?" *Davar*, December 18, 1936.

⁵⁸ What this means can be understood from the fact that the British originally went to Egypt also 'temporarily.'

⁵⁹ Accepting tentatively the findings of the Royal Commission, the Permanent Mandates Commission, Geneva, August 23, 1937, finds that "it is first necessary to lengthen the period of political 'apprenticeship' of the two proposed States either under a system of cantons or separate mandates until each State is fit to govern itself."

⁶⁰ The chairman of the Mandates Commission referred to this subvention as a

"form of tribute which it was proposed by the Royal Commission . . . to impose on the Jewish State for the benefit of the enlarged Transjordan." *Minutes of the Thirty-Second (Extraordinary) Session*, p. 202.

⁶¹ Since the shadow Arab Government will be little more than a British province, Parliament is also asked "to make a grant of £2,000,000 to the Arab State."

⁶² Herbert Sidebotham, *Great Britain and Palestine*.

⁶³ By this and corollary conventions, 1,300,000 Greeks were repatriated from Turkey to Greece, and 400,000 Turks transferred from Greek territory to Turkey. The agreement also involved an appraisal and exchange of property so as to normalize the transaction to the satisfaction of both contracting parties. This compulsory exchange of populations took place under the aegis of the League of Nations.

To handle this great movement a proper machinery was set up, and vast refugee loans floated, organized by the League and guaranteed by the Greek and Turkish Governments. — See *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* by Stephen P. Ladas, New York, 1932.

In particular, Greece, a poverty-stricken small country already supporting a population vastly denser than Palestine, received a sudden increase of 25% in her population. She has not only absorbed these immigrants but has found arising from them a new prosperity due to the intelligence and industries they brought with them.

⁶⁴ In 1932 the *Times* of India (Bombay, December 5) suggested such an exchange of the Jews of Iraq for surplus Arabs in Palestine. In September 1936, Dr. Edwyn Robert Bevan of New College, Oxford, again brought up this solution in a letter to the *London Times*. Since Iraq is greatly underpopulated and therefore unable properly to develop its own resources, it could offer Palestine Arabs far larger and richer holdings than they now possess in the Holy Land. He voiced the opinion that the biggest proportion of the 900,000 Arabs in Palestine could thus be induced to migrate to Iraq.

⁶⁵ Commissioner Palacios said drily: "It would appear that the idea of such a highly important proposal had risen spontaneously as if by magic — yet it was difficult to believe that a scheme which had stirred public opinion to such an extent and awakened historical world ambitions, was devoid of deep foundations and really had been stumbled on accidentally. What, therefore, were the real reasons for the proposal?" — Session of Mandates Commission, Geneva, September 5.

⁶⁶ *Palestine of the Arabs*, pp. 226-229.

⁶⁷ London, July 7, 1937.

⁶⁸ *New York Journal and American*, July 18, 1937.

⁶⁹ *New York Herald-Tribune*, July 22, 1937.

⁷⁰ J. M. Machover, *Jewish State or Ghetto*.

⁷¹ Address by Bishop Alma White of New Jersey, at London, before World Fellowship of Faiths. — *Associated Press Dispatch*, July 13, 1937.

⁷² *Pro-Palestine Herald*, Fall Issue 1937.

⁷³ Heading in *Gaelic American*, Irish-American newspaper, July 25, 1936.

⁷⁴ "A Hindu Leader Discusses Partition," *The Chicago Sentinel*, September 23, 1937.

⁷⁵ *Dusk of Empire*, pp. 290-291.

⁷⁶ Washington, August 1, 1937 — Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was chairman of the conference. The cablegram was signed, among others, by Senators Royal S. Copeland and Robert F. Wagner of New York, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York City, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; Governors Harold G. Hoffman of

New Jersey, Wilbur L. Cross of Connecticut, Louis Brann of Maine, Harry W. Nice of Maryland, and ex-Governors J. M. Futrell of Arkansas and J. C. B. Ehringhaus of North Carolina, and by a host of ministers, divines, and educators.

⁷⁷ Washington, July 25, 1937.

⁷⁸ Dispatch to the *New York Times*, by its London political commentator 'Augur.'

⁷⁹ *Les Troubles Sanglants En Palestine* published by Antifa, Bruxelles, 1936.

⁸⁰ *Le Grande Bretagne et les Juifs*, London, 1928 (Organization Sioniste), p. 35.

⁸¹ Statement before House of Commons, July 4, 1922.

⁸² Lowell Thomas, *With Lawrence in Arabia*, p. 318.

⁸³ *New York Times*, August 20, 1936; and *Minutes of the Mandates Commission* for period August 4 to August 20.

⁸⁴ London, July 21.

⁸⁵ *Confidential Political Information Bulletin* #11 from the World Executive Committee of the Jewish State Party, May 24, 1936, Tel Aviv.

⁸⁶ From the Zionist daily newspaper, *The Haint*, Warsaw, Poland, issue of July 8.

⁸⁷ *J. T. A. News*, January 24, 1938.

⁸⁸ *J. T. A. News*, October 27, 1937.

⁸⁹ The head of the Jewish State Party, Meir Grossman, published a memorandum of the conversations between Weizmann and Ormsby-Gore on this subject. For this 'crime,' the Zionist hierarchy later suspended Grossman for a period of two years, "for a breach of Zionist discipline." In a blistering editorial, Dr. Fritz Bernstein, editor of the conservative Hebrew daily *Haboker* (and also a member of the Executive's 'Actions Committee'), warned that this chain of action carried the threat of converting the Zionist Executive into "a political police headquarters like the Gestapo," and was the beginning of "a system of political persecution under a so-called lawful mask. . . Moreover," the editorial continued, "we do not see even now in what way Mr. Grossman, and he alone, committed a breach of Zionist discipline. Actually, he proved by the strength of documents that which we all felt and which the Executive denied with all vigor: that Dr. Weizmann committed the movement to the British Government in favor of partition even before the Congress met."

⁹⁰ *Palestine Post*, May 13, 1936.

⁹¹ Issue of August 19, 1937.

⁹² *J. T. A. News*, August 15, 1937.

⁹³ *New York Evening Journal*, August 25, 1937.

⁹⁴ Declaration by Premier Mustapha El-Nahas Pasha, speaking before the Senate at Cairo, July 25, 1936.

In July 1938, Premier Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, on visit to London, reversed his country's attitude once more. Pressed by English interviewers who asked whether it was his intention to take up the Palestine problem with the British Authorities, he replied laconically: "I am Prime Minister of Egypt, not of Palestine."

⁹⁵ Iraq's official statement was made together with that of Egypt before the Eighteenth Assembly of the League of Nations on September 19 and 20. The quotation is from ex-Premier Nagi Sweedy and made at Damascus, September 9.

⁹⁶ Sir Zafrullah, who knew what side his bread was buttered on, headed the Indian delegation to the Imperial Conference and represented India also at King George's Coronation. His warning was uttered at a meeting in the House of Lords Committee Rooms, held under the chairmanship of Lord Lamington, a well-known anti-Zionist and presumed anti-Semite, October 27-28, 1937.

⁹⁷ Declaration by Nagi Sweedy, ex-Premier of Iraq at Damascus, Syria, September 9.

Such other individuals were introduced as Prince Omar Toussoun, cousin of King Farouk, who warned Britain on September 10, that there would be trouble "unless Palestine was returned to the Arabs." This is particularly interesting since the Egyptians consider themselves to be of a vastly superior race and heir to far finer traditions than the neighboring Arabs, despite the fact that they also speak a variety of Arabic.

⁹⁸ Several, like the Mufti, escaped this dragnet and took to their heels, and are now hiding out in surrounding countries. To show what the Government could do when it wanted to, the official *Palestine Gazette* (October 8, 1937) announced a ban on literature relating to or written by the Mufti, as well as on all pictures of that gentleman.

⁹⁹ This savage practice is described in *Time*, issue of November 1, 1937.

¹⁰⁰ Even Hadassah, organization of the American Zionist Women, and a powerful influence in Zionist affairs, demanded in convention on November 1, 1937 that the World Zionist Executive negotiate with Great Britain "to bring about a constructive policy for complete implementation of the Mandate over an undivided Palestine," rejecting all palliatives short of that.

¹⁰¹ Quoted from *Great Britain and the East*, December 30, 1937.

¹⁰² *Great Britain and the East*, June 25, 1936.

^{102a} Albert Viton, "Economic Consequences of Arab Rebellion," *Great Britain and the East*, issue of August 18, 1938.

^{102b} *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ The Near East Correspondent of the *New York Times*, after interviewing numerous prominent Arabs in July 1937, found them unanimously fearful of disaster if Zionism was given the *coup de grâce* envisioned in the Royal Commission Report. Each of these individuals at the same time maintained the pretense of being violently anti-Jewish, for fear of assassination at the hands of the little band of cutthroats who were staging the officially condoned revolution.

¹⁰⁴ *J. T. A. News*, April 27, 1938.

¹⁰⁵ *New York Times*, November 21, 1937.

¹⁰⁶ *Le Temps* is recognized as the mouthpiece of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its correspondent, George Meyer, is one of the greatest living authorities on the Near East. Cf. *Jewish Frontier*, July 1938.

¹⁰⁷ *Palestine Review*, July 1, 1938.

¹⁰⁸ *Time*, November 1, 1937.

^{108a} In 1938 Wavell wrote a book on the conquest of Palestine, *The Palestine Campaigns*, in which the actions engaged in by the heroic Jewish battalions were not even mentioned.

¹⁰⁹ *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*, November 1937.

¹¹⁰ Geneva, September 23, 1937.

¹¹¹ Geneva, September 16, 1937.

Weizmann and Ben-Gurion were present in Geneva during the session, apparently plumping for all they were worth for the British case.

¹¹² March 8, 1938.

¹¹³ *London Jewish Chronicle*, Rosh Hashonah Issue 1937.

¹¹⁴ London, April 12, 1938.

¹¹⁵ Washington, November 8, 1937.

¹¹⁶ Washington, January 23, 1938.

¹¹⁷ Washington, May 12, 1938.

¹¹⁸ The newspaper *Le Jour*, in a dispatch from Rome (October 25, 1937),

reported that this suggestion was made to Premier Mussolini in Rome by Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Ambassador to London.

¹¹⁹ *J. T. A. News*, September 5, 1937.

¹²⁰ The announcement in itself was more than offensive. The High Commissioner simply stated that it had been decided to appoint two additional Moslem Arabs (which would put the Moslems in control of the Council) and that one of the Moslems to be appointed – still unnamed – would be Mayor. Thus the announcement that the Mayor will be a Moslem is unconnected with the naming of any individual. Were Acting-Mayor Auster a Moslem, he would be eligible for the position of Mayor. Because he is a Jew, in a town the majority of whose inhabitants are Jewish, he is automatically disqualified for this position.

¹²¹ This barricade, known as 'Tegart's Wall,' significantly follows the line of the strategic military road recently built along the northern frontier of the Holy Land.

¹²² Ben Josef was a member of the right wing faction of the Revisionists and was militant vocally on the subject of direct resistance against terrorist activities. Though he did not agree with the passive attitude adopted by Jewish leaders, there was no evidence that he had committed any crime, and the Government presented none.

¹²³ *J. T. A. News*, July 13, 1938.

^{128a} All effort at retaliation on the part of Jews is severely deplored by the Jewish Agency, which has imposed on its members the policy of *havlaga* (self-restraint). The younger Jewish element in Palestine, and in particular the Jewish nationalists, have rebelled bitterly against this passive attitude. This sentiment is eloquently given in a private letter from one of their leaders (now in hiding somewhere in Palestine), smuggled through by courier to an American sympathizer. This dramatic communication is reproduced here in the same imperfect English in which it was written (the writer's native language is Hebrew). The determined courage of the youthful Jews it speaks for, and their striking likeness to the Irish *Sinn Fein* patriots, will be noted by all readers:

"You know no doubt the amazing affect the execution of Shlomo Ben Yosef has had on our national youth and on the great Jewish masses in Eretz Yisroel and abroad. In the week of the execution was the influence of the Agency and the *Mapai* [an influential left wing Zionist group] on the Yishub like zero. It may be said without exaggeration that in those days the Revisionists were the dictators of the Yishub – unfortunately for a short time.

"The death of Ben Yosef, unparalleled in his heroism, has definitely broken the back of the *havlaga*, that shameful 'self-restraint' which is in fact pure cowardice and surrender of all our positions and aspirations in Eretz Yisroel. In a short time has our youth made wonderful achievements. What is now happening in Eretz Yisroel is no more 'pogrom,' as in the last two and a half years, but a heroic struggle for our homeland, a struggle for life and death. Our wonderful national youth does fear neither the mandatory hangmen nor gaols [jails] nor the denunciators from within. In one month over 140 Arabs were killed . . . and Arabs no longer attack with impunity but only by dark. . . . It is little doubt that when the so-called 'Jewish reprisals' [self-defense measures] continue – and they shall continue! – the Arabs will brought to the necessity to capitulate.

"Our Agency – *Mapai* traitors, who are far more angry when Arabs were killed than when Jewish children or women were wantonly murdered . . . make their best to overbring [turn over] our fighters in the hands of the British hangmen and jailors.

"The persecutions of our movement here are terrible. Many hundreds Revisionist leaders or simple members are detained in Acre of Jerusalem or Jaffa jail. The Palestine police together with the Mapai are busy in hunting those Revisionists who escaped till now the imprisonment.

"All this has not broken the courage of our fighters. Our *movement* stands in fire. . . From a semi-liberal and tame party it was transformed in a short time in a *regular national revolutionary movement*, with the slogan 'Liberty or Death,' or, with the words of Jabotinsky and Ben Yosef: 'To die or to conquer the mountain.'

"In these circumstances, when our heroic youth is fighting in Eretz Yisroel a threefold fight — against the British 'mandatory' anti-Semites, against the Arabs and against the traitors of Mapai — *we are in bitterly need of help from abroad* — both morally and materially, in our fight for Jewish honor, Jewish redemption, Jewish future. Our movement is now *illegal* in Eretz Yisroel in 95%. We have no possibility of making propaganda in legal ways, as the Bolsheviks of Mapai, the favoured children of 'the Imperialistic Power,' are making. We need therefore an 'underground press' for propaganda, as we need means for our fighting the foes of the Jewish people from without [Arab bandits].

"I am certain that you, dear Mr. —, could do very much for our struggle in Eretz Yisroel which is to decide the fate of our people and our *homeland*. . . . When [if] we only continue the struggle, our victory is certain. When you could *provide* us with some means, in money or in press machines, say, for a sum of some *1000 dollars*, you would do very much for our movement and our people in the most deciding moment of his history. . . ."

"Your faithfully,"

(The writer's name has been deleted for obvious reasons.)

^{123b} It was pointed out by the Hebrew daily *Davar* (Tel Aviv, July 22, 1938) that it was a practical impossibility for any Jew to penetrate into the spot where the explosion took place (in the very heart of the Arab district), with a large and heavy bomb weighing more than forty-five pounds, deposit it, and then escape.

¹²⁴ Drily the American Rabbi Louis I. Newman charged the British Government with not being "averse to having an unfavorable impression go forth as to the possibilities of making Palestine a refuge for many thousands of Jewish newcomers," asserting that this might "also be linked to Britain's desire to bring about the partition of Palestine in accordance with her plan of last year." — *New York Times*, July 10, 1938.

¹²⁵ *Jewish World*, August 4, 1938.

¹²⁶ *J. T. A. Weekly News Digest*, August 19, 1938.

¹²⁷ *Time*, August 22, 1938.

¹²⁸ Issue of December 30, 1937.

¹²⁹ *Time*, August 15, 1938.

¹³⁰ *New York Journal and American*, August 8, 1938.

In the event that this plan met serious obstacles which would prevent its being put into immediate operation the Commission was reported as offering as an alternative a temporary interim system of cantonization, splitting the country into a score of regions — Jewish, Arab and mixed — with British police in control. This scheme would effectively isolate the Jews to their own cantons.

BOOK FOUR

CHAPTER I — THE COLLAPSE OF EMANCIPATION

¹ The accusation of ritual murder was leveled originally not against the Jews but against the Christians during the early days of the Roman Empire. As a result of these false charges, thousands of Christians were tortured and put to death. Minucius Felix in Chapter XXX of his *Octavius*, describes these "Christian rites for the admission of new members" which he asserts are "as horrible as they are well known." Often confessions were exacted from these unfortunates by torture. Even such cultured men as Tacitus, Pliny and Trajan believed implicitly in the truth of these canards. (See Tacitus, *Annales* XV, 44.) It was only after Christianity had become the religion of the Roman State that this slander ceased. It was not until the beginning of the Thirteenth Century that it was transferred to the Jewish religion. Since then it has shown irrepressible vitality as an accusation against Jews.

² The height of absurdity was perhaps reached by Richard Walther Darré (Nazi Minister of Agriculture), reported in *Die Neue Weltbuehne*: "Pigs have their bad reputation only because the Jews hate their noble qualities and spread lies about them."

³ Drafted January 1, 1936. On September 19, 1938 it was officially estimated that 110,000 Jews would be thrown out of work when the announced ban on Jewish commercial travelers and sales agents goes into force on October 1 of that year. In 1938, also, a wholesale ban on Jewish physicians went into effect. The 6400 Jewish doctors in Germany have now been forbidden to practice.

⁴ Hermann Gauch, *New Principles of Racial Research* (a standard textbook used in the German schools).

⁵ *New York Post*, August 28, 1936.

⁶ *Vienna Morgen*, October 8, 1935.

⁷ *The Yellow Spot*, pp. 189-190.

⁸ *J. T. A. Dispatch*, March 21, 1938.

⁹ To this the French critic, Londres, snapped: "Do you hear, Jew, of what you are being accused? Jew, eternal wanderer, you don't know how to walk!" *Petit Parisien*, January 5, 1930.

¹⁰ A law, in operation since 1932, automatically deprived at least 90% of the Jewish craftsmen in the country of the right to practice their trade or to employ apprentices. Innocent in appearance, it restricted artisan licenses to those approved by guilds and unions which in practice will not admit Jews.

¹¹ David L. Cohn, *New York Evening Journal*, February 24, 1937.

¹² "Don't Let Them Die." *The Chicago Sentinel*, May 6, 1937.

¹³ Herbert J. Seligmann, director of public information for the American Joint Distribution Committee, "Night Over Eastern Europe," *Chicago Sentinel*, October 8, 1936.

¹⁴ *The Jewish Daily World*, July 17, 1936.

¹⁵ Press statement on returning from Europe in the Summer of 1936.

^{15a} Moscow press report from the radical Swedish newspaper, *Svenska Pressen* (issues of September 2 and 3, 1938).

^{15b} *Time*, September 12, 1938.

The Russian press, and reports of impartial visitors, all testify that anti-Semitism in its grossest forms is growing rapidly in Russia. Eugene Lyons noted that

Russians commonly refer to "this Jewish government" whenever any national disaster or private difficulty arises. "The recent trial in Moscow [the first big Russian purge]," asserted Trotzky, "was prepared with the almost open object of making the internationalists [those on trial] appear as Jews without ideals and law, capable of selling themselves to the German *Gestapo* [State Secret Police]. Since 1925 . . . there has been in progress well camouflaged anti-Semitic demagoguery, hand in hand with symbolic trials against open pogromists . . . a spirit of anti-Semitism which the leaders are using expertly, to direct . . . against the Jews the dissatisfaction which exists against the bureaucracy." (*J.T.A. Report*, January 26, 1937.)

In September 1927 the well known Soviet journalist Sosnowsky wrote in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* that the Communist Party was full of members "who were at heart pogromists" but who kept their anti-Semitism quiet. The American correspondent, Leon Dennen, declared: "It did not take me long last year [1933] to discover anti-Semitism in Russia. . . It crops up everywhere . . . one encounters it in the cooperative stores and in factories as well as in theaters." (*Memorah Journal*, Spring 1934.)

An infinite number of examples graphically portray this hidden trend in the land of Soviets. The Leningrad newspaper, *Krasnaya Gazeta*, charged on February 9, 1926 that anti-Semitism was rife in hospitals and colleges; and on December 8, 1927, Knorin, Secretary of the White Russian Communist Party, acknowledged in his report submitted to the Party Conference at Minsk that "it was impossible to deny the existence of a growing anti-Semitism among the working classes, not only in White Russia but also in Moscow, Leningrad and throughout the country." The newspaper *Shtern* of Charkov (July 18, 1930), complains that Jews are not employed on Soviet railways and demands an investigation.

Another example is the declaration of Sovostin, leader of the *Bezbozhniki* (official Russian league for promoting atheism), on March 4, 1931, that Jews still killed Christian children for blood to use in preparing *matzos*. The newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (Moscow, January 10, 1929) lists many incidents of Jews compelled to leave factories and schools because of anti-Semitic persecution in which members of the Communist Youth Organization were involved.

Following the exile of Trotzky there occurred a wholesale expulsion of Jews, not only from political posts but also from technical and scientific positions as well as party membership. *Le Matin* of Paris reported in October 1936 a systematic anti-Jewish drive led by Marshal Voroshilov, Soviet Army chief, to eliminate Jews from all high posts in the Government. Jewish leaders were systematically arrested and purged. Today there are only two Jewish figures in the entire Soviet government who are in positions of authority. One is Litvinov, who remains practically indispensable due to his experience and knowledge. The other is the organization expert, Kaganovich.

While it is true that Jews possess, under the law, equality with other citizens, this is at the expense of their Jewish belief, since Judaism is persecuted with unabated ferocity in Russia. It must be pointed out that this was a kind of equality the Jew could also have had under the Czars, had he been willing to forego his religious convictions. The Czars, in fact, granted full liberties to Jews if they converted, and, far from being militated against, special favor was actually shown them.

Despite catchwords, phrases and guarantees it may be logically assumed that Russia, which was the old land of pogroms, will again prove to be the graveyard of the Jews.

^{15c} The editor of *El Popular* is Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Secretary of the Confederation of Mexican Labor and its most powerful figure.

The full realism of the Communist position may be seen in the various maneuvers which took place in pre-Hitler Germany, where the Communists often joined in a 'united front' with their brown-shirted rivals. A speaking example was the resolution offered in the Prussian Diet on June 27, 1932, instructing the Government to submit the draft of a law providing for confiscation of the property of all East European Jews who entered the country after August 1, 1914. The passage of this resolution (which was not carried into actual effect) was made possible by an alliance between the National Socialists (Nazis) and the Communist deputies in the Diet.

¹⁶ From the records of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (Hias), New York City.

¹⁷ A sample of this condition is shown in the sudden action of republican Switzerland, which in August 1938 returned to Germany an estimated 1000 refugees who were without proper papers, and which formally closed the border against any further infiltration. In London itself on August 19, 1938, Magistrate Herbert Metcalfe sentenced three of these unfortunate refugees to prison terms at hard labor for illegally entering England. "The way stateless Jews from Germany are pouring in from every port of this country," he declared, "is an outrage."

¹⁸ *J. T. A. News*, February 1, 1938.

¹⁹ *Chicago Jewish Chronicle*, January 1, 1937.

²⁰ This organization which makes a humanitarian appeal for financial support by Jews in various parts of the world, operates under different names such as *Ikar*, *Ilder*, etc.

²¹ *J. T. A. Report*, February 17, 1937.

²² Issue of June 23, 1938.

²³ Issue of July 27, 1938.

²⁴ *J. T. A. News*, June 26, 1938. Winterton, as will be remembered, was the man who led the Government's fight in the Lords for acceptance of the partition proposal.

²⁵ *A. P. Dispatch*, July 15, 1938.

²⁶ George Rublee, Washington attorney and close friend of President Roosevelt, was elected as "Director with Authority" of the permanent refugee bureau. Lord Winterton was chosen as chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee on Assistance to Refugees.

²⁷ Issue of July 15, 1938.

CHAPTER II — SOLVING THE JEWISH QUESTION IN THE HOLY LAND

¹ *Raw Materials, Population, Pressure and War*, p. 14.

² *From Vine Street to Jerusalem*, p. 180.

³ *An Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine during the period July 1, 1920-June 30, 1921* (Cmd. 1499, 1921).

⁴ *Thy Neighbor*, p. 208.

⁵ In a series of articles appearing in the *New York Sun*, December 1926.

⁶ Reclamation Commissioner of the Department of the Interior for the American Government.

⁷ *Palästina als jüdisches Ansiedlungsgebiet*.

⁸ Statement January 9, 1938.

⁹ *Britain Facing Imperial Crisis*, New York American, April 13, 1930.

¹⁰ *Palestine Today and Tomorrow*, pp. 16, 99.

¹¹ *Sword for Hire*.

¹² U. S. Government Report, 1925.

¹³ This virtually deserted territory is dotted with vestigial remnants of once prosperous cities and agricultural communities. In ancient times it had been traversed by a wide road system. Archaeological remnants show it to have been once a veritable Garden of Eden.

¹⁴ *Three Deserts*, pp. 159-161.

¹⁵ May 20, 1925.

¹⁶ July 4, 1927, in a letter to Dr. Ruppin.

¹⁷ Elias Ginsburg, "The Prevailing Approach to the Land Problem in Palestine," *Palnews Economic Annual of Palestine*, 1937, p. 199.

¹⁸ *Palestine Review*, July 24, 1936.

¹⁹ *East of the Jordan*, p. 63.

²⁰ Dr. W. Stern, "Palestine's Water Problem," *Palnews Economic Annual of Palestine*, 1936.

²¹ H. B. Tristram, *The Land of Israel; A Journal of Travels in Palestine*, p. 224.

²² *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*, September 1937.

²³ "The Water Economy of Palestine," *Palnews Economic Annual of Palestine*, 1937, pp. 114-117.

²⁴ *An Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine during the period July 1, 1920-June 30, 1921* (Cmd. 1499, 1921).

²⁵ *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 521-522.

²⁶ Dr. Alfred Michaelis, "The Economic Capacity of Palestine," *Palnews Economic Annual of Palestine*, 1936.

²⁷ Admitted by Lord Plymouth, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in response to a question in Lords, July 5, 1934.

²⁸ *East of the Jordan*, p. 229.

²⁹ Graham and May, *Culture and Conscience*, p. 14.

³⁰ G. S. Blake, "Mineral Deposits of Palestine and Transjordan," *Palnews Economic Annual of Palestine*, 1937.

³¹ Dr. Stefan Loewengart, "The Principal Raw Materials of Palestine," *Palnews Economic Annual of Palestine*, 1936.

³² Published under the editorship of Prof. A. Fodor, Director of the Biochemical Institute, accompanied by a supplementary survey on the local geology by L. Picard.

³³ *Opinion*, July 1934.

³⁴ Among the secret agreements protecting British oil interests, says Pierre van Paassen (*Opinion*, July 1934), is one made at the time of the San Remo Conference, later extended and ratified (September 3, 1932, Mr. Alex Sutherland acting for the Company). Under this understanding the Palestine Government undertakes to see that there is no boring for oil anywhere in the Holy Land or Transjordan.

³⁵ *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, issue of January 1931, p. 52.

³⁶ *Revue Animateur des Temps Nouveaux*, Paris, May 1929.

³⁷ *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, issue of January 1931, p. 52.

³⁸ It should be mentioned here that the Jewish members of this company state themselves as not averse to this participation by English interests, and regard the presence of such men as Lords Lytton and Glenconner as a considerable asset to their corporation.

³⁹ The whole area of the Dead Sea minerals concession operated by the Palestine Potash Company is to be included within the Arab State. The expropriation of alien-owned oil properties in Mexico gives ample warning of what is likely to happen to this enterprise after the proposed Arab State has been

organized. Jewish participation would then depend entirely on the sufferance of the British and their Arab puppet State. Since it would be by far the most valuable asset contained within the boundaries of that State (which will be presumably *Judenrein*), its fate should not be difficult to foresee.

⁴⁰ The results of a study of the algae of the Palestinian shore have been published in a *Bulletin of the Institut Océanographique de Monaco* (Dr. Jos. Carmin — No. 653, 1934).

⁴¹ Convention of German chemists, Berlin, July 10, 1937.

⁴² Evidence submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission, House of Lords, London, February 11, 1937, by Vladimir Jabotinsky on behalf of the New Zionist Organization.

⁴³ *New York American*, October 13, 1936.

CHAPTER III — "AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?"

¹ "And Jehovah said unto Cain . . . What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." Gen. 4:9.

² *The New Palestine*, November 26, 1937.

³ December 27, 1937.

⁴ *New York Post*, February 22, 1937.

⁵ *Time*, March 1, 1937.

⁶ *Volkswoorte*, April 28, 1933.

⁷ Wireless to the *New York Times*, September 19, 1936.

The Nazi ideologists consider Christianity to be an alien importation, degrading to the German soul. A German court recently refused to register the name of a newly born German child named Joshua, alleging that since the name was "typically Jewish" it was an affront to German honor. Since Jesus is described in the first chapter of Matthew and in the third chapter of Luke as "the son of David, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham," he, too, obviously falls within the hated category. It is known that the whole of Chancellor Hitler's bodyguard has left the Church to become converted to paganism. Party leaders are increasingly giving up their Protestant and Catholic memberships and, without exception, those who still retain Christian affiliations merely do so nominally, for the sake of general world opinion.

⁸ Rome, August 5, 1938.

⁹ Cf., *The Sun*, Baltimore, Md., July 30, 1938.

¹⁰ Issue of August 5, 1938.

Recognizing the dangers in this program, Pope Pius VI immediately challenged it as an attack on Church principles. Leaflets distributed by the thousands in all churches of Italy, declared: "The racial [pagan] theory seeks to replace the rule of law by the rule of blood hatred. It is an attack against religion."

¹¹ Message from Pope Pius XI condemning anti-Semitism, published at Antwerp, September 16, 1938, by the managers of the Catholic broadcasting station in Belgium after returning from Rome.

¹² Press interview in October 1936.

¹³ Leeds, England, July 13, 1938.

¹⁴ *New York Post*, November 23, 1936.

¹⁵ America, too, as well as England, is apparently to be included in the great racial empire of the future. Else what are the sixty thousand Nazis doing here in uniform? Why the pictures of Hitler in their halls? Why the Horst Wessel song in New York and Chicago? Why the Hitler salute and the typical frenzy against the Judeo-Christian-Liberal enemy? The grandiose extent of

this ambition hardly cancels its existence. It is relatively no more fantastic than the plans the Nazi has already succeeded in translating into reality. And in the *Reich*, Brown Shirts still march to the exultant chant of "today Germany — tomorrow the world!"

¹⁶ Says Voigt in his book, *Unto Caesar*: "This Pact is an anti-British Pact. Although not an alliance, it expresses the common interest that Germany, Italy, and Japan have, not to strike at Communism, but at the British Commonwealth whenever the absolute weakness or passivity of England make an attack possible. . . England is in danger. Her spiritual life is threatened by the Hybris of secular religion. Her material existence is menaced by the greatest military power in the world. Unless she is strong, the Third Realm will be to her as Sparta was to Athens, whose fate will be hers." — pp. 231-239.

¹⁷ It is interesting to note, according to a dispatch on July 24, 1938, by *Havas*, the famous French News Agency, that Japan, too, has decided to join Italy in espousing the racial theories of the Reich and waging war on the Jews. Several eminent Japanese, according to Nazi spokesmen, are due to arrive in Germany "to study the Jewish question." Since there are practically no Jews in Japan, this anomaly speaks for itself. According to *Havas*: "Observers believe that these moves on the part of the two other members of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance herald an international offensive on the part of the Reich against world Jewry along the lines of its vast anti-Bolshevist campaign." Anti-Communism, it states, "is to be played down in favor of anti-Semitism" (with its inevitable corollary of anti-Christianity). It is believed that the adherence of Italy and Japan to the German racial theories presage a united anti-Jewish — anti-Christian campaign in the Arab world, with a similar, but more subtly organized effort planned in the Anglo-Saxon and South American countries.

¹⁸ *Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages*, pp. 209-210.

¹⁹ Foreword to J. de V. Loder's book, *The Truth About Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria*.

²⁰ M. Meyers, *History of the Jews*.

²¹ The world has a definite stake in the survival of this brilliant people, which has produced some of the greatest ornaments of the human race. In music, literature, science, commerce and the arts, European Jewry has contributed an excessive proportion of notable figures. "Among all the world's groups of people," states Professor Ellsworth Huntington, "there is none which for so long time, uninterruptedly, and to so high a degree in proportion to its numbers has furnished great leaders." ("The Causes of Jewish Greatness," in the *Aryan and Semite*, p. 21.) In our day these same unwanted Jews have given to Europe some of her outstanding thinkers such as Einstein, Michelson and Cassirer in Germany, Freud in Austria and Bergson in France. (See Norman Bentwich, *The Jews*, p. 100.) Of the 29 German Nobel prize-winners, 13 were full-blooded Jews. The German films, once so widely known as an artistic product, were almost entirely the result of Jewish effort; and, in 1934, a famous American physician declared, referring to such figures as Wassermann and Ehrlich, that if one were to erase the Jewish names from German medical textbooks, the books would consist only of two covers. The predominance of Jews in intellectual pursuits was acknowledged by the Nazi authority Richard Eichenauer, who complained in his book, *Musik und Rasse*: "Jewish conductors occupy the most important posts; Jewish singers dominate in opera and operetta; Jewish virtuosi rule in our concert halls; Jewish critics inundate our newspapers and periodicals; Jewish councillors, professors and conservatory directors select what music . . . our youth grows up with." Practically all of the great violinists of the world, from Zimbalist and Heifetz to Kreisler, are of this same Central

and East European Jewish stock. So is that long list of noted poets and writers such as Schnitzler, Werfel, Zweig, Wassermann and Feuchtwanger.

In science are such commanding figures as Heinrich Hertz, who made the first wireless experiments; Emil Berliner, inventor of the microphone; David Schwartz who invented the rigid gas bag later to bear the name of Count Zepelin; Otto Lilienthal, the great pioneer of flying; Leo Graetz, inventor of the Graetzian light; and an unending list of others such as James Franck, Gustav Hertz, Max Born, Hermann Arons and Jacques Loeb, without whose great work human life and knowledge would be infinitely poorer. The history of philological science, of botany, of archaeology and of astronomy are studded with Jewish names.

Though Jews were not even one percent of the population, 14.2% of the law professors in German universities in 1909-10 were born as Jews, as were 12% of the professors in the Department of Philosophy and 16.8% of the professors in the Medical Department.

The German chemical industry, as another example, is largely a product of Jewish genius. It was Adolph Frank whose technical and scientific work laid the basis for the founding of the potassium industry, Heinrich Caro whose discovery of aniline dyes gave Germany preeminence in commerce and industry, and an inexhaustible list of other great experimenters such as Karl Leiber mann, Victor Meyer and Fritz Haber whose work utterly revolutionized chemistry. Without these men, and other Jews who collaborated with them to develop the business and commercial ends of these great enterprises, the German chemical industry would be virtually non-existent.

Much the same situation is true in neighboring countries where the Jews are now suffering so severely. In Poland the Jews supplied almost the entire middle class, and says Fraser: "When we talk about Russian art, we generally mean Polish Jewish art." (*The Conquering Jew*, p. 280.) Similarly in the surrounding countries, Jews have contributed heavily to both intellectual and industrial life. In Rumania they started practically all of the principal industries, and it was they who developed the country's basic resources. It was a Jew, Berkovici, who put the Rumanian language on a grammatical basis. Jews founded and carried on the only banking system of Rumania until the Government banking system recently supplanted it. In all the arts and sciences they have played a foremost part; and have also produced the country's greatest poets.

Additional detailed information may be secured from the following books: Fritz Kahn, *Die Juden als Rasse und Kulturvolk*; Fritz Lenz, *Menschliche Auslese und Rassenhygiene*; Heinrich Berl, *Das Judentum in der Musik*; Meyerson and Goldberg, *The German Jew, His Share in Modern Culture*.

APPENDIX A

THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

The Council of the League of Nations :

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them ; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country ; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country ; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine ; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval ; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions ; and

Whereas by the afore-mentioned Article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations ;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows :

Article 1.

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

Article 2.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 3.

The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

Article 4.

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and coöperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the coöperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Article 5.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.

Article 6.

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in coöperation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Article 7.

The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Article 8.

The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the afore-mentioned privileges and immunities on August 1, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their reestablishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately reestablished in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

Article 9.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

Article 10.

Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

Article 11.

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide

for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

Article 12.

The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

Article 13.

All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

Article 14.

A special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection

with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

Article 15.

The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Article 16.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

Article 17.

The Administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

Article 18.

The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

Article 19.

The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

Article 20.

The Mandatory shall cooperate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 21.

The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of

treatment in the matter of excavations and archaeological research to the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations.

(1)

"Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year A.D. 1700.

(2)

The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorisation referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3)

No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said Department.

(4)

Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5)

No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorised, by the competent Department.

(6)

Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archaeological interest.

(7)

Authorisation to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archaeological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorisations,

act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good grounds.

(8)

The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

Article 22.

English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

Article 23.

The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

Article 24.

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

Article 25.

In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16 and 18.

Article 26.

The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Na-

tions relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 27.

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

Article 28.

In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.

Done at London the twenty-fourth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

Certified true copy :

SECRETARY-GENERAL

APPENDIX B

THE McMAHON LETTER

This letter, over which so much controversy has arisen, was sent by McMahon, then British High Commissioner for Egypt, to the Sherif Hussein in reply to his request for a clearer definition of the terms under which he was willing to start a rebellion against the Ottoman Empire:

"October 24th, 1915

"The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Hama, Homs, and Aleppo, cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries. With the above modifications, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept those limits and boundaries, and in regard to those portions of the territories in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interest of her ally France, I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurance and make the following reply to your letter :

"Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sherif of Mecca."

"HENRY McMAHON."

APPENDIX C

Projected table of population statistics based on the per capita density of population of various selected States.

Population Palestine west of Jordan would hold if it were as thickly populated per square mile as the following :

Belgium	6,987,180
England	7,416,430
Holland	5,992,330
Massachusetts	5,270,180
New Jersey	5,148,980
Puerto Rico	4,539,950
Rhode Island	5,681,250
Sicily	4,499,550

Population the originally mandated Jewish National Home (Cis-Jordan plus Trans-Jordan) would hold if it were as thickly populated per square mile as the following :

Belgium	31,027,230
England	32,933,355
Holland	26,609,505
Massachusetts	23,402,730
New Jersey	22,864,530
Puerto Rico	20,160,075
Rhode Island	25,228,125
Sicily	19,980,675

According to the last official figures, the area of Cis-Jordan (Palestine west of Jordan) is 10,100 square miles, with a population of 1,325,299. The area of Cis-Jordan plus Trans-Jordan is 44,850 square miles, with a combined population of 1,575,299. On the States given for comparison the areas and populations are : Belgium, 11,780 square miles, pop. 8,159,185 ; England, 50,874 square miles, pop. 37,354,917 ; Holland, 13,202 square miles, pop. 8,061,571 ; Massachusetts, 8,266 square miles, pop. 4,313,000 ; New Jersey, 8,224 square miles, pop. 4,193,000 ; Puerto Rico, 3,435 square miles, pop. 1,543,913 ; Rhode Island, 1,248 square miles, pop. 702,000 ; Sicily, 9,935 square miles, pop. 4,426,113.

APPENDIX D

A creative Zionist program which is to meet the present emergency should be based on the following minimum demands :

(1) Proper land frontiers, to include the entire territory as originally mandated for Jewish settlement by the League of Nations (Western Palestine plus Transjordan), a rectification of the northern boundaries to recover the lost territory of the Hauran, and Sinai Peninsula.

(2) An assisted mass immigration conducted under the control of the Great Powers, with a provision for the liquidation of refugee properties (patterned after the Refugee Settlements Commission which conducted the Graeco-Turkish exchange of population in 1922).

(3) The granting, on application, of extra-territorial Palestine citizenship to stateless or persecuted Jews, for the immediate purpose of protecting their lives and properties.

(4) The withdrawal of the Jewish National Home from the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office, and the retirement of the entire body of anti-Zionist office-holders now quartered in the National Home ; their places to be taken by sympathetic officials whose appointment shall be subject to the approval of the recognized Jewish Body.

(5) The abrogation of the entire fabric of restrictive legislation issued by the present Mandatory, which now nullifies in detail the obligations to which the Mandatory is committed in principle.

(6) The restoration to the Jewish Agency, or some other recognized Jewish Body, of those rights vouchsafed it in the Mandate for Palestine ; this Body to have the same wide powers usually granted to colonizing bodies.

(7) Expropriation of all unused lands (at fair prices, to be determined by an International Commission) and their resale under reasonable terms to incoming settlers.

(8) A State policy suitable to modern colonization, to include the protection of local industry, favored taxation to new enterprises, and State subsidies to all undertakings designed to enhance the economic prosperity of the National Home.

(9) The placing of the defense forces of the National Home into Jewish hands in cooperation with advisory officers to be supplied by the Mandatory.

(10) The floating of an International Loan, suitable to the needs of an enterprise of this size and scope, under control of the Great Powers and guaranteed by the resources of the National Home.

(11) Treaties of trade and military alliance which will serve the proper interests of both the Jewish National Home and the Mandatory.

(12) A concordat to be signed with the Christian Churches, recognizing their legitimate interest in the Holy Places.

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Palestine Review are in English) ; the *Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission* (issued periodically) ; the annual reports of the Palestine Economic Corporation ; and the various issues of the *Bulletin of the Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency for Palestine* (Jerusalem, bi-monthly), *Palestine and Middle East Magazine* (Tel Aviv, monthly), *Palestine Economic Review* (Tel Aviv, semi-monthly), the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (Chicago, monthly), the *New Palestine* (New York, weekly), the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (London, quarterly), *The Pro-Palestine Herald* (New York, monthly), *Palestine* (London, weekly), and the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* (London).

GLOSSARY

- aliyah, *Heb.* Immigration ; lit., "Going up to the Land [Palestine]."
- Bedouin, *Ar.* Nomadic Arab (see note 10, p. 530).
- Diaspora, *Gr.* lit., Countries of the *Dispersion*.
- dinar, *Gr.* Ancient Near Eastern coin. In present day Iraq, about 25¢.
- dunam, *Ar.* About a quarter of an acre (see note 41, p. 536).
- effendi, *Ar.* A term of distinction or respect accorded by virtue of family, position or wealth.
- emir (or ameer), *Ar.* A prince or ruler.
- Eretz Yisroel, *Heb.* The Land of Israel.
- fatwa, *Ar.* A Moslem ecclesiastical ruling.
- fellah, *Ar.* Villager or farmer.
- ghaffir, *Ar.* Supernumerary policeman.
- ghazzu, *Ar.* Night raid.
- Haj, *Ar.* lit., Holy. One who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.
- Histadruth, *Heb.* lit., Organization. Now applied as brief descriptive term for the Jewish Federation of Labor in Palestine.
- imam, *Ar.* Moslem religious leader.
- jihad, *Ar.* Holy war.
- Judenrein, *Ger.* Free of Jews (or forbidden to Jews).
- Koran, *Ar.* Moslem Holy Scriptures.
- The City. The financial district of London.
- Middle East. Block of countries lying directly back of the Asiatic Mediterranean Coast, as Iraq, etc., to distinguish them from the regions on the Coast itself known as the Near East.
- mil. A Palestine coin (about half a cent).
- mukhtar, *Ar.* Village headman.
- numerus clausus, *L.* Measures restricting Jews to a fixed percentage in occupations, professions and other activities.
- pogrom, *Russ.* An organized massacre.
- pound (£). A money unit. As of September 1938 the English pound (£S) is \$4.76½, in American money, the Palestinian pound (£P) is \$4.78½, and the Egyptian pound (£E) is \$4.92. Money figures given in these pages are variously based on the English and Palestinian pounds, but the difference is so slight that for the sake of simplicity the symbol £ alone is used.
- staatenlos, *Ger.* (lit., without a State.) Men without citizenship in any country, hence without passports.

- sheikh, *Ar.*** Titular head of family, clan, tribe or village; the chief.
- Talmud, *Heb.*** The body of Jewish tradition, civil and canonical law, and commentaries relating thereto.
- Torah, *Heb.*** Scrolls of Holy Law (as contained in the Old Testament).
- Vaad Leumi, *Heb.*** Executive committee of the Palestine Jewish National Assembly. (See p. 191.)
- Wahabi, *Ar.*** Moslem religious sect of Saudi Arabia. Called after the revered holy man, Wahab.
- Wakf (or Waqf), *Ar.*** Organized Moslem religious endowment. (See pp. 110, 392.)
- Whitehall.** The section in London where the permanent officials of H. M. Government are quartered.
- White Paper.** A Government paper, usually containing a definition of policy to be laid before Parliament for discussion.
- Yeshiva, *Heb.*** Talmudical seminary.
- Yishub, *Heb.*** The Palestine Jewish Community.

Abbreviations

Ar., Arabic
Ger., German
Gr., Greek

Heb., Hebrew
L., Latin
lit., literally

Russ., Russian

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