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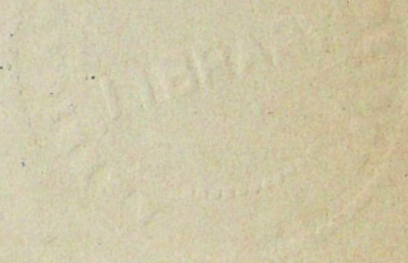
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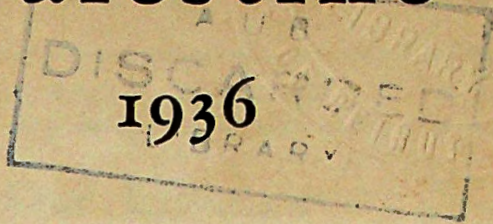
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# Palestine

Vol. XI

February 19th, 1936



## Our Intention

**P**ALESTINE was first published as a weekly brochure in January 1917 and was discontinued in 1922. Short as this life was it was contemporaneous with great historical events, in which it played a part that, small or great, was at least distinctive. It was started in Manchester by a group of men, Gentile and Jewish, who for more than a couple of years before the Balfour Promise had been convinced that Great Britain and Jewry were natural allies in the East and that each would benefit itself by helping the other. The immediate anxiety in those early days was the winning of the war and it was not then easy to convince people that there was any connection between Zionism and this great end. Inevitably the burden of the argument at first was on military needs. We were all strategists then and in its comments on the war PALESTINE combated our excessive and costly preoccupation with the war on the Western Front and urged the claims of the Eastern strategy as one more consonant with the traditions of British arms and with our needs as the greatest of Eastern Powers. The argument was justified in the end by Allenby's great victory at Megiddo.

But the argument of PALESTINE was at no time exclusively military. It believed that an alliance between Great Britain and Jewry was excellent propaganda for the Allied cause—a view which was confirmed by the entry of the United States on the side of the Allies, for that was due in no small measure to the conviction that the victory of the Allies would redress the oldest of political wrongs in the denial of a national centre in the life of the Jewish people. It believed that the Near East might again have a future as great as its past, and held that the active assistance of Jewry was necessary for that regeneration. It persistently urged that Great Britain should take the lead in this work, alike for its own sake because a strong Palestinian nationality of which Zionism was the only holding cement would be a fortress, political, strategic and moral, of our position in the East and as a measure of justice to Jewry and of hope for the East.

PALESTINE was discontinued because after the Mandate had been given to this country it seemed that its work had been successfully completed.

It is to be revived under Gentile as well as Jewish auspices and in Gentile no less than in Jewish interest because events have shown that the full value of the alliance between Great Britain and Jewry is even now not fully realised. Remarkable as the success of the Zionists has been in Palestine, progress might have been even more rapid and many mistakes have been avoided if the British administration had kept pace with the ideals of British statesmanship. Acceptance of a great ideal is not enough; it needs to be deepened into a strong and impelling motive of British administration.

It has never been that. At first the attitude of British administrators was tempered by doubt whether Zionism had enough leverage to accomplish what it hoped. It was regarded as an untried idea that might lack inherent

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strength. And when that was disproved, the fear was that it might accomplish too much and disturb administration by its very excess of vitality. The administrator is in politics what the priest is in religion, ready to rearrange what is already there but distrustful of ideas that will be creative of something new. The Palestine administration has many virtues, but it has tended to exalt the *caveat* in the Mandate about the Arab rights into the main Mandate and to depress the Mandate which it owes solely to the Jews into the *caveat*. Zionists realise how necessary the Arabs are to the formation of a Palestinian nationality. It will be the policy of this paper at all times to work for harmony between the two kindred races and for that very reason it will see in the rapid progress of Palestine benefits not less for the Arabs than for the Jews.

But there are other and particular reasons why it now seems necessary to restate the case for an alliance between Zionists and British policy. Anti-Semitism is no new thing in Europe, but in the last two years it has for the first time hardened into a national system and practice. It will be no part of the function of PALESTINE to discuss the internal politics as such of Germany or of any other European country. It will certainly never forget that the peace is the master-need of Europe. But there is the closest connection between policy in Palestine and the deplorable condition of Jews in Germany and Eastern Europe. Anti-Semitism as a state-system has immensely reinforced the case for a more rapid development of the Jewish National Home. While the motives, real and ideal, which led to the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration remain as cogent as ever, for Jews in some of the great countries of the world what was once a stimulating idea has now become their best, almost their only, escape from helotry. PALESTINE will see in the Jewish persecutions not only a call to humanity but a great opportunity for Great Britain as mandatory in Palestine and as potential redeemer of the East from the mortgage of an unprogressive past.

Again, the trouble over Abyssinia is creating a new political and strategic problem in the Eastern Mediterranean. Palestine by reason of its marvellous position near the gateway of three continents can make an important contribution to its solution. Haifa is destined by nature to be one of the greatest commercial and air ports in the Mediterranean; it is the residuary legatee of the ambitious enterprise which Germany hoped to satisfy by her Hamburg to Bagdad railway scheme. A country which promised at one time to be no more than a debtor to sea power now that air power has become one of the modes in which sea power is exercised promises to become one of its principal supports.

The more rapid the progress of Palestine and the stronger the patriotic attachment of its people to the soil, the more decisive the contribution of Palestine to these new problems will be. There can be no strong and patriotic nationality to defend Palestine except on the basis of a large and contented Jewish population, and the problem is one that calls for prompt and vigorous action.

Thus there are many roads that lead to the same conclusion that the time has come for Great Britain to realise the larger hope that is in whole-hearted fulfilment of the Mandate. PALESTINE will seek to explore them all.

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In considering the political and industrial conditions in Palestine it is of the first importance to remember that while the Jews are only a little more than 25 per cent. of the population, they contribute from 65 to 70 per cent. of the national budget.



# The Legislative Council

## AN UNTIMELY PROPOSAL

WHATEVER opinion may be held about the merits of the projected Legislative Council in Palestine, it is already certain that its establishment would inaugurate a period of acute political conflict in that country. The leaders of the Arab factions, who differ among themselves only in the degree of their hostility to the British Mandate, have received the proposal without enthusiasm, since it expressly precludes the introduction of any motion or Bill for the abolition of the Mandate itself. Nevertheless, some of the Arab politicians see in the Jewish rejection of the proposal a ground for its acceptance, and they are seeking to compose the family feuds and factional rivalries which have been the bane of Arab politics in the hope that a united Arab majority on the Council may succeed in obstructing, and perhaps destroying, the possibility of further Jewish development, and so nullifying at least the Jewish national home clauses of the Mandate.

The Jewish community in Palestine, which is normally deeply divided on many political and religious issues, is solidly united in rejecting the proposal. No single Jewish voice among the many parties and groups has been raised in favour of the proposed Council, and the Jewish leaders have already informed the High Commissioner that if the Council is established the Jewish community will abstain from participation in the elections. And the leaders of Jewish opposition are men of moderate temper, like Dr. Ch. Weizmann, the President of the Jewish Agency, whose whole political activity since the publication of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 has been based upon a policy of close co-operative relationship between the British Government and the Jewish people. Palestinian Jewry is unanimous in the conviction that the proposed Legislative Council at the present stage of the development of the Jewish National Home is untimely, dangerous and irreconcilable with the underlying purposes of the Mandate. A recent Anglo-Jewish Conference, held with the support and co-operation of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and representative of Zionists and non-Zionists alike, unanimously declared its solidarity with this view; and protests against the proposal have been made by Jewish communities throughout the world.

The structure of the proposed Legislative Council throws a great deal of light on the reasons for Jewish opposition. It is to consist of twenty-eight members. Of these, twelve are to be elected, three by Jews and nine by Arabs (one of whom is to be a Christian). In addition there are to be five nominated Arabs (including two Christians), and four nominated Jews. Finally, five officials and two representatives of the commercial community are to be nominated. In brief, fourteen members will represent the Arab communities, seven the Jewish and seven the Government and the commercial community. The fourteen Arabs will inevitably be drawn from quarters implacably hostile to the Mandate and the Jewish national home, and situations will constantly arise when only a casting vote (which under the scheme the senior official will be empowered to exercise) or the High Commissioner's veto will prevent disastrous interference with the orderly development of the country's possibilities. In the present state of tension

it is not difficult to predict the inevitable and disastrous consequences. Extremists in the Council will compete with one another for communal favours by their irresponsibilities ; communal animosities will be inflamed ; and a period of bitter conflict and political uncertainty will succeed the peaceful and progressive development which has achieved for Palestine a unique place among the economies of the world.

Under 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." It is difficult to see how the creation of a new political instrument, the structure of which makes it inevitable that it should be dominated by forces hostile to the Jewish national home, can be reconciled with this provision. It is fully recognised that the same Article also goes on to make the Mandatory responsible for "the development of self-governing institutions," but it must be obvious that such institutions in their structure and purpose must be of such a nature as at least not to impede "the establishment of the Jewish national home." Moreover, there is an immense field for the development and extension of local and communal self-government among the Arabs, where the results so far achieved have been pitiable in their inadequacy.

There is, moreover, the important consideration advanced by the Jewish Agency that the place assigned to it in the Mandate involves recognition by the Government of obligations to the Jewish people as a whole. As a result of negotiations between a Cabinet Committee and the Jewish Agency, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the then Prime Minister, addressed a letter to Dr. Weizmann in 1931, which was read in the House of Commons as an authoritative statement of Government policy, and has since formed the basis of co-operation between the British Government and the Jewish Agency. The Government, wrote Mr. MacDonald, "recognises that the undertaking of the Mandate is an undertaking to the Jewish people and not only to the Jewish population in Palestine." In the constitution of the proposed Legislative Council this undertaking is wholly ignored, and with it the distinctive status conferred by the Mandate on the Jewish people in Palestine.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the Jewish people refuse to accept the Council. Nor is it surprising that there are British statesmen of all parties who are gravely disquieted at the prospect which is opened up by this far-reaching proposal. Palestine represents a vital interest for the British Commonwealth ; how easily such an interest can be jeopardised is shown by the results of reckless constitutional experiments in other Near Eastern countries. The Jewish people are anxious to co-operate with the British Government in the peaceful development of Palestine for the benefit of all its inhabitants ; they ask only for an undivided British responsibility in the government of the country until what the Mandate describes as the reconstitution of their national home is complete. Such an appeal addressed to British statesmen cannot fall on deaf ears.

### British Politicians' Warnings

**I**N a letter to *The Times*, Colonel C. Wedgwood, M.P., referring to the proposals, writes : The plan of the Legislative Council for Palestine has been announced in Jerusalem. There is time to criticise the proposals before any enactment is made by Orders in Council. If this start towards

home rule is not to be made on dangerous lines that criticism should come now. The objections of the Jews and their determination to boycott the Council may delay the scheme. It is the proposals themselves on which I would comment, and from the British point of view.

First, one might judge from Egypt that it is a mistake, especially just now, to give the impression that one yields to threats of violence. The results of the 1923 Constitution in Egypt are so manifest that one need not labour the point. The connection between Egypt and Palestine is so close; the regrets for the Constitution granted to Iraq are so keen. Surrender to bluff is not at the moment popular.

Then the proposed machinery gives the impression of having been devised without sufficient regard to practice and experience elsewhere in the Empire. No one who knows community representation in India approves of that method of election; it leaves minorities helpless and encourages racial and religious bitterness. Why impose it on Palestine, where all are agreed that the vital issue is to get Jew and Arab to be more friendly? . . .

The position of a statutory minority, which can never hope for posts, preferment, or power, is particularly unfair and quite un-English. Probably Jews object to this obvious result more than to community representation itself; for it is only the Jews of England and America who understand the virtues of the common electoral roll and the vices of community isolation. We have seen from India that once community representation is started reversion to the unifying English system becomes impossible.

In Kenya there is an official majority on the council to preserve the control by the Colonial Office and by Parliament. In Palestine there is to be no official majority. Instead we are to rely on the balancing of the rival communities—so many Moslems, Christians, Jews, officials, possibly Germans. This is "divide and rule"—a "rule" which leads to more inefficiency and exasperation than any other. We had just that "rule" in Cyprus; for fifty years we ruled on the Governor's casting vote; and it only ended when the Christians stormed Government House and the Constitution went up in the flames.

#### THE RT. HON. L. S. AMERY

Mr. L. S. Amery, also in a letter to *The Times*, says: No one who is acquainted with conditions in Palestine but can share the misgivings voiced by Colonel Wedgwood at the thought that we are to attempt to introduce quasi-Parliamentary institutions of the conventional type in a country still so profoundly divided. There is, after all, in India a measure of national feeling transcending communal feeling upon which we can hope to build, and neither Hindu majority nor Moslem minority deny, in principle, the other's right to a part in the national life. In Palestine we are still a long way from that point, and, whatever real satisfaction reflecting Arabs may feel at the benefits Jewish immigration has brought to the country and to its Arab population, for electioneering purposes all Arab candidates will be committed to a policy of defeating the policy of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

To that policy we stand pledged by our acceptance of the Mandate, and by the declarations of all our leading statesmen since Lord Balfour's declaration nearly twenty years ago. To go back on it now, or weaken it, by deliberately creating difficulties in the way of its fulfilment, in face of the

agony through which the Jewish race is passing in Germany, to narrow the one door of escape not merely to self-respect but to sheer existence, would be a stultification of ourselves and a betrayal of those who have placed their faith in us. It is true that by the Mandate we are no less pledged to safeguard the interests of the Arab population and to encourage the growth of self-governing institutions in Palestine. But clearly we must be the judges both of the best means of fulfilling the former obligation and of the right line and method for the fulfilment of the latter.

If we do desire to proceed at an early date with the establishment of some elected legislative body, is there no method by which we can avoid the position which Colonel Wedgwood so rightly fears, that of the Jews becoming, whether in fact or by statute, a permanent minority, always outvoted or voted against, and only saved from disaster by the continual intervention of the official vote? I believe there is, but I believe it can only be found—and here I differ from Colonel Wedgwood—not in ignoring the cleavage between the two communities, but in giving complete and equal recognition to each.

It is of the essence of the Mandate that the Jewish population of Palestine is there, and is entitled to develop, as a matter of internationally recognised and affirmed right, and not as a matter of sufferance by the Arab population, just as the Arab population is also there as of right. The two communities are equal in right and, under existing conditions, no system of representation which gives a greater voting power to one community than another is consistent with the spirit and purpose of the Mandate.

To give effect to that equality in an elective assembly or council all that is necessary is to provide that no vote on any issue, or at any stage of legislative procedure, is valid unless it secures a majority from the representatives of each community. By that simple device all action aimed by the one community against the other would be frustrated at the outset, while on the other hand there would be unlimited field for co-operation between representatives of the two communities on non-contentious issues.

#### THE LIBERAL VIEW

Sir Archibald Sinclair wrote: The Government's proposals for the constitution of a Legislative Council in Palestine have been received without enthusiasm by the Arabs, with dismay and indignation by the Jews, and have caused deep concern in this country to those who are interested in the welfare of Palestine. That concern was expressed and explained, not from the Jewish or the Arab but from the purely British standpoint, in the weighty letters which you published recently from Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Amery. There has been no answer—and I doubt if there can be any effective answer—to their criticisms.

Those who are most anxious to see the future of Palestine secured by co-operation between Arab and Jew, who most keenly appreciate the contribution which each race is capable of making to the welfare of the country, and who desire the responsibilities assumed by Britain under the Mandate to be devolved progressively through some form of legislative council upon the people of Palestine, may well doubt whether the present proposals are likely to fulfil those objects. Similar proposals were advanced in 1923 and were abandoned because the Arabs refused to work them. Now the Jews are refusing to work them. Yet without the co-operation of both Arabs and Jews no such experiment can possibly succeed.

## Politics and the Fellah

AT the end of November, Arab political leaders submitted to the High Commissioner a memorandum demanding (a) that a democratic Government should be established in Palestine; (b) that Jewish immigration should cease completely; (c) that all sales of land to Jews should be prohibited. These demands were simply anti-Jewish; they were directed towards preventing the development of the Jewish National Home, to which the British Government is obligated and to facilitate which it was given the Mandate for Palestine. It is in the light of this fact that the reply of the High Commissioner, in its political aspect, must be judged. So far as concerns the third demand, Sir Arthur Wauchope announces that, except as regards the sub-district of Beersheba, the urban areas and land planted with citrus, no landowner shall be permitted to sell any of his land unless he retains a minimum area which is sufficient to afford a means of subsistence to himself and his family.

This measure will be justified as arising from special concern for the interests of the peasantry and designed to prevent the creation of a landless proletariat. We shall examine later whether it is calculated to produce these results; but politically, announced in these particular circumstances, it must be interpreted as a partial concession to meet the Arab demand for a prohibition of all sales of land to Jews. A complete prohibition would be a plain violation of the Mandate, and an open breach of faith; it was impracticable. What is offered instead is legislation to hamper the acquisition of land by Jews, a purpose steadily pursued over a term of years. A lawyer might be able to argue that this policy is so devised as not to conflict with the letter of the Mandate; a statesman would admit that it cannot be reconciled with the spirit of the Mandate.

Incidentally, another hardly less sacred pledge is treated with scant respect. It will be remembered that Mr. MacDonald, at that time Prime Minister, put on record in a formal state document a number of undertakings and interpretations in connection with the notorious Passfield White Paper. Some of these related to land. There was not to be a prohibition of land transfers but a regulation, and such regulation was to be part and parcel of a scheme of agricultural development. The scheme of agricultural development has gone, and the High Commissioner does not even trouble to mention it. But the "regulation," which is also plainly of a prohibitory character, remains. The purely political purpose—the checking of the development of the Jewish National Home in the hope of conciliating the Arab politician—stands out clear.

A project of social legislation cannot be judged in isolation; it must be considered in association with the living reality into which it is being injected. The working in Palestine of a scheme for rendering inalienable by sale a minimum area, the *lot viable*, will be governed principally by two influences—the conditions as to credit and the law of succession. The peasant cannot develop his land without capital; he cannot get capital except by borrowing; he cannot borrow except by mortgaging his land, his one valuable asset. The Palestine Government is so conscious of these elementary truths that it has recently facilitated the establishment of an Agricultural Mortgage Company (in which English banks and insurance companies are the shareholders) by putting at its disposal £150,000. But if land cannot be

sold it cannot be mortgaged, for the right of foreclosure and sale is the essential element of a mortgage. It follows that the peasant with his inalienable *lot viable* has no credit; he cannot borrow money to improve his holding; he is doomed to stagnation and poverty. The Government will not have tied the land to him, they will have tied him to the land, to land which he cannot develop but upon which he must camp in squalor and misery.

Some glimmer of this certain evolution seems to have reached the High Commissioner, for the new legislation will provide that the inalienable land shall revert to the Government if it ceases to be cultivated by the owner-occupier. This is strange statesmanship. You enact laws which make it impossible for the peasant to live by the proper cultivation of his land, and you then sequester his land which you have compelled him to abandon. And this is a policy alleged to be in the interests of the peasants and in the interests of political peace.

Agricultural land in Palestine is *miri* land, and to it the Ottoman law of succession applies. Without going into details, this law, after providing for the rights of parents and spouse, divides the residue in equal shares among the sons and daughters—and Arab families are very large. The peasant cannot dispose of his land by will; it must on his death be divided among his kin. If, therefore, he started with a *lot viable*, an area sufficient for subsistence, when it is divided among his heirs none of these has enough land to live on. Under the provisions of the proposed new law, the heirs cannot sell their fragments of land and so consolidate them into a *lot viable*; these fragments must themselves, under the operation of the Rules of Succession, be partitioned into ever minuter fractions. It would not take many generations for all the peasants to be driven by sheer misery off the land, and all their land to escheat to the Government.

Legislation of this character indicates the havoc which Governments can achieve when they are moved not by carefully considered social policy but by political purposes, which, having regard to their pledges, they dare not avow and cannot defend. If the Palestine Administration were really concerned for the welfare of the *fellahin* we should have not prohibition of the transfer of land, but a broadly conceived scheme of development, which would improve agriculture and make the industrious and progressive peasant flourish. The Government has ample means for such a policy in its accumulated surpluses—all derived from Jewish immigration, and the unaided growth of the Jewish National Home. No country is financially better situated, or has a population more eager to co-operate in a scheme of improvement which is directed to the development of Palestine in harmony with the spirit of the Mandate. Why is the Palestine Administration permitted to turn its back on the plainly profitable and honourable course?

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A far larger number of Arab workers than Jews are employed in the orange groves, and it is remarkable that a considerable proportion of the Arab workers are immigrants into Palestine from adjacent countries. While the unauthorised entrance into Palestine of Jews is liable to lead to serious punishment there is practically no hindrance to the immigration of Arabs.

# Palestine

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## Palestine and Imperial Defence

THE debates on defence and in particular on the relations between air-power and sea-power have an especial interest for Palestine. A few doctrinaires and abstract thinkers may demur, but to Palestinians as a whole it will give great pleasure to think that in the department of defence they may make some return to the Great Britain to which their own country owes its liberation.

More and more is it beginning to be understood that Palestine is the bridge between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and the strategic key to the whole of the Near and Middle East. But as recent events in the Mediterranean have shown though sea-power is as important as ever it was, it needs to be interpreted in terms of air-power as well as of surface ships.

It is not true as is so often said that air-power has superseded sea-power; on the contrary it has under some conditions increased its importance. Lord Salisbury once said of the British Fleet that it could not sail over Mount Taurus to succour the Armenians. But a British fleet in these days nearly could; at any rate its effective range of action, provided that it is equipped with sufficient aeroplanes and aircraft carriers, extends far beyond the range of its guns for at least two hundred miles inland.

On the other hand a navy may be unchallengeable by surface ships and be vulnerable to air attack, especially in narrow waters. Before man learned to fly, the nearer the base of a dominant fleet was to the coasts of its enemy, the more effective its action was likely to be. That is so no longer. The nearness of Malta to the coasts of an Italy that is for the moment unfriendly and has superior strength in aeroplanes impairs its value as a naval base. Fifteen years ago if there had been this trouble over Abyssinia between ourselves and Italy, the reinforced British fleet would have been concentrated at Malta. In the last few months its concentration has been in the Eastern Mediterranean, off Alexandria. Fifteen years hence in like political conditions it will be concentrated on Haifa as its base.

The value of Haifa to the system of Imperial defence will not be solely in its future use as a naval base. It is destined to be the great airport of the East. The British fleet will in due course of time be equipped with the air services which have now become as necessary to a navy as to an army. But the strongest fleet will need air bases on land, and the ideal bases are no longer on an island where they present an easier target, but on a mainland where concealment is easier and there is greater freedom of manœuvre.

Haifa satisfies those requirements in a way that Malta never could. It is farther away from a strong air-power which might conceivably be hostile,

It is not only more secure in itself for that reason, but it has an unrivalled position on the flank of any attack that might be made in the direction of the Canal. In addition it offers the best way of approach by the air to India.

If, as is now generally agreed, the future of sea-power is in a close alliance with air-power, the air route to the East through Haifa is the natural and indispensable auxiliary to British naval power, not merely in the Mediterranean, but in the vast region between Palestine and the Persian Gulf. "This whole region," writes Mr. Amery in his recent book *The Forward View*, "forms a single political and strategic problem, perhaps the most important of any to which our policy can direct itself in the near future. The key position of the whole region is Palestine, which covers the Suez Canal from the north and from which start the air route and future railway route from the Mediterranean to India."

And again, "it is within this zone," he writes, "in view of the difficulty of the rapid movement of aircraft from this country, as well as in view of the admirable training facilities which it offers, that an ever-increasing proportion of our first-line Air Force should be stationed. Palestine is the strategical air centre of our Empire defence." What the British Army in India is to the British Army, this middle region between Haifa and the Gulf will be to the British air forces and through them to the British Navy.

Thus Palestine is the linchpin of the British naval power in its new alliance with the air force. We must not think of air-power merely in terms of the defence of these islands from raids. If our politicians know their business, they will see to it that there is an Air Locarno of Western Europe with some prospect of a comprehensive scheme to neutralise the air over at least the Rhine region, France and the British Isles. It is not in all likelihood in home waters that the future war—if war comes—will be decided, but in the Mediterranean and Eastern waters. And one would have said the same even if the dispute with Italy and this country, as representing the League, had never arisen.

One sincerely hopes that present discords are not destined to estrange our two countries for long. But the conquest of Abyssinia and its establishment as a major Italian colony certainly would in any case call for especial measures of precaution; and even if all discords were resolved in harmony, the strategic centre of future disturbance is likely to shift from the North Sea further East.

The future may give us yet more abundant cause to be thankful for the mandate in Palestine. But for the Jews we should never have been given it; the more Palestine develops, the greater the assistance that it will be able to give, and in a large and prosperous Jewish population the hopes of this development mainly rest. Let no one therefore think of Zionism as a mere luxury of sentiment. It is potentially the most indispensable of aids to a sound system of British Imperial defence.



## The Problem of Local Self-Government

“IT is obvious that in order to establish effective self-government on a national scale, it is imperative first to introduce on a more solid basis a wide measure of local self-government in order to enable the inhabitants, and especially the more backward section of the population, to obtain practical experience of administrative methods and the business of government and to learn discrimination in the selection of representatives.”

This statement, taken from the White Paper on Palestine, 1930, has to-day a special significance in the light of the proposal to establish a Legislative Council in Palestine based on the whole adult male population of the country. It is scarcely six years since the White Paper was published, and it would have been remarkable if in so short a period “the more backward section of the population,” consisting of politically inexperienced and largely illiterate Arabs in the rural districts, had achieved a state of political maturity sufficiently advanced to qualify them to participate intelligently in a system of national representative government.

It is not surprising that the miracle has not taken place ; and it is still less surprising in the light of the astonishing fact that, in spite of the implied promise of the White Paper, only an insignificant fraction of the Arab rural population has so far been enfranchised for local government purposes. An examination of some of the inadequacies, to use no stronger word, of the existing practice of local government in Palestine can leave no shadow of doubt that the political maturity of the proposed electorate cannot be adduced in favour of the establishment of the Legislative Council. Not even the subtlest political casuistry can convince a British observer who knows the history of the slow growth of his own representative institutions that it is wise or expedient to give the vote in national elections to a backward peasantry which, with the exception of a small favoured minority, has never exercised either a local or communal suffrage and is wholly ignorant of the methods of Western parliamentary democracy.

The point is important since there have not been wanting publicists who have actually urged the success of local government as a ground for the immediate establishment of a Legislative Council based on manhood suffrage.

It was not in fact till 1934 that the Municipal Ordinance foreshadowed in the White Paper was promulgated, so that the promised “more solid basis” for “a wide measure of local self-government” has only been in existence for two years—surely a period unique in its shortness as a preparation for national self-government. And what is the nature of this “wide measure of local self-government”? The High Commissioner may increase or decrease at will the number of councillors to be elected, appoint and dismiss mayors and deputy mayors, and, if he is of opinion that the public interest requires it, discharge a council and nominate another, or nominate a commission to perform the duties of a council.

The decisions and acts of municipal councils which do not come within the prerogative of the High Commissioner are, with few exceptions, under

the surveillance of the District Commissioner. Not only does he appoint electoral committees, but the appointment of every municipal official is subject to his approval; and even the regulations governing the meetings of a council and the convening of such meetings are subject to the same approval.

And even these limited powers are exercised by councils which, in the Arab districts, are elected by an electorate insignificant in numbers. So far from extending the local government franchise, the Ordinance of 1934 in many cases actually restricted it. The district of Jerusalem, one of the three districts into which the country is divided, is in this respect typical of all the mainly Arab areas. Excluding the City of Jerusalem with its Jewish majority, the number of persons enfranchised in the whole district at the 1927 elections was 2,732 out of a total settled population of 164,039, a proportion of 1.6 per cent. At the election after the 1934 Ordinance the number of electors was reduced to 1,974, though the population in the meantime had increased.

The political maturity of even this selected electorate is illustrated by the record of the 1934 elections in this district. In two out of four municipalities all the candidates were returned unopposed; as for the villages, in three all the candidates were returned unopposed, while in the fourth no election was held at all!

The history of the local councils in rural areas, as distinguished from the municipal councils in the towns, is especially depressing. They were established as a result of the Local Councils Ordinance of 1921, which empowered the High Commissioners to set up local councils in rural areas and to prescribe their powers and functions in each case. The Government deserves every credit for this attempt to extend local self-government to what were subsequently described as "the backward sections of the population," but in spite of the elasticity of the powers vested in the High Commissioner the Government's efforts have been attended with very little success.

In 1924 there were in existence twenty-seven such local councils, twenty-three in Arab and four in Jewish villages. The Government Report for 1925 refers to two more Arab and one German local council (at Sarona); but the official return of local councils for 1934 gives the number of functioning councils as twenty-one! Six local councils in Arab villages ceased to function in 1930, and the administration was resumed by the Moukhtars and Elders. One was abolished in 1931 and another in 1932; and still another ceased to function from 1932.

There has indeed been some advance in the larger municipalities; but these are either Jewish or have Jewish majorities, and the Jews have brought with them a long experience of democratic practice. But in the Arab districts democracy cannot be said to have advanced, in spite of the well-intentioned efforts of the Government, beyond the rudimentary stage, and only a fraction of the population has arrived at even this stage.

It is now proposed to enfranchise the whole manhood of the country.

That the largely illiterate electorate will be at the mercy of Arab political agitators who have repeatedly declared their intention to use every means to nullify the Mandate is certain. It can scarcely be surprising that the Jewish population, which has created a highly developed democratic machinery for the administration of its own internal affairs, should view this prospect with the gravest misgiving; what is surprising is that the Government should give its support to a policy of premature political experiment which can only hamper its efforts to discharge a sufficiently delicate and difficult task.

## Limiting the Immigration of Capitalists

THE Government of Palestine is contemplating the raising of the minimum amount of capital required from individuals who wish to settle in the country from £1,000 to £2,000. If this were in fact put into effect, it would have a number of very serious consequences for the development of the country. Two to three thousand capitalists, who have hitherto brought with them an average of £1,500 each, would each year be refused permission to enter, so that the amount available for investment would be reduced by about £4,000,000 annually. This would tend to lessen the number of new labourers that could find employment in the country by about 20,000.

Assuming that the entry of the capitalist category were restricted for five years in succession, the economic absorptive capacity of the country would be definitely diminished by 100,000 people. Less capital would be available for the provision of an adequate water supply, for the draining of marsh land, for the intensification of agriculture, for the building of houses, for the construction of factories and warehouses, for the development of industry, for the establishment of hotels and cultural institutions. The rate of the country's growth would be substantially retarded. The diminution of the capitalist category would directly reduce the number of openings for the employment of the skilled artisan class and of the labouring population.

Another effect of the restriction of the entry of capital into the economy of a growing country is that it tends to keep up the rate of interest and thus to discourage enterprise. The essential difference between Palestine and its neighbours in recent years has been the tendency for the rates of interest to be lower than those prevailing in Syria, Iraq and even Egypt. The loans to the Jewish Agency and to the municipality of Tel Aviv by the City of London at low rates, i.e. at rates comparable with those prevailing in Great Britain, demonstrate the City's belief that Palestine will develop along the lines of a Western community. But this assumes that its products will be able to compete in the world market, and it clearly will be impossible unless the capital required for the purchase of the best plant and equipment and the introduction of the appropriate organisation is available at reasonable rates of interest.

It may be argued in favour of the suggested change that it is intended only for a short period. It is not, however, a short-period device. Those who desire to liquidate their affairs in other countries in order to settle in Palestine require one or two years for preparation. The decision of the Government,

unless they gave two years' notice of their intention, would place those who had decided to immigrate into Palestine in a position of great difficulty. Similarly, when the Government decided to allow again the entry of the £1,000 category, it would take a couple of years before people could avail themselves of the permission. Besides, it is surely a questionable policy for the Government of an undeveloped country to give the impression that it wishes to restrict the entry of capital.

The Government's proposal is due to the fact that there is to-day in Palestine an unemployed figure of 5 per cent. of the industrial population, and there is also some concern felt about the idle bank deposits.

The existence of unemployment, a smaller percentage in Palestine than in any Western country, is not a reason for discouraging the entry of capital, but, on the contrary, for the stimulation of its entry and its employment.

As to the idle deposits, the amount belonging to the Jews, say, some £6,000,000, is not increasing. Clearly, newcomers are wise not to invest all their resources as soon as they arrive. If local gilt-edged securities were available they would probably hold their reserves in this form. But Government and municipal loans are raised abroad, and in the circumstances the existence of banking deposits above the normal is a desirable rather than an undesirable feature, and a sign of strength.

It is surely impossible to hope to achieve an exact balance and harmony between the new capital and the new labour entering a country. No one knows how to avoid, and there is no way of discovering how to prevent, a relative surplus of capital at certain periods, and a relative surplus of labour at others. The adjustment depends on numerous factors which the economic development of the country will itself tend to bring about. What is abundantly clear is that millions of pounds have been invested in both agricultural and urban development in recent years, and that the country and the treasury have benefited.

The somewhat odd argument has been advanced recently that since the price of land and certain classes of wages have risen, the amount expected from capitalist immigrants should be raised. Surely such price increases constitute additional reasons why the total of capital introduced into the country should be maximised, and not why measures should be taken which would tend to reduce it. But is it not also a mistake to argue that because land in the centre of Tel Aviv and in the orange zone has gone up considerably in value all land values have risen to a marked extent? Or that since the wages of building workers have gone up, all wages throughout the country have necessarily risen substantially? Unfortunately there is no adequate statistical guidance in these matters. It would, however, be interesting to see what evidence exists for the view that the average price of the dunam of land and the wages of the average labourer have risen to any marked degree. In any case such increases should encourage the Government to stimulate the entry of more capital to develop the national economy. There is no case for seizing the economic structure with rude hands and forcibly holding back its healthy growth.

## President Roosevelt and the Jewish National Home

**A** NEW expression of the great interest displayed by the Government of the United States in the policy of the Jewish National Home is contained in the remarkable message sent by President Roosevelt to the Jewish National Conference of the United Palestine Appeal, which was held recently at Washington and was attended by hundreds of delegates representing various sections of American Jewry. Here is the full text of President Roosevelt's message from the White House, dated February 1st, 1936 :

“ Dear Dr. Wise,

“ I am glad to greet the National Conference for Palestine which is meeting in Washington to mobilise American Jewry behind a constructive effort to further the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland in Palestine.

“ Every American knows of the love of Jews for the land associated with the great beginnings of their history and every Jew must rejoice that this undying loyalty has been crowned by the establishment of a Jewish National Home resting upon the sure foundations of justice and well-being for all the residents thereof.

“ The American people which has, by the action of Presidents and a joint resolution of Congress, attested its sympathy with the great purpose of a national Jewish home in Palestine will, I am persuaded, be ready to co-operate generously with the United Palestine Appeal which aims to provide a home for homeless Jews. I confidently hope that the co-operation of the American people will contribute to the further progress of the Holy Land, which, I am sure, will continue to give light and leading to all the world.

“ Very sincerely yours,

“ FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.”

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## The Legislative Council in the Commons

**R**EPLIES by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to questions in the House of Commons suggest that the Government is curiously indefinite with regard to the proposed Legislative Council. Mr. Thomas made the following statement :

“ Towards the end of December the High Commissioner for Palestine communicated to the Arab and Jewish leaders the proposals of the Government for a Legislative Council. The Jews made it clear that in that particular matter they did not feel able to co-operate with the Government. I have not yet received from the High Commissioner a report as to the reception given to the proposals by the Arabs. The Hon. Member will appreciate that in the present stage there is no further statement I can make.”

## SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

COL. WEDGWOOD: Are we to understand that the Right Hon. Gentleman will not review the scheme of constitution if he has time to do so? If he has no time will he get his colleagues to review it?

MR. THOMAS: The policy I have communicated in this matter, and indeed the policy in Palestine as a whole, is the responsibility of the Government as a whole.

COL. WEDGWOOD: Are we to understand that the Cabinet are committed to the particular constitution laid down by the High Commissioner?

SIR A. SINCLAIR: Will he see that in the constituted Legislative Council a statutory majority is not given to those who demand the repeal of the Mandate?

No further reply was given.

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## Notes

The development of the citrus industry is an example of the advantage derived by the Arab population in Palestine from Jewish enterprise. The area of Jewish citrus groves at the end of 1934 was approximately 140,000 dunams (1 dunam =  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre), as compared with 10,000 dunams in 1925 and 58,000 in 1930. The Arabs living in the villages in the neighbourhood of the Jewish settlements have been impelled to enterprise by the example of their neighbours in a manner unparalleled in the history of Arab agriculture in Palestine. It is estimated that now there are 110,000 dunams of Arab citrus groves compared with 22,000 in 1925.

The increasing importance of Palestine from the point of view of commerce is indicated by the increasing export of Palestine potash products. Palestine is now producing 10 per cent. of the world's production of pure potash, which is exported to England, Australia, India, Canada, Ceylon, Holland, Italy, Japan and Egypt. The bromide produced at the Dead Sea Works is exported almost entirely to England and satisfies about three-quarters of the consumption of the United Kingdom.

\* \* \*

The increasing importance of Haifa as a Mediterranean port is suggested by the table showing the total tonnage of the harbour in recent years. In 1930 it was 1,342,000; in 1934 it was 3,488,000; in 1929, 507 ships, excluding sailing boats, entered Haifa Harbour; in 1934 the number rose to 1,404. In 1929 Beyrout was a considerably more important port; in 1934 the number of ships entering Haifa was approximately 50 per cent. greater than the number of ships entering Beyrout. Since then, with the construction of the oil pipe line the commercial importance of Haifa has materially increased and there is no question that within a short time it must be the rival of Alexandria. The Haifa Harbour opened in 1933 is already far too small and there are always ships anchored outside, waiting for berths.

\* \* \*

Palestine is increasingly the home of modern Jewish culture. At the end of January an invaluable library of scientific works was opened at Rehoboth, at the Sieff Institute. The library was bequeathed to the Institute by the late Professor Fritz Haber, who died in Switzerland.

\* \* \*

Considerably more than ten million pounds has been invested in Jewish agriculture in Palestine since 1921, and the consequent large production of food is obviously of far more than mere Jewish interest.

\* \* \*

The Jewish enterprise shown in irrigation and in the draining of marshy land has had surprising results, and it is obvious that were the Government to give greater facilities for the extension of Jewish farming, Palestine as an entity would vastly benefit.

# Palestine

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No. 3

## The Palestine Legislative Council The House of Lords Debate

By MRS. EDGAR DUGDALE

ON Wednesday, February 27th, the House of Lords spent some three hours in criticising the Government's intention of setting up a Legislative Council in Palestine in the immediate future. The discussion can hardly be described as a debate, for not one of the seven speakers who preceded Lord Plymouth, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, had a word to say in support of the policy. The unanimity of condemnation was the more remarkable because it came from both sides of the House, and was flanked on the right by Lord Mansfield, who was saluted by Lord Cecil as a "Die-Hard," and on the left by Lord Marley. One after another, noble lords got up to press for further delay, or further examination, before establishing an elected Assembly in Palestine.

The arguments were as various as the speakers, but there was one point of view which was conspicuous by its absence. No one constituted himself spokesman of Arab against Jew, or of Jew against Arab. The main test to which the Government's policy was subjected was the likelihood of its improving the relations between the two races and so contributing to peace in the country.

No Parliamentary Debate on Palestine since Great Britain became the Mandatory Power has displayed so much knowledge and understanding of the Mandate in letter and in spirit as was exhibited by every speaker in the House of Lords on this occasion. It provided an amazing contrast with another discussion, in the same place, some fourteen years ago. On June 21st, 1922, the late Lord Balfour, speaking on behalf of Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government, opposed a Motion of Lord Islington's to postpone acceptance of the Mandate, on the ground that its pledges to the Jews violated pledges to the Arabs. Lord Balfour's denial of the charge, his explanations of the safeguards for the Arabs, of his faith in the prosperity that Jewish immigration would bring to the country as a whole, did not penetrate his hearers' minds. No speaker supported him. Lord Islington pressed his Motion to a vote, and the Government was defeated. If Lord Snell, the initiator of last Wednesday's Motion, had followed Lord Islington's example, the same result would most probably have followed. But the reasons for a Government defeat would have been entirely different. In 1922 the House of Lords could not follow Lord Balfour's vision of the future of Palestine, and of the Jewish National Home. In 1936 facts are

dispelling preconceived ideas, and it was the Government, and not the House, which appeared to be lagging behind in comprehension of the unique conditions under which Arab and Jew are living side by side.

Lord Snell set the tone of moderation in criticism of the Mandatory Power, engaged in carrying out a difficult task. The British Labour Party had the welfare of the Arab peoples very much at heart. Racial peace in Palestine and the friendship of the Jewish people throughout the world were the objects of policy, as also were the problems of defence. "We cannot," he said, "help remembering that the Jews in Palestine have been able to provide a guarantee of safety for our Air Force there, which could not be obtained in Iraq." Why then, when a peaceful bi-racial outlook is being created, must the Government propose "to rekindle the slumbering embers of racial passion and distrust by the inopportune, unrequired, and undesired imposition upon Palestine of a Legislative Council which nobody at the present time very much wants?"

Lord Lytton, with other subsequent speakers, saw the great obstacle to the success of a Legislative Council in the hostility of the Arabs to Jewish immigration, and to the Articles of the Mandate which refer to the Jewish National Home. He thought that the proposed constitutional change ought to be looked into on the spot by a Royal Commission, the members of which should have wide experience of other such problems elsewhere in the British Empire. That had been the procedure in India, and in regard to Palestine it would be proof of the Government's good faith.

Lord Lothian, who rose next from the Liberal benches, said that he had had much experience of constitution making in various parts of the Empire, and that the proposals for a Legislative Council filled him with alarm. There was not yet enough "community feeling" between Jew and Arab to make any foundation for responsible government. The whole question needed more consideration, more study of the constitutional experiments in other countries.

Lord Jessel carried this point forward by recalling the way in which the Cyprus constitution "went up in flames" when Government House was stormed. We did not want that sort of thing in Palestine, a country important not only to us but to the Jewish people all over the world.

Lord Elibank observed that the matter in hand would have repercussions throughout the world. He analysed the representation on the proposed Council. He was the first speaker to make the point that the Jews would be in a permanent minority, and that the Government was not justified in putting them in such a position. His suggestion was for "parity" in a nominated Council consisting of say five Arabs, five Jews, and six officials. But it would be better still to leave the thing alone for the present.

Lord Mansfield, too, was for postponement. His speech contained a sentence that brought home the contrast between this debate and that earlier one to which I have compared it: "Whether we think the Balfour Declaration a good thing or not," he said, "we are all bound to realise that the honour of this country is involved and that we have pledged ourselves to make Palestine a National Home for the Jews."



The House listened to Lord Melchett's exposition of the Jewish objections to the basis of representation on the proposed Council with all the respect due to one who used the pronoun "we" when speaking of Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

"We do need to build up a new country. We have a problem of slum clearance which begins in Vienna and goes across the world in every direction. From Berlin to Bucharest, from Vienna to Warsaw we have oppressed people and we have got to move them. We must be allowed to develop a National Home. It means life and death to the young men of our generation. . . . I beg the Government not at this stage, and not to-day, to put an obstacle in our way. They may not believe it will do us great harm, that may not be their intention, but it is not a question of intention but of interpretation . . . You are going to create difficulties where there are perhaps difficulties enough already."

After Lord Marley had emphasised the importance of doing nothing to shut Palestine to refugees, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies got up. The impression which the debate had made on all sides did not reflect itself at all in Lord Plymouth's speech. It displayed, however, the unquestioning confidence placed by the Government in Sir Arthur Wauchope's judgment. The Legislative Council was even referred to as "his proposal." Sir Arthur Wauchope (so Lord Plymouth reminded the House) had told the Mandates Commission some time ago that he intended to take up the question of the Legislative Council when the Local Government Ordinance had been brought into working order. It was the High Commissioner's view that to put off fulfilment of these assurances would lay him open to the charge of bad faith.

This was the main argument of the Under-Secretary in reply to the criticism of the time chosen to bring forward the proposal, and it was not until Lord Snell protested against the whole weight of the decision being thrown on the High Commissioner's shoulders that Lord Plymouth mentioned the Government's "full concurrence" with the policy.

He assured the House that the responsibility of the High Commissioner for the rate of immigration, and the practice of consultation with the Jewish Agency, would remain unaltered. The suggestions made in Debate would be brought to the notice of the Secretary of State, but he feared that they came too late.

Lord Cecil certainly represented the feeling of the House when he expressed "deep disappointment" with Lord Plymouth's speech.

Lord Snell declared himself "greatly tempted" to go to a Division, but on the whole refrained. They had done their best, and he wanted to avoid a Party attitude on the matter. These two closing speeches left the impression that a Palestine Constitution could hardly be incorporated without more ado in an Order in Council, as Lord Plymouth had indicated might be the procedure. The criticisms of the House of Lords were too unanimous and too much imbued with a sense of the far-reaching consequences of a major mistake in Palestinian policy to be easily ignored.

## The Palestinian Arabs

**A** PART from the Bedouins, the Arab population of Palestine, some 850,000 are Arabs of the Yemen, for the most part unprogressive, unambitious, inert. The native Christian population totals about 95,000, and while the Christians are culturally centuries in advance of their Moslem fellows, they are of practically the same race. Sixty-four per cent. of the Moslem Arabs are agriculturists. A certain number work for wages in the orange groves, but the majority are fellaheen, cultivating small plots with medieval methods. In Palestine the Arab does not appear to be moved to any sort of emulation by the modern and effective methods of the Jewish farm. It is not an uncommon experience to see in a field, adjoining a Jewish settlement, an Arab contentedly scratching the earth with a wooden plough drawn by a donkey and a lean cow yoked together.

The difference of method has a corresponding difference in result. The Arab cow yields an average of 700 litres of milk a year; the Jewish cow yields an average of 4,000 litres. The Arab hen may lay eighty eggs a year. The Jewish hen lays one hundred and fifty. The Moslem villages in Palestine compare favourably with the Egyptian villages, but the fellaheen are very poor, almost entirely illiterate and apparently content.

Of the Moslem town workers, the majority are unskilled. Arabs and Jews work amicably together in the works of the Palestine Potash Company on the shores of the Dead Sea; but nearly all the skilled and semi-skilled jobs are performed by Jews, while the Arab workmen are the labourers. This is not due to deliberate exclusiveness, but to the fact that the Jewish workers, most of them recent immigrants and few of them with any previous experience of machinery, are far more intelligent, far more ambitious, and far more adaptable. The consequence is that the Jewish town worker is much better paid than the Arab town worker, while at the same time the Arab earning four to five shillings a day in a factory, on buildings, or road-making, is very much better off than the villagers and is gradually acquiring a higher standard of comfort.

Only 1.5 per cent. of the Moslem population is engaged in the professions. They are mostly of the effendi class, resentful of the loss of feudal power and privilege, critical of the administration, and fanatically anti-Judaic.

The contention of the educated Arabs is that Iraq, Syria, Transjordan and Palestine are one homogeneous nation. The separation of Palestine and Syria is particularly resented, the Arab traditionally regarding Damascus and not Jerusalem as the capital of his country. This summer a Pan-Arabic Conference has been held at Beirut, at which the Palestinian Arabs were strongly represented. The Pan-Arab dream will probably remain a dream. France and the League of Nations have to be reckoned with as well as Great Britain and the Jews. But the determined opposition of the Arab intellectuals to the policy of the Mandatory Power cannot be ignored. The fellaheen, generally peaceable enough, are easily influenced by religious fanaticism.

Eighteen per cent. of the Christian Arabs are agriculturists, living for the most part in exclusive and notably clean Christian villages, the cottages clustering round the church. Nine per cent. of the Christians are engaged in the professions. The rest, the great majority, are shopkeepers, clerks, minor officials, and town workmen of one sort and another.

## How it Worked in Egypt

SIR ARTHUR WAUCHOPE'S proposed ordinance to render the *lot viable* inalienable is inspired by the Egyptian precedent for which Lord Kitchener was responsible. Lord Kitchener was eminent in more than one field, but nobody has claimed for him distinction in the field of economics. Nevertheless, he was not quite so drastic as the Palestine High Commissioner is resolved to be, and he had not, as Sir Arthur has, the guidance of experience to instruct and correct him. The Egyptian Five Feddan Law of 1912 prescribed that :

the agricultural property of cultivators who own five feddans or less shall be exempt from attachment. . . . It may be set up against creditors whose claim is based on a mortgage or a pledge, and against those who have a lien but not against privileged creditors.

We do not yet know what the Palestine Administration takes to be the area of the *lot viable* ; but rumour suggests a much larger plot than five feddan, which is equal to 5.19 acres, although Palestine is a much smaller country than Egypt. It will be observed, however, that the Egyptian law does not forbid the sale of land, but only foreclosure by a creditor. The Palestine intention is to forbid (save for certain excepted cases) the sale of the minimum area. So long as there is the right to sell, there remains the possibility of correcting through sale that infinite partitioning and morsellisation which is the effect of the Ottoman Law of Succession.

Two or more persons, heirs or other, burdened with small uneconomic plots on which none can live, can, so long as there is a right of sale, reconstitute them into a single economic holding. That remedy is denied in the contemplated Palestine legislation, which imposes a partitioning inevitable, endless and incurable. On the other hand, by rendering the *lot viable* inalienable, the Palestine law will, just as effectually as the Egyptian, deny the small peasant mortgage credit, for if there is no right to foreclose there can be no mortgage credit. The proposed Palestine law would seem to be ingeniously devised to accumulate all the evils of this kind of legislation.

Did the Palestine Government, before launching upon this course, study the working of the Five Feddan Law? Egypt is Palestine's immediate neighbour, and there is plenty of published material available. It would appear that such an inquiry was thought unnecessary or its lessons ignored. It was in 1902 that the Egypt Government procured the establishment, largely with State funds and under State control, of the Agricultural Bank of Egypt to grant mortgage loans to the small peasants and other landowners at interest rates not exceeding 9 per cent. By 1908 the Bank's advances amounted to £8,000,000. As soon as the Five Feddan Law was passed the Agricultural Bank of Egypt practically ceased to make any loans to small peasants, as there no longer existed adequate security ; by 1923 its advances to small peasants had dropped in amount to less than one-twelfth the amount in 1912 ; and by 1932 its activities had fallen so low that it transferred its affairs to the Government.

The fellah profited as little as the Bank from the Law. Official British report after report comments on his wretched plight. Thus in 1929, at the height of the boom, it is recorded that :

the financial position of the country may be regarded as excellent. The distribution of wealth, however, is very unequal, and the improvement of the spending capacity of the fellah as compared with pre-war times is stated to be scarcely noticeable. . . . The small agriculturalist, who constitutes some nine-tenths of the population, is, in practice, always in debt to his landlord, and in many cases to the village usurer also.

The Five Feddan Law drove the fellah from the Bank to the usurer. In 1930 the *Révue d'Égypte* was driven to ask : " Is it possible to organise credit really useful to small cultivators so long as the Five Feddan Law remains ? " M. Guimel, the author of *Le Crédit Agricole de l'Égypte*, came to the same conclusion : " The first step towards a rational financing of Egyptian Agriculture would be the repeal of the famous law. . . . The Five Feddan Law has never yielded the happy results anticipated and its maintenance cannot be justified."

To that conclusion the Egyptian Government itself began to move. In 1931 it founded the *Crédit Agricole d'Égypte*, a bank for assisting the cultivator by loans direct to individuals or through co-operative societies. In 1932 this institution was exempted from the operations of the Five Feddan Law. In 1932 the Government took a step further and secured the formation, as a subsidiary of the *Crédit Agricole*, of the *Crédit Hypothécaire Agricole d'Égypte*. This institution too was exempted from the operations of the Five Feddan Law.

Between them these two financial organisations are intended to provide most of the credit required by the fellahin, and because there can be no credit basis without the right of a mortgagee to foreclose, the Five Feddan Law has been repealed in respect of them. Thus the history of the Egyptian legislation in this field, from which the Palestine Administration has taken its inspiration, shows that it was disastrous for the peasantry, and that its abandonment was an essential element in a policy for saving the peasantry.

It would seem that Sir Arthur Wauchope and his advisers know nothing of, and care less for, the teachings of experience. They too profess a care for the fellahin, but one-half of their policy kills the other. The Palestine Government has laboured at the constitution of an Agricultural Mortgage Company and put £150,000 of public money at its disposal, with the avowed aim of improving the economic circumstances of the peasant ; now by creating the inalienable *lot viable* it will shut the peasant out from participation in the beneficent activity of that Company. With one exception—and that is characteristic of the incoherence of the Government's policy.

The new legislation is not to apply to land under citrus plantation. Thus citrus land will still be capable of being mortgaged, and it will be the only small agricultural property upon the security of which a peasant can borrow money. This is a direct and powerful inducement to concentrate on orange growing and neglect mixed and dairy farming. But for some years the Palestine Government has been warning Palestine farmers against the perils

of monoculture and the difficulties and dangers of marketing an ever-increasing crop of citrus fruit. Now, by its own legislation, it is to intensify these very dangers, prevent the healthy development of mixed farming, and force the peasant into citrus cultivation.

## The Levant Fair

THE second Levant Fair is to be opened at Tel-Aviv at the end of this month. France, Norway, Bulgaria, Finland, Turkey and Yugo-Slavia are among the countries that will be officially represented at the Fair.

It has been pointed out by Sir Percy Harris in the House of Commons that very much livestock is imported into Palestine, but no arrangements have yet been made by the Board of Agriculture for British livestock to be exhibited at Tel-Aviv.

## The Hebrew University

THE High Commissioner was present at the fifth Annual Gradation ceremony at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The occasion was notable as being the first time the degrees of Masters of Science have been awarded :

In his address the High Commissioner said :

“ I am glad to learn that a Faculty of Science has been successfully established—so successfully, indeed, that this year it claims a majority of the graduates.

“ In order that the foundations of a National Home be well and truly laid, science must of necessity be an important subject in its practical application to new conditions of life, whether in agriculture, industry or other callings. The practical use of science must not, however, make us lose sight of the value of the study of Humanities. Unless well rooted in their own culture, no people can build securely for the future.”

## Trade Statistics

The following statistics of the trade between the United Kingdom and Palestine for the nine months ending on December 30th, 1935, were recently given by Mr. J. H. Thomas in reply to a question in the House of Commons :

		£P.		£P.
Imports into Palestine from United Kingdom ... ..	...	2,292,423	}	2,121,169
Domestic Exports from Palestine to United Kingdom ... ..	...	2,104,934		
Re-exports from Palestine to United Kingdom ... ..	...	16,335		
		<hr/>		Total
Total trade ... ..	...	£P.4,413,692		Exports

## The Jerusalem Municipal Council

THERE is a proposal to appoint a Roman Catholic member of the Jerusalem Municipal Council, thus further weighting the Council against the Jewish majority of the population of the city. There are already Christian members of the Council, but they are members of the Orthodox Church.

The Christian Arabs of the Roman Catholic obedience in Palestine are not more than 2 per cent. of the population. The Latins in Palestine are mainly Italian; the Latin Patriarch is always an Italian; the Roman Catholic Arabs are therefore strongly under Italian influence. There are in the country of course a considerable number of European religions, and Colonel Wedgwood has suggested that if a Roman Catholic is appointed to the Jerusalem Council, he might well be a German or an Italian.

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### Notes

One of the healthy sides of recent Jewish immigration into Palestine is the comparatively young age of the majority of the immigrants; one result of this is the high Jewish birth rate of 30.2 per 1,000.

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While the increasing industrial prosperity in Palestine is entirely due to Jewish enterprise and Jewish capital, a very small proportion of the Government personnel is Jewish. Thus of the 3,500 workers employed in the ports of Jaffa and Haifa only 350 are Jews and the number of Jews employed on public works is only 7½ per cent. of the total number of employees. There are extremely few Jews in the public services. No important Government position has been offered to a Jew—either British or Palestinian—since 1929. Dr. Doukhan has recently resigned the position of Assistant Commissioner of Lands, and this still further reduces the number of important Jewish officials.

\* \* \*

There are in Palestine to-day 467 Jewish schools and colleges. 176 of these institutions are maintained entirely by various Jewish societies, such as the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Women's International Zionist Organisation. 291 are under the direction of the Jewish General Council. The total budget of these last schools amounts to £194,242. Of this sum the Palestinian Government contributes only £26,632, while the Jewish community in Palestine contributes £142,000. The Government grant is entirely inadequate, particularly in view of the large amount of public money that is being spent on building and maintaining Arab schools and training colleges.

\* \* \*

The Committee of the King George V Jubilee Forest desire it to be known that the Fund will remain open until April 1936. The Committee has decided that trees donated since the passing of the King will be planted in the Forest in his memory. It is hoped that sufficient funds will be forthcoming to enable the Committee to act on a suggestion that has emanated from the High Commissioner that the Forest shall partake more of the character of a park.

# Palestine

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No. 4

## The Palestine Legislative Council The Government Ignores Parliament

**I**N a second and very important debate in the House of Lords on Thursday, it was specifically stated by the Earl of Plymouth, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and by Viscount Halifax, that the Government has definitely decided to create the Palestine Legislative Council by an Order in Council under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890. The condemnation of the proposal by responsible and experienced politicians of all parties makes it quite clear that if the proposal were left for parliamentary consideration and decision it would be rejected. Lord Snell said on Thursday :

“ It appears that Parliament is to have no concern over this issue, and that a purely departmental decision is to be carried through against all the weight of argument which has been used against it, and against the will of this House.”

The same point was emphasised by other speakers. Lord Melchett said :

“ Anybody who was going to get a Parliament under the authority of the British Crown would like to know that this Parliament had been thoroughly discussed and debated and reviewed by both Houses of the British Parliament, and it seems to me that it will be a little hard to explain to other people who will not be able to follow all this complicated procedure why it is that the British Parliament did not get that opportunity of examination and revision.”

Official action could hardly be more arbitrary. Viscount Halifax said that the proposal is “ a great piece of policy which has for months engaged the fullest consideration of the whole of His Majesty’s Government.” The Government has apparently accepted without variation or amendment the proposed constitution as drawn up by the High Commissioner, for the only document available is a summary of the main provisions of the proposed Order, a copy of which has recently been placed in the Library of the House of Commons, but while this is available to the Commons, there were many protests in Thursday’s debate that it is not yet available for the House of Lords. And this summary is, Lord Plymouth said, a *communiqué* by the High Commissioner issued towards the end of last December. This fact amply justifies Lord Snell’s assertion that a mere departmental decision is to be carried through in spite of Parliament.

Two important points were made on Thursday by Lord Rankeillour. He recalled the long and careful parliamentary consideration of the India Act. He reminded the House too that before constitutions were set up for

Ceylon, Malta, and British Guiana, there was a careful preliminary consideration either by a Royal Commission, a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, or a Departmental Commission. The political situation in Palestine is infinitely difficult and complicated. The opposition to the proposals would seem to demand the fullest possible consideration. But it is the High Commissioner and the Colonial Office officials alone who are considered of importance by the Government and men like Lord Cecil, Lord Lothian and Lord Snell are ignored.

Lord Rankeillour suggested also that as the Foreign Jurisdiction Act was passed years before the League of Nations came into being and mandates were issued, it cannot apply to mandated territory acquired neither by "cession or conquest," and here, Lord Rankeillour thought, is "material for a very pretty argument before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council."

The great piece of policy is in effect a great piece of folly which since the government of Palestine is a matter of international interest may have far-reaching and possibly disastrous consequences.

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## The Moslem Supreme Council

**I**N the discussions on the proposal to establish a Legislative Council in Palestine one important aspect of the problem of self-government has been largely overlooked. Under the Order in Council of 1922 which defined the Constitution of Palestine, it was laid down (in Article 83) that "each Religious Community recognised by the Government shall enjoy autonomy for the internal affairs of the Community subject to any Ordinance or order issued by the High Commissioner." The importance of this Article was emphasised by the Religious Communities Ordinance, promulgated in 1926, which empowered recognised Communities to levy contributions upon its members "recoverable in the same way as municipal taxes and fees."

Religious bodies in Great Britain and many other Western countries are associations maintained by endowments and voluntary contributions. It is not, therefore, difficult to understand why it is that the importance of the Religious Communities in Palestine has not been fully appreciated in this country. But any examination of the problem of self-government in Palestine which leaves out of account the statutory powers of the Communities must be dismissed as inadequate, for in the daily life of the inhabitants of whatever faith or race the jurisdiction of the Religious Communities plays a part scarcely less important than that of local government bodies.

The two most important of these Communities are the Moslem and the Jewish, and between them they include the majority of the population.

About the Jewish Community little need be said. It has taken full advantage of its statutory powers, and administers a budget of about £100,000. Its responsibilities cover religious affairs, education, social welfare and health services. A complete system of democratic government within the Community has been established. All the adult members of the Community,



without distinction of sex, nationality or political affiliation, are the electors of the Representative Assembly, which in its turn appoints the Executive Council which administers the affairs of the Community and is its recognised representative in its relations with the Government. The affairs of the Community are conducted in the full light of day, and its Reports and Financial Statements are available to all who desire to have them.

The same cannot be said about the Moslem Supreme Council, which administers the affairs of the Moslem Community. This body has had a curious history, and we use the language of studied moderation when we say that it is extremely difficult to obtain information about the extent of its estate, its income and expenditure.

The Supreme Moslem Sharia (Religious) Council came into existence in 1921. The survivors of the Moslem electors to the old Turkish Parliament elected in that year the members of electorate colleges, which in their turn appointed the five members of the Supreme Moslem Council. It was not perhaps an advanced form of democracy, but there was at any rate an electorate of some sort, however exiguous, to which the Council was responsible. How far has the principle, to use the words of the Mandate, of "the development of self-governing institutions" been applied to the Council? The answer is amazing.

The term of office of the Council expired in 1925. New elections were ordered and held *under the auspices of the retiring Council*. Of these elections it is enough to say that they were attended by such grave irregularities that they were annulled by the High Court of Palestine. The Government, with a pathetic faith in the old Council, thereupon (1926) appointed the same President and members to act as a provisional Supreme Moslem Council, and also appointed a Committee presided over by the reappointed President to make recommendations on the electoral system and functions of the Council. The history of this Committee's labours constitutes one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of British administration.

In its 1927 Report the Government stated that the Committee had not yet presented a final report. In the 1928 Report the information was given that the Committee had only completed part of its work. In the 1929 Report the Government explained that action on the Committee's recommendations had been held up on account of the disturbances. In the 1930 Report the Government announced that the report of the Committee "is now under consideration." In the reports for 1931, 1932, 1933 and 1934, references to the Committee are conspicuous by their absence.

The Provisional Supreme Moslem Council after ten years remains in full control of Moslem affairs.

It is a powerful body with manifold functions and wide powers. It administers an immense estate and owns considerable areas of urban and rural land. It controls religious, educational and charitable institutions. Subject to the approval of the Government, it appoints or dismisses the whole staff of the Moslem Religious Courts, which form part of the Government judicial system, since all their officers are paid by the Government, which also receives such revenues as they have.

The Council, therefore, which exercises an all-pervasive influence on the affairs of the Moslem Community, and has become a powerful political machine which has relations with foreign Moslem communities and rulers, exercises its jurisdiction without a vestige of responsibility to those whom it governs.

In the face of this extraordinary record it is not difficult to understand why it is that the Jewish Community in Palestine should view with the gravest misgiving the prospect of coming under the jurisdiction of a Legislative Council in which these same Moslem leaders are bound to play a leading part.

The problem of self-government within the Moslem Community presents no insuperable difficulties, and no complications resulting from external relations with other sections of the population come into question. Can it be that the zeal of the Moslem leaders for self-government stops short at their own Community?

A section of the population which, in spite of the encouragement of the Government, has so far failed to achieve democracy in the administration of its own affairs is plainly not yet ripe for participation in a central legislative body, which incidentally, it would largely control.

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## Italy and Palestine

THE merits of the League's policy in Abyssinia are in question here only in so far as they affect Palestine. The interest of Palestine in Italy's policy is very intimate and direct. One among many reasons, which made Jews all over the world enthusiastic for the British Mandate in Palestine, was the unchallenged naval supremacy of Great Britain in the Mediterranean. This supremacy, combined with our control of Egypt in the south, our friendship with France in Syria to the north, and our protectorship of Iraq to the east promised to Palestine an immunity from foreign interference such as she never had before in her history except under an alien and oppressive rule.

Had the League, by the use of its sea-power, prevented aggression on Abyssinia, Palestine would have seen in it an object-lesson in her own security. As it is the East, which is not learned in the text of the Covenant, has been somewhat surprised that sea-power which could have prevented the war in Abyssinia should stand idly by while the League was defied.

We in this country may be unconscious of serving any selfish interest in the lead that we have taken against Italy at Geneva, but the rest of the world seems to have convinced itself that self-interest is, at any rate, one of our motives. It is assumed that we do not want Italy to conquer Abyssinia because in control she might menace the Soudan and, perhaps, Egypt, too. It is a theory, with many who are puzzled by the risks that Italy is taking for Abyssinia, that Abyssinia is valuable to her only as a stepping-stone to further ambitions, and there is some confirmation of that view in utterances

by Italy's own representatives. The interest of Signor Mussolini in Zionism has long been evident, nor is there any ground for objecting to it. Rather is it an example that might be followed. Nor have we ground of complaint over evidence of how joyously Italy would have accepted the mandate in Palestine if only it had been offered her. Rather should it make us congratulate ourselves on having got the good thing and determine to put what makes us the subject of envy to the best possible use.

Not all Italian interest in Palestine has been of a discreet character. Mr. Thomas, answering a question about Italian broadcast propaganda from Bari amongst the Arabs of Palestine and Transjordan, stated recently that our broadcasting in Palestine would begin in April. Evidently the propaganda was serious enough to need a counter action. But there is a good deal of obscure history behind this Italian propaganda.

In April of last year the organ of the Mufti of Jerusalem published a letter from the Arab leader, Emir Arslaan, in which he referred to a conversation he had had with Signor Mussolini :

"I am satisfied (he said), from my last interview, with the assurances made by Signor Mussolini personally. I am convinced that Italy will not dare treat us like England and France. It has been agreed that Italian propaganda in Arab countries should start forthwith as the outbreak of a world war is feared; and if the ground is not prepared now, an opportunity will be wasted."

The authenticity of the letter has been denied, but the substance was confirmed by what happened later. That Signor Mussolini is either pro-Arab or pro-Jew is unlikely; and the Arab's fancy that they can make use of him, and will find him a lenient master, is pathetic. It is equally unlikely that his plans are cut and dried. But that he would if he could is likely, and that Palestine comes within the scope of his ambition there can be no doubt. Indeed, Signor Federzoni, President of the Italian Senate, in a recent speech at Venice, after expounding Italy's grievance that she received no mandate under the peace settlement, offered to drop that grievance in return for a free hand in Abyssinia. In that form, the offer is clearly unacceptable.

All through the Abyssinian troubles English people have made the mistake of thinking that Signor Mussolini was a mere reckless gambler. In fact, his calculations have, on the intellectual side, been very exact, and it is more probable than not that he will get the better of the League. No greater mistake could be made than to treat his aspirations as nothing but bluff. He is evidently in the mood to sell the alliance of Italy to the highest bidder. It has even been suggested as a possibility that France might bid so high as to offer her Syria.

The Mediterranean was once two seas divided by an isthmus connecting what is now the toe of Sicily with the coast of Tunis, a distance of under a hundred miles; and a political counterpart of this division must often have suggested itself to the speculators in Italian Imperialism. The mere threat of such an arrangement must inevitably either increase our dependence on France or bring us to the verge of war with Italy.

It is certainly unfortunate that, with all these doubts and speculations in the air, the relations of sea-power and air-power should still remain an unsolved problem, especially in the narrow waters. The position of Malta in the jaws of the straits between Sicily and Tripoli, once an advantage to a dominant navy, has become a danger under the new conditions. Nothing is more likely than that the whole of our naval strategy in the Mediterranean will have to be recast. When Christian was in Doubting Castle he suddenly found that all the time he had had in his pocket the key to the door of his prison. The key was called Promise. Perhaps our key will also be called Promise—the Promised Land of Palestine, not the geographical expression, but the Palestine which the Jews alone can form into a nation, patriotic, scientific, progressive, and capable of becoming the nucleus of a regenerated East.

Grave new problems are arising of policy and strategy. It will not be easy to maintain a British fleet in the Mediterranean capable of meeting the whole air force of a great Power on equal terms in the air. But to admit the problem is to take the first step to solve it. Sometimes one wonders whether these are not the hidden fires which we see breaking through the crust of League formalism into the flame of an advocacy at Geneva, and whether the the main motive both of our rearmament and of our attachment to the principle of collective security may not be purely ideal, and be less concerned with Austria or the Rhine than with our naval powers in the Mediterranean.

No wise man will make light of the difficulties that will be made for us in the Mediterranean by a hostile Italy. If we must incur that hostility, let us do so with our eyes open, for to see the dangers is the first step to overcoming them. At the same time we wish that we could feel surer that there is some just ratio between the dangers that we have indicated and the services that our present policy may be rendering to Abyssinia. The League is an organisation for peace, and while we cannot in any case shirk the new problems in the Mediterranean the gulf between Italy and this country may, as things are, go on widening until it becomes unbridgeable, and that would certainly not make for peace.

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## The New Banking Ordinance

THE acute tension experienced by the banks of Palestine during the months of September and October of last year has induced the Government to adopt a policy of regulating banking affairs and to abandon the extreme *laissez-faire* attitude which has hitherto prevailed. A new Banking Ordinance has been issued and a new office—that of Examiner of Banks—has been established by the Treasurer. Mr. F. G. Horwill of the Westminster Bank has been appointed temporarily to this office, and has already begun his duties.

The most recent figure of the number of registered banks in Palestine is 113, of which twelve are foreign, eighty-one commercial, six are described

as credit banks, and fourteen as co-operative banks. A considerable number of these are registered with a capital of from £P 1,000 to £P 10,000, but the amount of their paid-up capital is frequently much less. The existence of such a large number of small banks leads to the duplication of credits to weak borrowers, and to all the other dangers revealed in the American system, but even worse is the use of clients' funds for investments on the security of land and houses.

The banks are charged with borrowing short and lending long. Nor, it is believed, do they make an attempt to bring about a strict division between their commercial functions and their investment activities. No legal limits influence the relation between the banks' capital and their deposits, nor between their "cash" and their deposits, and, of course, no conventional limits have as yet been worked out by the banks themselves.

It is true that most of these weaknesses apply in the main to the small banks, whose total business is not large, but dangers arise also from the presence of the larger foreign banks. They may at any moment use the deposits of their Palestinian clients to finance their activities in Czechoslovakia, Italy or Lithuania. The banking structure, young and untried, is thus subjected not only to stresses and strains at home, but also to weaknesses and sudden demands that have their origin abroad.

Two main lines of action were open to the Government, the more radical one of overhauling and rationalising the banking system as a whole, and the less drastic policy of insisting on the maximum of publicity of accounts, combined with a constant active supervision.

The new Banking Ordinance, published in the *Palestine Gazette* of February 6th, embodies the latter policy. It provides that banking business shall be transacted only by companies registered under the provisions of the 1919 Ordinance concerning the registration of partnerships and companies, or the Companies Ordinance of 1921, or by co-operative societies registered under the provisions of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1933, in which case the name of the co-operative society must include the word "bank" or "banking." No company or co-operative society may begin to conduct banking business after the coming into force of the new ordinance before obtaining a licence from the High Commissioner, who, at his own discretion and without reason assigned, may grant, refuse, or revoke such licences.

Every company and co-operative society carrying on banking business is obliged, under the new ordinance, to forward to the Registrar of Companies, by March 1st of each year, a statement showing the situation of its offices and branches in Palestine, the names of its directors and of the managers of its branches and of its agents in Palestine. It must also furnish an audited statement for the preceding financial year of the company of its assets and liabilities in Palestine, and a similar statement of any liabilities and assets outside Palestine. Foreign banks are also required to furnish similar statements, but only for the confidential information of the Government, and not for publication.

A copy of the audited balance sheet must be sent to the Treasurer of the Government. The annual balance sheet must be displayed conspicuously in every office or branch of the company in Palestine for the period of one month, and must also be published by the company in the *Palestine Gazette* and in a newspaper circulating in Palestine.

It is not clear why the foreign banks should be exempted from publishing the balance sheets of their Palestine branches. If we are to have a comprehensive picture of economic conditions we should have banking figures for the country as a whole. The suggestion has already been made that the control over the local banks will be more stringent than over the foreign banks.

The chief merit of this method of regulating Palestine banking is that it allows the banker the maximum amount of freedom, and does not tie him down in advance by restrictions which have been found appropriate to conditions in Great Britain or in continental countries. At the same time it enables the Examiner of Banks to check unhealthy practices of individual banks and to make recommendations governing the system as a whole.

This welcome step in the regulation of banking will, it is hoped, be supplemented by the publication of a detailed analysis of the banking situation at the end of March of each year, and a summary report of the monthly statistics, so that the commercial community may gradually learn to appreciate the advantages which follow from sound policy and conservative practice.

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## Arab Opposition

ACCORDING to latest information from Jerusalem, the leading Arab papers in Palestine, *Alliwa* and *Al Islamia*, urged the postponement of enacting the Legislative Council in Palestine. The agreement reached between the French and the Arab nationalists has inspired the Arabs with the hope that they could obtain a great deal more through bringing further pressure upon the Government than the present conditions offered to them by the High Commissioner. Both journals point out that the present scheme is only a bone thrown to them, and is of no practical value for the attainment of the full Arab demands.

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## Note

### FOUR MILLION CASES OF CITRUS EXPORTED

THE total citrus exports amounting to 4,597,296 cases up to and including February 23rd, represented an increase of only 82,430 cases over last season's figure. The bulk of this year's exports, or 2,799,696 cases, has been handled through Jaffa, and represents an increase of 300,000 cases over last season. Haifa shows a decline of 237,000 cases below the 1934-5 figure.

# Palestine

Vol. XI

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No. 5

## The Legislative Council to be Discussed

THE objections to the proposed Legislative Council for Palestine have found a new ally in Parliament's suspicion of Executive encroachment on its privilege. It was—and still is—proposed to promulgate the new Constitution under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890. Lord Rankeillour was disposed in the recent debate to question the legality of this procedure by Order in Council and he brought forward some strong arguments to which reference was made here last week. That the original Order in Council which set up the existing Government in Palestine was made under the same Act is hardly conclusive, for that was not a contentious Order and the quickest way in the circumstances was also the best. But even if the purely legal issue of law be conceded in the Government Order, that does not settle the political propriety of the course that is being taken or preclude Parliament from protesting against what it considers a violation of its rights.

It is not pretended that the Government was bound to adopt this procedure or that it would have been improper for it to take Parliament into its confidence from the first and to sound opinion here. The opposition is in fact strong. It came from all quarters of the House of Lords, and questions addressed to Mr. Thomas last Wednesday suggest that the opposition is equally strong in the lower House and that it represents each of the political parties. The conclusion is irresistible that in proceeding by Order in Council under an old Act passed before mandates under the League were ever heard of, the motive of the Government was to get the change through with as little trouble or even notice as possible. That may be human nature, but it is not wise politics; and Parliament very naturally has shown its resentment. The procedure by Order in Council should be used only where there is no issue of principle or where the issue has been fully accepted. Legally, the Government might cede the Channel Islands to France without consulting Parliament, but no Government could and live.

It is important that the issue should be widely known and fully debated. The draft proposals of the High Commissioner for the constitution of the Legislative Council have been issued as a Command Paper, and last Wednesday Mr. Thomas said that there would be an opportunity for the Commons to discuss them on the Colonial Office vote. This is a success; there can no longer be any question of smuggling the change through without criticism, and unless the Government can present a better case for the new Constitution than it has yet been able to do, it is even conceivable that it may not come into operation. In the Lords' debate, Lord Halifax said that the project had for months engaged the fullest consideration of His Majesty's

Government and affected to treat the whole matter as settled. This, too, is the attitude of the Colonial Secretary in a written reply to the Memorial of Anglo-Jewry presented to him at the end of January. The following is perhaps the most important passage in the Memorial :

“ The present administration in Palestine has been successful alike in fostering economic progress on a scale unexampled in the Near and Middle East and in promoting a high degree of public order and security. It will be generally agreed that this development is fundamentally due to the growth in pursuance of the Jewish National Home policy of the Mandate, of Jewish immigration and the development of Jewish activity. The Jews have concentrated their energies and staked their hopes on Palestine in the confident belief that they can count upon the continued goodwill of a strong stable and sympathetic administration. It will be lamentable if the development now in progress is checked by the introduction of a disturbing factor and that at a time when the course of events in Germany has made it more vitally important than ever that Jewish immigration should not be obstructed nor Jewish enterprise discouraged.”

The Memorial goes on to say that “ the Mandate expressly recognises that the future of Palestine is a matter of concern not only to the Jews who may at a given moment be residents of the country, but to Jews throughout the world.” In his reply, Mr. Thomas said that “ there is nothing in the scheme for the Legislative Council which will interfere with or prejudice in any way the discharge of the Mandatory obligations of His Majesty’s Government.” But that is the point at issue, and the House of Lords debate shows wide disagreement with the Colonial Secretary’s confident assertion.

He repeated, too, that the success of local self-government justified the administration in the creation of a Legislative Council. Three weeks ago we showed the almost complete failure of local self-government outside the Jewish community.

Nothing is *chose jugée* that can be made the subject of effective debate in Parliament, and Mr. Thomas is now pledged to face his critics. It is true that the consent of Parliament is not necessary to the validity of an Order in Council under the 1890 Act, and Mr. Thomas declining the suggestion made that a commission should be sent out to Palestine to report on the proposed changes said that such a course would be “ absolutely contrary to every pledge given.” The Government is awaiting a final report by the High Commissioner of Palestine, and will be “ influenced ” by his advice. But if it is influenced by his advice, it will also be influenced by the arguments in debate. If the debate is damaging enough, a point will be reached at which the Government will have to consider whether it is more dangerous to disappoint its agents in Palestine—if we assume that they remain of the same mind—or to disappoint a large section of its supporters in the House. The manner of the procedure adopted in regard to the new Constitution may be technically sound and have precedent ; but it could hardly have been universal.

The alarm has been given to those who are jealous of the encroachments of bureaucracy.



## The Palestine Surplus

**A**T the end of January the Palestine Government's accumulated surplus exceeded £6,300,000. It rose in the financial year 1934-5 by nearly £2,000,000, and it grows month by month. What is the policy of the Government or the Treasury here in regard to this surplus? This is taxpayers' money and derived in effect entirely from the notable Jewish development of the last few years, and on close analysis chiefly from the German-Jewish immigrants driven out of Germany by Nazi oppression.

The capital brought in by the German-Jews has paid toll when it came in as goods, when in the form of building materials, plant, or otherwise they caused goods to be brought in, and whenever they bought land. It can hardly be intended that the surplus should just go on accumulating indefinitely. There must be a limit envisaged; there must be purposes to which it should be in part or in whole devoted; and there should be no mystery-mongering in regard to the one or the other.

In discussion with Palestine officials one used to be told that the Treasury or the Colonial Office wished the surplus to reach one year's revenue so as to constitute a reserve against hard times when revenue might drop below the normal. One was further told that the Government would use the surplus for public works should a crisis arise, and that it had actually prepared a programme of such works for such an occasion. The estimated expenditure for 1934-5 was £3,060,555. The surplus is, therefore, already equal to more than two years' normal expenditure, and is still piling up. Nor is that all. Authority has been given to raise a loan of £2,000,000 for certain public works. What is happening to the loan?

The golden moment when it could have been issued on the lowest terms seems to have passed, and it is a matter of common knowledge that a difference of opinion has arisen between the Treasury and the Palestine Government. The Treasury does not want the loan to be issued at all, but desires the public works embraced within the projected loan to be financed out of the surplus. The Palestine Government is pressing for the loan. On the face of things the onus of proof rests with Palestine. Why borrow money when you have, apparently, ample funds at the bank? One argument of which the Palestine Government used to be fond is irrelevant. They used to say that the surplus was invested so as to bring in a bigger return than the rate at which a loan could be raised. But that is doubtfully true to-day and was never pertinent; and by realising an investment one could immediately capitalise all the advantage in return and correspondingly reduce the cost of paying for expenditure out of the surplus. Would the private citizen be considered prudent who, having money well invested, chose to live by borrowing?

The problem seems to boil down to this: What is the total expenditure in capital account to which the Government is already committed, what is the emergency programme of public works which it has prepared, has the emergency arisen or when will it arise, and what balance does prudence require to be kept in hand? Until these and the like questions are answered,

the case of the Palestine Administration is in danger of going by default. That is not in the interests of Palestine.

In regard to public works the Administration has been subjected to much criticism, some of it well deserved. It is slow and cumbrous and lacking in imagination. In his recent address to the Chamber of Commerce of Tel Aviv and Jaffa the President gave a few illustrations :

“ In the matter of postal and telephone facilities for this large and growing town all I can say is that there may quite possibly come a time in the remote future when our needs will be reasonably satisfied, but at the present moment the situation is beyond remedy and beyond hope. . . . There is little hope that the coastal railway and the port of Haifa will be equipped in such a way as to deal efficiently with the volume of trade of both Jaffa and Haifa.”

One might multiply instances. Mr. J. H. Thomas told the House of Commons that the construction of the Jaffa-Haifa road is proceeding ; but at what a snail's pace ! How long has the execution of the Jerusalem water supply taken, and Jerusalem is still strictly rationed for water. How many years is it since Mr. Rockefeller put up the money for the Palestine Museum, and the Museum is still not open. How many years has the Jerusalem Post Office been a-building—and it is still not open.

There are various reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. One may question whether the Department is technically equal to important public works—the biggest of all and the one completed to time (the Haifa Harbour) was executed independently of the Department. Here a remedy ought not to be difficult.

Sometimes narrow views of policy have been responsible. The principal reason for the prolonged delay with the Jaffa-Haifa road has been fear of competition with the railway. By now it ought to be appreciated that there is enough traffic for both, and that, in any case, the interests of the people of Palestine should come before those of the railway department. Sometimes the rate of Palestine development has been gravely miscalculated. But the taproot of the trouble is elsewhere.

Before Mr. Joseph Chamberlain became Colonial Secretary the Colonial Office was a by-word for apathy. It had neither the will nor the imagination to admit any obligation to develop the vast estate in its charge. Its policy was strictly negative, not positive. If local energy could overcome official inertia then that was an unavoidable evil to be suffered. For a time Mr. Chamberlain's energy infused some life and spirit into Colonial administration, but with his passing it has relapsed. Contrast, for example, what the French Government have done in Morocco with what we have done in Palestine. Almost everything in Palestine has been achieved without the active collaboration of the Administration, often against official obstruction.

Some persons have dignified a natural apathy as a sentimental preference for preserving Palestine as a museum of antiquities. Palestine's accumulated surplus is becoming a monument to this spirit of negation. It came without any effort on the part of the Government, and its preservation and even increase are being looked upon as ends in themselves. But unless that surplus is devoted to positive creative purposes it represents only so much abstraction of the taxpayer's money from constructive development.

## Cultural Relations with Great Britain

THE British administration in Palestine is apparently mainly concerned to keep Jew and Arab from flying at each other's throats. Its aim should be to persuade Jew and Arab to throw their arms round each other's necks. The partnership of two may appear impossible. A partnership of three is, without question, practical politics. In other words, the great necessity is the development of cultural relations between the Mandatory Power and the Mandated Territory. English culture and the English idea are the cement that might bind Jew and Arab together. But nothing whatever is being done to develop such cultural relations, and in this the British administration of Palestine is in striking contrast to the French administration of Syria.

In Palestine where the Jew is free from the fear of persecution and as now fired by a vivid national ambition, he may develop along noble and distinctive lines. The revival of the Hebrew language, and with it the creation of a Hebrew literature and drama of first-rate quality, is evidence that he has already begun to do so.

The great majority of the Jews in Palestine and an increasing proportion of them, have little more knowledge of England and English culture than the majority of non-Jewish Russians and Germans. And there is no evidence that the administration attaches the least importance to this separation. This is the more strange since, as was pointed out here last week, Italy, which notoriously envies Great Britain the mandate is, for its own ends, at pains to establish cultural relations with Palestine. Italian Jews are teaching the Italian language and Italian literature in the municipal schools of Tel-Aviv, their salaries being paid by Rome.

Happily, while the administration is inert and uninterested, the Jewish leaders are fully impressed with the urgent necessity of establishing a spiritual and intellectual *rapprochement* between the Palestinian Jews and Great Britain, and a chair in English literature and institutions will soon, it is hoped, be endowed in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. A committee consisting of leading representatives of all sections of the Anglo-Jewish Community has been established for the purpose of securing an endowment for this chair, which will form the nucleus of a department of English studies. The chair will appropriately be named after the late Sir Moses Montefiore, who was distinguished alike as a protagonist of Jewish Emancipation in Great Britain and a pioneer of Jewish resettlement in Palestine.

A University College, English in its direction, is another institution that is badly needed. The young Arab, Christian and Moslem, able to go on with his education after leaving school, goes to an educationally inefficient university at Beirut, where he learns little but Arab nationalism.

There is still another practical method of developing cultural relations. There are nine daily newspapers in Palestine, four Hebrew, four Arab and one English, the excellently edited *Palestine Post*. Their circulation and their resources are small and their European news scrappy and belated. What is

wanted is a subsidised service of Imperial news, that would keep Palestine in close touch with the British world. It would not be a costly affair to arrange a daily service which the highly efficient Press officer in Jerusalem could have translated into Hebrew and Arabic. With it there might be a plan for the supply of translations of articles by English writers in the vernacular periodicals.

The Colonial Office is arranging a wireless service for Jerusalem. Hebrew and Arabic are to be the languages employed, and if this service is developed with the intention of helping Palestine to realise more fully what Great Britain is thinking and doing or even dreaming, the wireless may be of inestimable value.

There never can be a Palestinian nation, unless Great Britain creates it. It will never be created if Great Britain continues to apologise for being Great Britain.

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## The Seventh Levant Fair

**T**HE Seventh Levant Fair will be held at Tel Aviv from April 30th to May 30th. It will reflect the stage of development now reached in Palestine, and indicate the tendencies which will determine its future progress.

Regarded with some derision when the first Fair was organised in 1924, its promoters were able, at the Sixth Fair in 1934, to point out that the grounds covered 100,000 square metres and provided accommodation for more than 2,000 exhibitors, that £100,000 had been invested in permanent buildings and that over 600,000 visitors attended the Fair in that year. In opening the Levant Fair next month, the High Commissioner will be opening what is now regarded as the unrivalled mart for the entire Near and Middle East.

The Fair has two major objects, the first relating to the internal trade of Palestine, the second to its foreign trade.

In an industrially young country like Palestine there is always a tendency among the more prosperous and influential residents to favour the products of the industrial countries of the West in preference to the products of local industries. The new undertakings in Palestine are only beginning to make their name, to establish their reputation for quality, reliability and efficiency. The Fair offers them an excellent opportunity to gain prestige, and to earn local goodwill.

A great number of manufacturing industries are now established and will be able to demonstrate the increase in the variety of their products and the improvement in quality. Particular interest attaches to the canning and perfumery industries, but practically all industries are now represented in Palestine manufacture, with the exception of heavy engineering—the clothing trades, house construction, the food industries, furniture making, etc. For the first time the following undertakings will be represented at the Fair:

glass manufacture, certain pharmaceutical products, a fruit-juice plant, an electric wire factory, bath stoves and electric refrigerators.

The agricultural displays will make it clear that citrus and vine are not the only crops cultivated in Palestine. Palestinian agriculture is in fact becoming more and more varied, and a growing proportion of the domestic requirements in dairy produce, fruits and vegetables is being supplied by home producers. The handicraftsman, too, will benefit from the opportunity of exhibiting his wares.

As to foreign trade, the Fair serves the interests both of home producers in foreign markets, and foreign producers in the markets of the Near East. Palestine is a healthy and growing market. It is within the sterling area; it boasts an orderly government and Western business standards; it is ready and willing to pay cash, *desiderata* not often found in the Near East. As such, it is peculiarly attractive to exporters in other countries, who find an added inducement to sell to Palestine in the fact that that country is eminently suitable as a base for commercial operations throughout the entire Near and Middle East. Exporters who establish themselves in this early period of Palestine development will find that they possess undoubted advantages as Palestine trade expands with the growing extent and wealth of the home population. An example of foresight in this respect is offered by Imperial Chemical Industries, which has its headquarters for the Near East at Haifa.

Palestine is well on the road to economic prosperity. The newer industries, that have to a considerable extent supplanted engineering, shipbuilding and textiles as the pillars of modern industrial life, are particularly well represented. The potash and bromide manufacturing plants of the Dead Sea area are the foundations of a steadily expanding chemical industry; oil refineries are going up at Haifa; electrical undertakings are attracting more and more capital. Further chemical research and the extensive distribution of cheap electrical power are the two keys for opening up the great wealth of Palestine.

The barriers to international trade to-day are so comprehensive, complex, and irritating, that there is a widespread tendency to exaggerate the importance of foreign as against domestic trade. There is no mysterious virtue in foreign trade which places it in a category superior to home trade. The wealth of a country is not measured by its imports and exports, although Victorian economics may give that impression. Even in Palestine, which is only beginning to develop its own resources, the total value of domestic production and services is likely to be about three times as great as the total value of imports in a normal year. Palestinian purchasers for Palestinian products exhibited at Tel Aviv will help to emphasise the importance of the home market.

The Fair will once again focus attention on Palestine as a country which can be linked economically to Great Britain with ties as strong and mutually advantageous as those which join the two countries together politically. Great Britain already enjoys certain advantages. Orders placed by the Palestine Government are largely for British goods, and companies which raise their capital in the City of London make their purchases chiefly in England, which is, in turn, Palestine's best customer. At the last Fair, British

exhibitors secured eighty gold medals, and large orders, particularly for building equipment, electrical and general machinery, motor tyres, cycles and textiles. But even so British manufacturers and exporters have no more than touched the fringe of the Palestine market. They can supply a great variety of additional needs, including tractors, lorries, tents, spades and drugs. In contrast to most other foreign markets, the British exporter will find at Tel Aviv a channel for trade that is bound to grow both wider and deeper in future years.

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## Dramatic and Musical Activity

PROFESSOR LEOPOLD JESSNER, the famous German producer, has arrived in Palestine and is joining the Habimah Art Theatre. Professor Jessner was Director of the State Theatre in Berlin before the Nazi régime. The Habimah Theatre, the performances of which have aroused so much interest throughout the world, will now have a director of great distinction. *The Merchant of Venice* will be the first Hebrew production under the auspices of Dr. Jessner. The music for this production was composed while he was still in London, by Karl Rathaus, the composer of the music of the play *Oriel d'Acosta*.

Mr. Solomon Levertoff, who was Director of the International Association for Modern Music at Cologne and founder of the West German Chamber Orchestra, has been appointed General Secretary of the newly formed Palestine Orchestra Association, of which Bronislaw Hubermann is the leading spirit and in which Toscanini is taking great interest. Mr. Levertoff is the author of a number of works on the production of opera and he is keenly interested in the advancement of music in Palestine.

Culturally, Palestine is benefiting from the German persecution of Jewish artists.

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## Note

### COUNTRY'S INCREASE IN POPULATION

Although the total immigration into Palestine last month was 2,654, the net population increase was some 400 less—2,243 persons.

This situation is explained by the fact that 10,376 permanent and temporary travellers arrived and 8,133 residents and temporary visitors left the country.

Residents leaving for a period of under a year numbered 3,845, whilst those of the same category returning, were 3,378.

Of the 2,654 Jewish, Arab and other immigrants, 391 came in under the capitalist category, and were accompanied by 407 dependents. Again, as in past months, the largest number of immigrants were dependents on residents of Palestine, totalling 959 of both sexes.

Persons of the labouring classes, coming to employment, numbered only 329 and brought with them 195 dependents.

# Palestine

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No. 6

## The German Jews and Palestine

OF the more than 80,000 refugees who left Germany between April 1933 and the end of 1935, approximately three-quarters have now found permanent homes or have been repatriated to their countries of origin. Over 30,000, more than half of those who have found permanent homes, have been settled in Palestine. Judged by mere weight of constructive achievement, Palestine not only comes first in the list of countries of immigration but it can claim to have contributed more towards the solution of the problems of German Jewry than all other countries put together. The experience of every month only serves to emphasise the importance of this astonishing achievement.

When it is realised that the immigration from Germany constitutes only some 25 per cent. of the total Jewish immigration into Palestine during the past few years, the magnitude of the contribution which that country is making towards the solution of one of the most difficult of contemporary problems can be seen in its true proportions. British policy and Jewish initiative and idealism have united in making a country no larger than Wales into one of the greatest centres of immigration in the world; and this achievement has coincided with a period of universal economic depression. The Permanent Mandates Commission in its last report spoke no more than the bare truth when it described the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine as the greatest colonising enterprise of modern times.

In the heat and dust of political controversy the significance of this achievement tends to become obscured, and recent pronouncements of the Palestine Government, negative and unconstructive in quality as they have been, have helped to obscure it still further. And yet Palestine remains almost the only hope of the Jews who are being driven from Germany by the persecution of the Nazi extremists, and, unless a very grave refugee problem is to be allowed to develop in Europe, Jewish agencies must be given the opportunity of developing the absorptive capacity of Palestine so to make possible the further settlement of large numbers of German Jews during the next few years.

That room for them can be found the achievements of the past three years have shown; that the Jewish people is both able and willing to undertake the task is not in doubt; what is needed is a measure of co-operative goodwill on the part of the Government. That the Jews are entitled to expect that co-operative goodwill is plain from the Mandate itself.

It is not difficult to understand why in this time of emergency even Jews who have been hostile or indifferent to the claims of the Jewish National

Home turn with renewed hope towards Palestine. Other countries have indeed admitted refugees, but with reluctance and in small numbers. And it is also true that no country has welcomed Jewish immigrants without deriving from them economic and intellectual benefits out of all proportion to the numbers admitted; only last week, for example, it was stated in the House of Commons by a Government spokesman that the few hundred refugees who had been allowed to open enterprises in this country had found employment for thousands of British workmen.

But popular prejudice has rarely made it possible to view the problem of immigration in the light of cold reason, and even in overseas countries with large undeveloped resources a perverted nationalism has stayed the hands of enlightened statesmen who have sought to turn the refugee problem to creative uses. A few hundreds here and there, in some places even a thousand or two, may have found the opportunity for life and labour, but for the most part doors have been barred to the refugee.

Moreover, it is part of the bitter tragedy of the Jewish refugee that he carries with him the germs of the anti-Semitism from which he has fled; through no fault of his own he is the carrier of a fatal infection. There is only one country into which the Jewish refugee comes "as of right, and not on sufferance." There is only one country which has an economy he can enter not as an intruder but as a pioneer. There is only one country which has an answer to the tragic problem of Jewish homelessness. And that country is Palestine.

German Jewish immigration since April 1933 brought £10,000,000 of capital for private investment in the country. What is not less important, it has brought new industries and new standards of discipline, skill and enterprise which have helped to make room for others. Is it too much to hope that when the Jewish Agency makes its half-yearly request for an immigration schedule next month the Government will meet its proposals with insight and generosity?

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## Jewish Success in Agriculture

THE primary emphasis of Zionism has been not on the building of factories and the transference of Jewish industry from Europe to Palestine, but on the creation of a prosperous Jewish peasant population in the land of their fathers. "Only a clan of Jewish agricultural labourers can lay a lasting foundation for a National Home secure in its social and economic structure," wrote Mr. Adolph Boehm. The Jewish National Fund was started in 1901 on the initiative of Theodor Herzl for the acquisition of land in Palestine for the Jewish people. The constitution of the Fund provides that the land it acquires may neither be sold nor mortgaged, but remains for all time the property of the Jewish people.

The small holding was the ideal of the originators of the Fund, and they accepted the theory that the private ownership of land is antisocial. The



method is to grant to the new settler a "hereditary lease" for forty-nine or ninety-eight years at a rental of 2 per cent. on agricultural land, 3 per cent. on suburban land, and 4 per cent. on urban land. After a term of years the rent is increased with the rise of land values. The Fund reserves the right to remove thoroughly incompetent tenants, paying compensation for any improvements. A lease may be transferred, but only with the Fund's permission, and a holding may be divided.

At the beginning of the Jewish immigration there was practically no land ready for immediate profitable cultivation that could be bought at anything but a prohibitive price.

The Jewish National Fund owns some 80,000 acres of agricultural land, and of the land that is regarded as settled, by far the greatest part consists either of small holdings or co-operative settlements. The area of Jewish-owned land increases by 9,000 to 10,000 acres a year, the Fund acquiring some 80 per cent. of the new land, but the private buying of building plots in urban areas is growing, and at a great rate, and the number of Jewish landowners must now be very considerable. It is significant, too, that the Jewish-owned orange groves, Palestine's main agricultural asset, are largely in private hands. The labour they employ was 40 per cent. Arab at the last return, and is now much higher.

The Jews to-day own about 300,000 acres of agricultural land, and 65 per cent. of it belongs to the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association.

It is frequently asserted that in the buying of land the Jews have dispossessed the Arab peasants, but less than 10 per cent. of the purchases have been from the fellaheen, and the money paid has enabled the Arabs to make far more profitable use of the remaining portion of their land. One proof of this is that the fellaheen now own 2,500 acres of orange groves. Before the war they did not own an acre.

The main point of issue between the Zionist organisations and the Government is the capacity of Palestine for further colonisation. The Arabs cultivate some 1,580,000 acres, the Jews 250,000 acres. It is calculated that each cereal-raising Arab family owns rather more than 30 acres; with modern intensive culture the family could be better supported on a smaller holding. The Government admits that there are over 600,000 acres of cultivable land still uncultivated, in the Huleh valley, the Jordan valley, and on the west of the Valley of Jezreel. It is quite obvious that a large part of these 600,000 acres could be sold to the Jews for colonisation, while enough could be reserved for the Arab expansion. Three hundred thousand acres would support at least 10,000 Arab families!

There are a further 1,750,000 acres in the Negeb, lying idle, which could be cultivated at a considerable cost, and which the Jewish Executive has tried in vain to persuade the Government to permit them to acquire. Taking these official figures as a basis, it is clear that there are to-day in Palestine 2,000,000 acres of land that could be, and would be, put under cultivation—and as experience abundantly proves successful cultivation—if Jewish immigration were not restricted and Jewish enterprise impeded. That is to

say, the area of land now cultivated by the Jews could within an approximately short time be multiplied by three and the Jewish land workers increased by 100,000.

Jewish agriculture in Palestine is scientific agriculture. The colonists have faced the task of compelling the desert to blossom like a rose, and there is no more striking example of what can be done than the Rutenberg works at the junction of the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, where the power stations are surrounded by flourishing plantations and pleasant gardens, where a few years ago was nothing but sandy wastes. The Jews in Palestine have, indeed, proved what can be done with the most unpromising soil.

Without the spiritual enthusiasm of men and women engaged in a great national enterprise, all the money might have been spent in vain. The collective settlement is vital to the continued success of the colonisation. There is an atmosphere of eager zest in the communal settlements rare indeed among any other agricultural workers.

A certain number of German immigrants are settled in the agricultural colonies. There are 400 of them, for example, upstanding, clean-limbed young men and women, in a colony near Rehovoth. The Jew in Palestine is proving himself a successful and enthusiastic agriculturist. The men and women in the settlements have the healthy tan and vigour of the well-fed, open-air worker, with the zeal of the enthusiast for a great cause.

The most interesting of the colonies are experiments in communal living. The children are well cared for in crèches and schools. The men and women workers eat together in refectories, where the food is simple, ample and varied. There are married quarters, and dormitories for the unmarried, and each man and woman has an allotted task. The administration is in the hands of an elected secretary, and, when all the expenses have been met, the surplus is owned in common and divided on some agreed plan, and there is rarely the smallest disagreement.

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## Mr. Belloc on Palestine

**P**ALESTINE would have been a better title for Mr. Belloc's new book than *The Battle Ground* (Cassell & Co.). The nominal subject is Syria, of which Palestine is a small but the most important part, and Mr. Belloc sets out as though he proposed to make a study of its military geography. There is much in the book that recalls the *Land and Water* critic during the war. But it presently appears that the battle ground in his mind is not of armies only, but of ideas.

Syria and particularly its southern province of Palestine were, at any rate up to the Crusades, where Mr. Belloc's study ends, except for an interesting epilogue, what the Greeks used to call the navel of the world, and, by taking it as his centre and giving his thought a generous radius, Mr. Belloc is able to comment relevantly on nearly anything that interests him over a period of some 3,000 years or more.

He has a chapter on Christ's life and death—rightly, for this was the

greatest event in the history of Palestine—and he even strays into dogmatic theology, and in another direction as far as Marius, the victor of Vercellæ.

Historically he is a conservative. He accepts the Old Testament as the best authority on ancient history and, while he is not uncritical, he is unsympathetic to what is called the Higher Criticism and thinks a substantial tradition a better evidence than the fanciful imaginings of learning. Mr. Belloc treats the fascinating geography of history like the artist that he is, and a great part of his book exhibits Old Testament history as it were in cross-section. He scatters *obiter dicta* freely and readers will want to join issue with him very frequently. But that is only to say that it is a challenging book. Perhaps he strains some of his arguments overmuch, but his historical imagination is vivid and has a fine sweep. Whether he is discussing the story of Joseph and his brethren and their relation with the Hyksos kings, the policy of Assyria or Egypt, of Rome, of Alexander or the Seleucids, or of Herod and the Maccabees, he makes his characters live and charges the issues with the force of his own temperament.

Mr. Belloc is sometimes thought to be an anti-Semite—how falsely many passages of this book show. Take for example the passage in which he writes of the spirit of those who rebuilt Jerusalem after Cyrus had restored them from the Captivity. He quotes Renan's dictum that the Jews are the least aristocratic of all nations. There had already, he said, appeared in the Jewish temper not only an intellectual contempt for social inequality, but a hatred of it. He finds in these returned exiles a military ardour combined with a passion for equality.

"It may be thought a paradox that such a feeling should go side by side with the accumulation of great fortunes in commerce and especially in the most oppressive form of usury; but there is no contradiction. The Jew to-day in the slums of our great cities has kept intact this sense of equality which is coincident with the feeling of human dignity, for human dignity is a product of religion where religion binds the individual to a supreme God; and the Jewish millionaire does not, like our rich men, mistake his wealth for excellence, nor do his fellow Jews think him the greater for it, but only more fortunate."

That is well said, though later it is qualified by the argument that the passion for equality makes the Jew a natural rebel or revolutionary in an alien society, and by the reminder that Marx was a pseudonym for Mordecai, which M. Belloc says was his real Jewish name.

In his epilogue, Mr. Belloc has some words to say of Zionism and speculates on the future. His general reading of Syrian history is not unlike the background of much of the argument persistently put forward in these pages for the alliance of Zionism with Great Britain. Mr. Belloc admits the great advantages to this country of acting as protector and supporter of Jewish immigration into Palestine; he points out that Jewish immigration is fed by the wealth poured into it by the whole community throughout the world. He even says that, thanks to the Jews, the Palestine revenue has even more money than it can use. If he had said than it does use, he would be more accurate. He admits that the advantage of the Jews is also an English advantage; and he is almost lyrical in his admiration of what Zionism has already done for the country. But he fears that if Great Britain were

occupied in other fields, the Jewish effort in Palestine would be at an end. In fact, it is not the Jewish side of the contract that he fears may not be fulfilled, but the British side.

He does not make it clear on what these fears are based, for the hostility of the Arabs must disappear in proportion with the increased prestige of success in Palestine as it is, and it has been artificially fed by mistakes in British policy. For the Turks as rulers Mr. Belloc has nothing but contempt; yet he doubts whether Europe will long maintain that modern supremacy over the Moslem which we have hitherto taken for granted. He is evidently thinking of the decisions in Europe.

A curious objection to our presence in Palestine is that it lacks the old rule of British strategy of avoiding land frontiers. Mr. Belloc has forgotten the western front in the last war, about which he used to write so characteristically. Surely, the truth is that instead of the old Egyptian frontier which was made possible against an enemy in Syria we have now a strong protecting bastion in front of what was undoubtedly a weak spot in the system of imperial defence. How strong that bastion will be depends entirely on the strength of the new Palestinian nationality that we form. The Jew is the only cement that can hold it together.

## The Tourist Industry

THE uncertainties in the international situation during the last six months have exercised a discouraging influence on foreign travel of all kinds. For Palestine the figures relating to tourist traffic show a marked decline on previous years. Up to 1935 the tendency was strongly upwards, as may be seen from the table below :

1932	...	63,252	tourists
1933	...	79,853	..
1934	...	96,823	..
1935	...	106,823	..

It is reasonable to assume that, when the international situation is cleared up, the upward tendency will reassert itself. The industry is an important one. The total foreign tourist expenditure in 1935 amounted to at least £1,225,000. The proceeds of the tourist industry rank high in the list of invisible exports by which the country's command over foreign goods and services is supplemented, and it is an item which, with proper encouragement, can be made much larger.

There is considerable dissatisfaction with the lack of enthusiasm displayed by the Administration in this matter, and unfavourable contrasts are drawn with the position in neighbouring countries. The Egyptian Government has made a preliminary allocation for the present year of £150,000 for the promotion of tourist traffic. The money will be spent partly in opening offices in London and four other centres. In Syria an allocation of £S.12,000 was made to advertise the Lebanon as a holiday resort. Public funds have

been used in Turkey to establish Tourist Offices and Information Bureaux in Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

The Palestine Treasury has made a beginning with a grant of £500 to the Tourist Development Association for 1936. As a first step it is, of course, encouraging, but the sum is ludicrously small. All countries which attract the foreign visitor advertise themselves, and the publicity is subsidised at least in part with public money. Such a course has been found profitable, and there is no doubt that greater generosity on the part of the Palestine Government would be more than repaid in the future. Apart from the direct effects of greater tourist traffic in increasing the volume of invisible exports, the Treasury would benefit indirectly from the increased revenues of the transport and hotel systems—to name only the two industries which would receive most stimulus from the encouragement of tourism. Indeed it is likely that, with the assistance of foreign visitors, the Palestine railways, which up to the present have shown a loss, may be able to wipe out their deficit.

It is impossible to estimate at all closely the number of workers who directly or indirectly, are given employment as a result of tourist expenditure. Assuming, however, that the proceeds of the tourist industry reach a total of £2 million, of which one-half must be written off against actual consumption, the provision of accommodation and so on, then, taking an average wage of £2 per week per head, it may be said that 10,000 people will find employment in the tourist services in the course of a year. This, however, does not exhaust the advantages of the industry. Harbours, roads, air services and transport and communications of all kinds are improved and developed to meet the requirements of tourist travel. The cultural life of the country is also stimulated by the interest displayed by the visitor in music and the theatre.

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## The Palestine Surplus

PALESTINE'S cash surplus on January 31st, 1936, amounted to £P.6,357,349, which represented an excess of income over expenditure of £P.1,623,793 for the first ten months of the present fiscal year.

The revenue for this year amounted by January 31st to £P.4,840,505, or roughly £P.484,000 a month, whilst the expenditure was £P.3,216,712, or just under £322,000 a month.

Customs receipts, at £P.2,370,843, formed the bulk of revenue, and various security items on the other side of the budget amounted to nearly £P.700,000.

Currency in circulation at the end of February amounted to £P.6,186,134, of which £P.5,614,934 were in notes.

A comparative statement published in the *Palestine Gazette* shows that of the total estimated revenue for 1935-6 of £P.5,436,087, actual receipts for the first nine months of the fiscal year were £P.4,372,588. At the present rate, the estimates should be exceeded by some £P.500,000,

On the expenditure side, the estimate for the year was £P.4,863,077, and the actual disbursements for nine months only £P.2,887,066, which would be some £P.1,000,000 less than estimates by the end of the year if maintained at the same rate of £P.320,000 for each of the subsequent three months.

## Trade Returns

THE following is quoted from a report from Barclays Bank (D.C. and O.), Jerusalem, dated March 12th, 1936:

“Trading conditions in general have continued calm during the month. Satisfactory rains have occurred in most districts, but the fall for the season is still below normal. The cereals market has been quiet, and prices have shown some decline. The price of wheat has fallen by about £P.1 per ton, owing to large stocks and to the improvement in crop prospects occasioned by the rains.

“The market for barley and durra has been quiet, while the sesame market has continued steady. The demand for imported flour has remained steady, but the price of local flour has declined in sympathy with the drop in the price of wheat. The sugar and coffee markets have continued steady, but rice has been weak. The usual mid-season slackness has been experienced during the last few weeks in woollen, silk and cotton goods.

“The season’s citrus shipments to the 4th inst. amounted to 4,957,005 cases, of which 499,816 cases were grapefruit, 33,156 cases of lemons, and the remainder oranges. Orange prices have ranged from 9s. to 16s. per case.”

## Jewish Capital

ACCORDING to a statement issued by the American Economic Committee for Palestine, new capital brought and sent to Palestine by Jews in 1935 is estimated at £P.15,000,000 to £P.16,000,000. This estimate is drawn upon on a conservative basis from data in the Committee’s possession. Capital influx during 1934 was £P.12,000,000 to £P.15,000,000.

The Committee states that it found new Jewish investments during last year to be at least equal to the previous year’s total of £P.10,000,000 to £P.11,000,000. There is strong evidence to show that the latter amount might have been exceeded by one or two million pounds.

Deposits in banks exceeded the amounts recorded at the beginning of the year by £P.1,500,000 to £P.2,000,000.

## Great Britain and the Levant Fair

It is clear from answers to questions by ministers in the House of Commons that the Government adheres to the decision to do nothing to use the forthcoming Levant Fair at Tel Aviv as an opportunity for developing trade between Great Britain and Palestine.

Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Holland, Roumania, Switzerland and Turkey will be officially represented at the Fair. But the Secretary for Overseas Trade has “no information.”

# Palestine

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No. 7

## The Legislative Council

**A**FTER the debate in the House of Commons last week everyone wondered how the project of a Legislative Council in Palestine could possibly go through. Under the procedure that has been adopted the consent of Parliament may not be legally necessary, but no Government can afford to be beaten in the reasoned argument of debate or to unite all sections at once friendly and unfriendly in opposition to itself. That, nothing less, is what this singularly ill-conceived project is doing. The debates in the Lords were a clear warning, but the Government after all is independent of the Lords' goodwill. But the goodwill of the Commons is essential and it is a matter not of votes but of prestige which may go on crumbling though the Government's majority in divisions never falls. It could not be pretended that the attacks on the project last week were the mere pulling of strings by a small well-organised minority, or that they were anything but a spontaneous expression of representative opinion. Mr. Churchill is a party in himself and an Elder Statesman in experience. He was joined by Mr. Amery, who does not as a rule enjoy being in that company. Sir Archibald Sinclair, soundest of Liberals, was on the same side with the bitterest opponent of Free Trade and with the Imperialist who led the opposition to the India Bill and so many other causes dear to Liberals. On the same side again were typically thoughtful Conservatives like Mr. Cazalet, and Labour men both orthodox and unorthodox like Mr. Hopkin and Colonel Wedgwood. On the other side the unofficial defenders of the proposals were both few and apologetic. It is no wonder that even Mr. Thomas's back bent under the weight of his task. He was obviously unhappy; he did his best for a policy bequeathed to him by his predecessors which he himself would never have accepted; but he was evidently conscious that his best was a bad one, as indeed was the House, which nevertheless realised that his failure was not through his own fault but through the badness of his case.

The sole impulse of these proposals comes from the Civil Service and in particular from the High Commissioner, General Wauchope. Now no one would undervalue the high quality of General Wauchope's work in Palestine; he is probably the best of the four High Commissioners that Palestine has had. And presumably he has convinced himself that if only Jews and Arabs met in a Council Chamber their differences would be healed. But one cannot let one man, however eminent, supersede the judgment of Parliament. Much was said of "pledges" by successive administrators from 1922 downwards to give representative institutions to Palestine. Pledges is the

wrong word. One ought rather to say that to prepare Palestine for self-government is one of the duties imposed on us by the Mandate. No one denies that that is the ultimate goal. The sole contentions are: When and in what circumstances? Now it is not true to argue as though we were at last conceding demands to establish self-government impatiently made by the League. On the contrary the League has been consistently doubtful whether the time had arrived. It is not satisfied that the Arabs have sufficient experience to work well and therefore it welcomed the idea that a beginning should be made in municipal local government. The experiment was begun two years ago and has certainly not justified the presumption that the Arabs would be more successful in national administration. Here there is lacking not only the experience but the goodwill. Had General Wauchope secured from the Arabs satisfactory promises of loyalty to the Mandate, none of us could have opposed the experiment of a Legislative Council, for we recognise the healing virtues of honest discussion. But so far from these promises having been obtained, the Arabs make no secret of their desire to destroy the Mandate and in particular its main provision about the National Home. It is not an answer that as the Mandate is a "reserved" subject the new Council could not destroy it. But it could and would find many ways of hampering the Government in its duty to the Home, in the discharge of which its warmest friends could not accuse the Government of boldness or imagination. How little the Palestinian Government expects quiet rational discussion in the new Council is shown by an amazing provision to give the Speaker power to censor sedition out of debates before reports are published. How hopeless to expect to realise the advantages of parliamentary institutions under such conditions.

But the argument against the Council vastly transcends the present frontiers and populations of Palestine. The Mandate so far as its main trust of the National Home is concerned is drawn in the interests not only or so much of Jews now in Palestine, as of Jews all over the world. To discharge the trust satisfactorily we must have regard not only to local conditions but to the conditions of Jews in other countries in the world outside. It was the especial merit of Mr. Churchill's speech that he expressed this side of the case with the cumulative rhetorical force that is characteristic of his eloquence. He narrated the terrible sufferings of the Jews in Germany in one long sentence which ended with what is really the test question. Is this the time for the House of Commons to allow the one door that affords relief from these conditions to be summarily closed or even obstructed by the course that we take now? The bare risk of incurring such a reproach transcends every other consideration. But if we must also think of the Imperial side of the argument, it argues strange lack of imagination not to realise that in so far as anything has been accomplished yet in Palestine it is thanks to the Jews, and that though everyone knows that the new Palestine nationality must be bi-racial its strength and permanence must depend on the cement of the Jewish race. It may also be important for us to be respected by the Arabs, but we shall never obtain that respect, as Mr. Amery justly pointed out, by trying to curry favour with Arab political Nationalists.



## The Press and the Debate

THE Press comments on the debate in the House of Commons last week on the proposed Legislative Council in Palestine emphasise the opposition of all parties to this hazardous proposal.

After summarising the suggested constitution of the Council and the opportunity it would give to the Arabs to harass the government and obstruct the development of Jewish colonisation, *The Times* concludes :

The Jews, it is true, are a minority in Palestine ; but—to say nothing of the pledges of the Balfour Declaration and the obligations of the Mandate—they are a minority which has every claim to have its interests carefully safeguarded. The contribution which Jewish colonists have made to the progress of the country is quite incontestable, and Arabs and Christians have benefited almost as much as themselves from the prosperity which has been the result of their enterprise. They are afraid—and there seems ample ground for their fears—that those who dislike their presence will use the proposed Council to make their position impossible. Yesterday's discussion in the House of Commons, like the previous debate in the House of Lords, showed how widely their apprehensions are shared in this country. One of the arguments used in defence of the proposals was that Arabs and Jews were coming to understand one another better and were learning to co-operate in the economic development of the country. That is an encouraging symptom ; but it is hardly a convincing reason for attempting to force them into a political co-operation for which neither party is ready. Why not make haste slowly, and give understanding time to grow under the protection of an impartial authority which can be trusted to deal justly with Jew and Arab alike ?

*The Manchester Guardian* says :

The Government's case is that it has promised the Arabs a Legislative Council and promised the Mandates Commission of the League to introduce some form of self-government, and that not to do so at once would be to break its pledge. But it is the case of such opponents of the scheme as Colonel Wedgwood, Sir Archibald Sinclair, and Mr. Winston Churchill that it has also promised to make Palestine a National Home for the scattered, maltreated Jews of the world, and that to give a majority on the Legislative Council to the people who resent the Jews and reject the whole principle of the Mandate would make this impossible for ever. They argue, moreover, that the Government has not even shown that the Arabs are ready for self-government, and that so far from there being any need for hurry there is every reason for delay. In view of the widespread opposition the Government should reconsider its proposals and at least insist that the Arabs should recognise the mandate before entrusting them with these new powers.

*The Morning Post* uses the debate for a characteristic tilt at democratic institutions, particularly in the east. Referring to Palestine in particular, it says :

In Palestine the fear of the Zionists rests on the fact that the Arab majority hate the Jewish minority, and would like to make an end of the "National Home." They have reason for their fears, as the Mohammedans and the Christians have reason for their fears in India. In the Palestinian massacre of 1929 133 Jews were killed and 339 were wounded, and the Zionists feel that the Arabs would use such powers as would be given to them for the purpose of pursuing this racial vendetta.

*The New Statesman* says :

The debate in the House on Tuesday on the establishment of a Legislative Council in Palestine revealed how widespread is the opposition to the Government's policy. Taken in conjunction with the recent measures for the restriction of the sale of land, this proposal

seems likely to give to the Arabs a dangerous predominance at a time when humanitarian considerations make it more than ever vital that the efforts to institute a Jewish National Home should not be relaxed. Mr. Thomas maintained that the High Commissioner was committed to introduce self-governing institutions as soon as the Municipal Councils appeared to be working satisfactorily; in any event the Council would not be allowed to discuss the affairs of the Jewish Agency, the Mandate or the immigration schedules. Mr. Churchill, however, voiced the feelings of the House when he claimed that the Balfour declarations could not be reconciled with an Arab majority on the Council. The Government has a delicate task to perform in holding the balance between Arab and Jew. The Arab has as much right to protection as the native in Kenya, and the appearance of an unemployment problem is likely to aggravate the difficulties. But the Government has not yet answered the charge that a premature fulfilment of the pledge to set up a Legislative Council will only increase the opportunities for communal strife.

In a note in the *Church Times*, the leading Church of England weekly, the writer says :

The great majority of the Moslem population of Palestine is still illiterate. Politically, they are entirely ignorant, altogether subservient to the small body of Moslem *intelligentsia* who are bitterly opposed to Jewish immigration and to the whole policy of the Jewish National Home. A Legislative Council, in which the Arabs would have a predominant influence, would, however limited its powers, hamper the administration and indefinitely postpone the creation of a Palestinian nation, which is the ultimate objective of British policy. Such local governing bodies as have come into being have proved entire failures, except in the Jewish towns and settlements. The Government, urged on by the High Commissioner, is proceeding too quickly. By the establishment of schools all over the country, it is attempting—and already with some success—to raise the cultural level of the Arab population. But it will not be until the average is far higher than it is now that democratic institutions can possibly function.

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## Constitutional Implications

**A**FTER the debates in the Lords and the Commons the Government cannot avoid reconsidering some of the constitutional arguments it has adopted in defence of its procedure and its policy. It contemplates, by virtue of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, imposing a Legislative Council on Palestine by Order in Council without the specific sanction of either House of Parliament. One may presume that its legal advisers have told the Government that it may lawfully adopt this course; but it is, of course, not bound so to do.

It can, if it so wills, submit the Draft Order for previous parliamentary approval, as is required in the case of India; and if it seeks to evade Parliament, that is for its own convenience and not under any constitutional compulsion. These tactics may turn out not to be even convenient, if the Opposition adopt Mr. Churchill's suggestion and bring the whole question to a vote of the House, a vote in which nothing but the whole enginery of the Whips could save the Government from defeat.

Let it be admitted that there are cases and there are circumstances in which a government is fully justified in using its powers under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act. It may, for example, happen that the matter raises no issue either important or controversial. It may, again, be that the issue is both of high importance and acute controversy, and affects a vital matter of the policy of

a government in regard to which it enjoys resolute support in the Commons and faces irreconcilable opposition in the Lords. That was the situation when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gave the Boer States free constitutions.

Very different is the case when both Houses of Parliament have demonstrated their deep anxiety and their strong distaste for a proposed constitution. In such circumstances it is an abuse of procedure to attempt to shuffle the enactment through behind the back of Parliament. In this instance there is not so much excuse as a real conviction of the utility or the wisdom of the proposal. That is plain from the nature of the arguments adduced and the embarrassment with which they are propounded.

It is said, for example, that in 1922 the Jews "accepted" a proposed Legislative Council which the Arabs rejected. The proposal was made after the grave riots of 1921; it was bitterly disliked by the Jews; it was submitted to under the duress of a most difficult situation. In any case the whole episode was wiped away when the Arabs rejected the proposal. It is said again that a pledge was given to the Permanent Mandates Commission to set up a Legislative Council following an experiment in municipal government. But there was no pledge as to the composition or the powers of the Legislative Council, and the only pledge as to time was that the Legislative Council should come after the Palestine people had gone through a proper period of training in local administration. But that is precisely what they have not done.

There is no pressure, nor is any likely to come from the Permanent Mandates Commission, to hasten with a Legislative Council in which Arabs have an overwhelming majority over Jews, and repudiate the Mandate from which all legal authority for the government of Palestine derives. The Commission have had experience in Iraq of an Arab majority handling non-Arab minorities. They do not enjoy it.

Again, it is said that there is a Cabinet decision which concludes the whole matter. Procedure at Cabinets is secret, and the plain citizen is not likely ever to learn how much time and thought the Cabinet has ever given to this decision. But one does know that a normal Cabinet meeting has a very full agenda, that it could not get through it if there were much discussion of each item, that each Minister is very jealous of trespass by his colleagues on his department; and one may express a polite scepticism as to whether any special sanctity attaches to this particular decision. Probably the blunt truth is that the policy, ratified by the Cabinet with little thought and as a matter of routine, is the policy of the permanent officials in Downing Street and the High Commissioner in Palestine. Poor Mr. Thomas is doubly unfortunate in that he is called upon to defend a project which may be only technically that of the Cabinet and in any case was initiated by his predecessor, and was found by him fully rounded when he took over his present office.

There has been some tendency, in the final resort, to rest the case for the Legislative Council upon the advice of Sir Arthur Wachope. No doubt some of the initiative and a good deal of the drive has come from him, but the responsibility, as Mr. Thomas emphasised, is not his but that of the

Government, and although due weight should be given to the opinion of the man on the spot theirs must be the ultimate decision. It is as well to point out how limited in a matter of this kind is the special authority of the local expert.

Sir Arthur Wauchope urges quite sincerely that a Legislative Council constituted of an overwhelming and recalcitrant Arab majority proclaiming its determination to use that body as an instrument for destroying the Jewish National Home is calculated to further harmonious co-operation between Jew and Arab. Nobody in either the Jewish or the Arab camp shares that view. It is not the fruit of reason and experience. It is an act of faith, that order of faith which would enable Sir Arthur to say with Tertullian "*Credo quia impossibile.*"

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## The Capitalist Immigrant

ONE cannot in justice repeat too often that Mr. Thomas found the measures now so widely criticised prepared when he became Colonial Secretary. It is not easy for a Minister to nullify a proposal when it has reached an advanced stage. All the greater, therefore, is the credit due to Mr. Thomas for killing the project of raising the qualification for a capitalist immigrant into Palestine from £1,000 to £2,000. It was a peculiarly mean idea and doubly mean in the time chosen for putting it forward.

The classes of Jews most directly affected would have been the German and the Polish Jews, the one suffering from one of the most terrible persecutions and the other threatened with it. Those who could conceive such a scheme as an expression of British passion for justice and humanity must be strangely lacking in imagination.

The effects upon the economic life of Palestine would also have been appreciable. The notable development of Palestine and the improvement in Palestine finances during recent years are largely due to the influx of capital brought by this class of immigrant. The raising of the qualification would have closed the gates of refuge to many thousands, and lost to Palestine the fructifying capital which finds employment for many more.

Mr. Thomas's decision has spared British honour a spot and averted a measurable injury to the economic and social fabric of Palestine.

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## The Palestinian Ports

THE congestion at the ports of Haifa and Jaffa has been a source of complaint for a number of years. The improvements that have been made in harbour accommodation at Haifa have not kept pace with the increase in traffic.

The mute protest of thirty-eight steamers in the port is a vivid but painful sight; their waiting involves great inconvenience and heavy losses to the merchants. Nor can it cause surprise to learn that the closing of the port

of Jaffa to heavy goods has been regarded as a grievance. The increase in the amount of shipping entering and leaving the Palestine ports demands an immediate enlargement and improvement of facilities.

Meanwhile it is interesting to learn that the tonnage of vessels entering Haifa and Jaffa in 1935 exceeded that of Alexandria by 18 per cent. Haifa alone has a tonnage only 20 per cent. less than that of the largest Egyptian port, and 50 per cent. greater than that of Beirut. Measured by tonnage, it exceeds the total of the three Syrian ports of Beirut, Tripoli and Alexandretta. The detailed figures are given below :

	<i>Number of Vessels</i>		<i>Tonnage (in 1,000 tons)</i>	
	1935	1934	1935	1934
Alexandria .. ..	2,560	2,170	6,178	5,309
Haifa .. ..	1,818	1,404	4,901	3,469
Jaffa .. ..	1,130	1,114	2,407	2,454
<b>Palestinian ports ..</b>	<b>2,948</b>	<b>2,518</b>	<b>7,308</b>	<b>5,923</b>
Beirut .. ..	1,007	968	2,410	2,417
Tripoli .. ..	554	452	1,232	808
Alexandretta .. ..	317	268	490	469
<b>Syrian ports ..</b>	<b>1,878</b>	<b>1,688</b>	<b>4,132</b>	<b>3,694</b>
<b>Total .. ..</b>	<b>7,386</b>	<b>6,376</b>	<b>17,618</b>	<b>14,926</b>

It will be seen that although 1935 showed an all-round improvement over 1934, the largest increases were registered by Alexandria and Haifa. The traffic at the two Palestinian ports exceeded the traffic at Alexandria by about 400 vessels and 1.1 million tons.

It is through the Jewish money coming into Palestine that Great Britain has been able to build the new port at Haifa, and it is commonly admitted that Haifa represents the only modern and secure port along the entire Levantine coast from the Turkish frontier to Alexandria.

But leaving aside the strategic value of Haifa, it is essential that the harbour should be able to provide facilities for the steadily increasing trade of the country. This is in part a question of equipment—the provision of sufficient cranes and lorries, of loading, unloading and warehousing accommodation—and in part a question of organisation and management. Present inadequacies in this latter respect arise largely from the besetting sin of assuming that the smallest possible number of low-paid workers is synonymous with cheap labour costs. It is high time that the original project should be completed. The technical capacity of the port should march in advance of, and not lag behind, the needs of expanding trade.

A natural apathy on the part of the Government Departments—Harbour, Customs and Railways—responsible for stimulating the commerce of the country may prove to be of great value to the rival ports, which are now expending large sums to make themselves competitively more efficient. Haifa ought to plan to become the greatest port in the Near East.

This is both a Jewish and an Imperial interest.

## David Eder

THE death of Dr. David Eder removes one known to his friends as a great and a noble man. In earlier life he spent a number of years exploring and collecting in the lesser-known regions of Central America. Some of his collections are housed in the Natural History Museum, and a by-product of his sojourn was a mastery of the Spanish language, which many years later, when he was head of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem, proved to be his sole linguistic means of communication with Sephardi Jews from the Balkans and the Near East. He was an early pupil of Freud and one of the pioneers and leaders of psycho-analytical work in England. He had read very widely in many subjects and many tongues, and he wrote with wit and charm on the gravest topics. He was interested in good causes which demanded personal sacrifice without stint and offered no prospect of personal reward, and the individual in need had as insistent a claim upon him as the cause. Since the persecutions in Germany he had spent himself in helping exiled doctors and men of science.

He came to Jewish Nationalism through Territorialism, the movement initiated by the late Israel Zangwill for finding an autonomous territory of refuge for Jews anywhere in the world. He was a member of the Commission sent in that behalf to explore the possibilities of Jewish settlement in Cyrenaica, now a portion of the Italian dominions. When during the war the first Zionist Commission was sent to Palestine under the leadership of Dr. Weizmann, Dr. Eder was one of its members, and he remained there through several most difficult years in charge of Zionist work. No man could have been more loyal, more devoted, or more wise in that office. On his return to England Dr. Eder was active in Zionist work until his last brief illness. His death is a heavy blow to Zionism, and a bitter sorrow to his friends.

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## Governing Palestine

THE case against the Legislative Council is stated at length and with great skill by J. M. Machover, in his recently published book, *Governing Palestine, The Case Against Parliament* (P. S. King, 10s.). The Government claims that it has given pledges to the Mandates Commission to set up the Legislative Council, but Mr. Machover makes it clear that the Commission itself regards the development of self-government in Palestine as conditional on the acceptance of the principles of the Mandate, by both communities and it is of course notorious that the Arabs repudiate those principles.

There is a valuable study of the system of government in other territories with a mixed population under British rule and where with an advanced and energetic immigrant minority "the vote of the majority cannot be allowed to decide questions which affect conflicting racial interests."

# Palestine

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## The Hebrew Revival in Palestine

ONE of the miracles of the history of Palestine since the War has been the establishment of Hebrew as the language of the Jewish population, and its adaptation to every use of life and thought. What had been regarded as a language of prayer and literature has become the living tongue of the people, effective to express any idea, whether religious or secular, whether of law or science, daily journalism or philosophy, sport or popular humour. The achievement has been accomplished in less than twenty years through a combination of the practical necessity of establishing a common language for the Jewish polyglot tribes which are returning to the ancestral land from all parts of the world, and the ideal sentiment of making the language of the Bible again the language of life in the country of the Bible.

Hebrew is to-day, through the Jewish school system, the natural tongue of the Jewish children of Palestine; for many of the adults it is a tongue acquired by force of will. But so irresistible is the enthusiasm for its revival in the Jewish society that in the census of 1931 the Jews who named Hebrew as their language numbered 948 per 1,000; those who gave Yiddish, the language of the Ghetto of Central and Eastern Europe, were 27 per 1,000; and those who gave Espanol, the Spanish-Jewish dialect of the Levant, only 5 per 1,000. Hebrew is the historical and, it may be claimed, the necessary vehicle of a revived Hebraism; for the language and thought of a people are inextricably bound up together. The revival of the Bible language, if it has not yet produced a fresh expression of the Hebraic genius—though it may boast a poet, Bialik, and an essayist, Ahad-Haam, of the first class—at least makes it more likely that it will be produced, and that in Palestine there will spring up, as it were, from the soil, a new flower of an ancient culture.

It has doubtless stimulated the hold of the language that Hebrew is declared by the Mandate to be one of the official languages of the country; so that all legislation, orders and notices of the Government must appear in Hebrew as well as in Arabic and English; Hebrew is recognised as a language of pleading in the Law Courts; and Hebrew appears on the postage stamps and coins. But a profounder factor in the revival is the special character which Hebrew had in the affection of the Jewish people even when it had ceased to be the living language. A Jewish sage, writing in America some thirty years ago, when the Zionist Movement was very young, declared: "The Hebrew language to the Jew is not merely a language such as Latin and Greek to the student of classical languages . . . it is a sacred monument of bygone times. Every word recalls to him great and glorious

epochs in its history, when God had still converse with man, when the Prophets still admonished Israel with ' thoughts that breathe and words that burn,' when Psalms were still sung in its Temples. It is the language in which the nation poured out its griefs and sorrows on the waters of Babylon, but in which also its joys and its hopes and its consolation found adequate expression. . . . It is a holy language because of its memories of the past and of its promise for the future."

The revival of Hebrew is not, then, simply an expression of a vital nationalism, but also a renewal of a spiritual sense which has derived, as it were, a fresh sap from contact with the soil. The language, no less than the Jew in Palestine, is like the giant Antæus, who, when he touched the ground, rose with redoubled strength.

The development of the language during the last fifteen years is equally remarkable in its manifold content and in its output of literature. There are three flourishing daily Hebrew papers, the Labour *Hadavar* (" The Word "), which has the largest circulation and maintains a high intellectual level ; the more bourgeois *Haaretz* (" The Land "), which includes amongst its contributors several of the best Hebrew writers ; and lastly the flamboyant and militant *Doar Hayom* (" Daily Mail "), which, in its method as well as in its title, follows its English prototype. The weekly and monthly papers are legion. They include publications for children and the youth, for every professional body, for political sections or sub-sections, for the lover of the theatre, and the lover of music. An academy for the Hebrew language, formed of the principal scholars and writers in the country, which is, as it were, in constant session to standardise the terminology, issues a periodical known as *Halashon* (" The Language "). The press of the Hebrew University issues learned publications by its professors, and a notable series is appearing, under the editorship of Professor Leon Roth (formerly of Oxford and Manchester), of the principal philosophical texts, starting with Plato and Aristotle, and comprising modern English, French and German philosophers, which are rendered into pure Hebrew.

Hebrew has proved itself already an admirable vehicle for opera, since the language of opera has often the simplicity and directness of the Bible. It has been adapted also for the modern revue. The Yiddish Theatre, which flourishes in New York and Eastern Europe, has no place in Palestine ; but the Hebrew Theatre, with its striking companies of the " Habima " and the " Ohel " (The Stage and The Tent), has won a wide reputation.

The output of literature is impressive in its mere quantity. The census of 1931 included a return of the books published in Palestine during the preceding nine years. It showed over 2,000 works in Hebrew, mostly translations, but comprising many original works of poetry, novels and stories. The number of books in Arabic was but a small fraction of that total. One of the striking developments of Palestinian Hebrew literature is the Educational Library, which, designed in the first place for the use of the schools of the country, is rapidly making its way to the Jewish communities of the world. It is among other things interpreting in a new Hebrew form the vast rabbinic literature which, studied intensively in the Ghetto, had become almost a sealed book to the emancipated Jewish communities.

So the Hebraic revival is scattering seed in a soil of wonderful fertility which will surely, in our day, give a rich harvest.



## The Land of Contrasts

(By a Correspondent recently in Palestine.)

PALESTINE is the country of strange contrasts. One Sunday morning early this year I spent two hours discussing the Arab-Jewish problem with a member of the Supreme Moslem Council, in the noble palace once the headquarters of the Turkish Government, in the old city of Jerusalem. My friend, who speaks English fluently, discoursed eloquently of progress, democracy and the rights of majorities. And I left him to make my way along narrow muddy streets, from which ran still narrower dark alleyways, with passive figures, in rags of many colours, squatting in the gloom.

A day or two afterwards I had tea with Mr. Dizengoff, the mayor and indeed the father of Tel-Aviv, the hundred-per-cent. Jewish town that adjoins Jaffa. Mr. Dizengoff, a vigorous man in the early seventies, is a practical Zionist idealist. His story of what has been accomplished in seventeen years and his dream of the future were intensely interesting and inspiring. And I left him in his office in the Municipal Buildings to go out into the streets of a modern city.

A land of strange contrasts! Hebron is Moslem and picturesquely mediæval. Tel-Aviv, an hour's journey away in a car, is Jewish, progressive and modern.

On one side of the street in Rishon is a row of little shops that might have been imported from a London suburb. On the other side is an evil-smelling Bedouin camp where men, women and children huddle with donkeys, goats and chickens. On the one side washed energy, on the other unwashed satisfaction, until the agitator comes along to stir up mischief.

On the well-made roads, a line of camels blocks the way of a high-powered Austin. One field may be ploughed by a motor tractor, the next by a wooden ploughshare drawn by a donkey and a lean cow, unequally yoked.

In the old city of Jerusalem the narrow winding streets and alleyways remain unaltered except for the fact that the shops have electric light. In the suburbs, herds of goats straggle along the newly-built roads, most of them unnamed and with unnumbered houses.

Half the Arab population is illiterate, placid, inert. The Jew has brought modern Europe to the Land of Israel, the Europe of motor omnibuses and of cinemas. He has brought many things that are fine and inspiring—zeal, unselfishness, patriotism. But he has not left Europe behind. The note of Europe is bustle, and in this respect the Jew is super-European. Everywhere he is up and doing and nowhere more than in Palestine, where labour has a high purpose and enterprise more than a mere selfish end.

The Jew is Europeanising Asia. The Arab, even the Christian Arab, is resenting and resisting Europeanisation. Palestine is a battle-field on which yesterday is resisting to-morrow.

The Zionist may be inspired by the past, but he lives in the present and he is building for the future. He is building with difficulty because conditions do not allow him first to clear the ground. He is indeed engaged in an entirely novel experiment in colonisation. There have been many examples

of successful colonisation in which the new settlers have either exterminated or enslaved the aboriginal population. But the Jew in Palestine has to do what the British colonist has never done. He has to establish himself in such a way as to carry the Arab along with him in the march of progress. The Jew in his eagerness to develop, the Arab, angry and sullen if he belongs to the small class of the educated, stolid and immovable if he be peasant or wage-earner, are apt to regard each other as a hindrance or a nuisance.

Great Britain is responsible for the government of Palestine. There are a few Christian Arabs in the administration and one or two English Jews. But the officials are for the most part eminently British and entirely detached, with a social life as exclusive as the life generally led by British officials in India. What was a German colony on the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem is now the British official colony with its sports club and its pleasant bungalows, with tea-parties, sedate dinners and bridge for moderate stakes. The High Commissioner is tireless in making personal acquaintance with the leaders of the various parties, but the officials generally, with two or three exceptions, have no contacts with Jew or Arab out of office hours. Nor is there any evident appreciation of the root problems of Palestine.

Here are the three factors of an immensely interesting political and economic situation—the Jew, modern, enterprising, ambitious; the Arab, bewildered, sullen, resentful; the British administrator, conscientious, narrow-visioned, perhaps a little bored.

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## Starving Social Services

MRS. I. M. SIEFF, who is shortly starting on a Zionist mission to South Africa, was entertained at a farewell luncheon last week by the Federation of Women Zionists. In the course of her speech, Mrs. Sieff insisted that the desperate condition of Jews in Germany and Poland and their precarious position in Rumania, Lithuania and Austria, made it urgently important that immigration to Palestine should be made as easy as possible and that the Mandate should be carried out in both letter and spirit.

Mrs. Sieff went on to criticise the financial policy of the British administration in Palestine, which obtains a large revenue from the enterprise and industry of the Jewish settlers and from the import of Jewish capital—private capital, voluntary national funds of the Jewish Agency, and of semi-public utility bodies such as the Palestine Economic Corporation of America and corporations with their headquarters in this country. Mrs. Sieff said that there is no exaggeration in the claim that over 90 per cent. of the capital owned by the Palestine Government and of its revenue comes directly or indirectly from Jews. Trans-Jordan is an area twice the size of Cisjordan, but its revenue is only £261,000 per annum, less than that of Tel-Aviv, and this fact is due to the prohibition of Jewish settlement in Transjordan.

The Government has a budgeting surplus and a currency cover amounting together to £13,000,000, all of which is invested in British Government and other Empire securities. Not one single piastre is invested in Palestine. Elsewhere surpluses go back into the country to the people who have produced them, and if they grow too great, taxation is reduced.

The policy of the Administration and the Currency Board is the more remarkable since, as is recognised by the City of London, Palestine offers splendid security to the investor: Mrs. Sieff referred to the loan at 4 per cent. of Lloyds Bank to the Palestine Foundation Fund, to the City's large participation in the Palestine Electric Corporation, the Anglo-Palestine Bank, and other enterprises. Quite recently a loan of approximately £200,000 has been granted to the Vaad Leumi by a prominent English insurance company for the building of Jewish schools. Despite the large proportion of the Government revenue supplied from Jewish sources, the Jewish population of Palestine receives an entirely inadequate share of the Government expenditure on social services. The administration ignores the proportion of the Jewish contribution to taxation, and the Jewish needs for public health and education. It does not even base its expenditure on the present proportion of Jews to the whole population.

This policy forces the Jewish Agency to devote a large part of its income, derived from voluntary contributions from Jews all over the world, to those social services which the Palestinian administration starves, in contrast to the policy of the British Government which heavily subsidises similar local services in this country.

The funds of the Jewish Agency are urgently needed for the training of the thousands of young people whose only hope is in Palestine, and for settlement and colonisation work in Palestine itself. Justice demands the adoption by the Palestine administration of a wise, generous and far-seeing policy, which will facilitate the growth of the Jewish national home and the general development of the country for the good of all its inhabitants.

Mrs. Sieff rejoiced that the recent debates in the House of Lords and the House of Commons showed an understanding not only of the Jewish situation and Jewish needs, but also of their harmony with Imperial interests.

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## The Legislative Council

THE Arab leaders have accepted the invitation of Sir Arthur Wauchope on behalf of Mr. Thomas to send a delegation to London in a few weeks to submit their viewpoints concerning the Legislative Council. There will be five leaders, comprising—Ragheb Nashashibi, Jamal Husseini, Mahmud Abukhadra, Abdul Latif Saleh, and Yacov Hussein, who are going to London. Sir Arthur Wauchope said that Mr. Thomas had authorised him to say that “the Jewish deputation which he received made strong representations against the creation of a Legislative Council at the present

time, and he would welcome a corresponding opportunity of hearing an expression of Arab opinion." Mr. Thomas telegraphed that he understood that in general the Arab parties wanted the Legislative Council established on broader lines than proposed by Britain, and asking for certain alterations; therefore, he authorised Sir Arthur Wauchope to invite the delegation.

Sir Arthur Wauchope thought that the delegation should not exceed six people, emphasising that the question to be discussed was one of major policy, in which the final decision would rest with the British Government. Answering a question, Sir Arthur said that the deputation would be free to submit views on land sales and immigration restrictions, although the principal topic would be the Legislative Council. The Arabs asked to transmit to the Colonial Office their acceptance of the invitation and expressed a desire that a Christian Arab should be included.

An important and striking article on the proposal for establishing the Legislative Council has appeared in the *Economist*, which says:

"The mandate requires the Mandatory Power to do two things: to promote the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, and to develop self-government in Palestine—for the Palestinian population as a whole, irrespective of internal differences of nationality. We insisted upon having the mandate for Palestine assigned to us. We also virtually dictated the terms on which the Council of the League endorsed the action of the Principal Allied Powers, and made itself responsible for supervising our mandatory administration. If the terms are hard to reconcile, that is the nemesis of our own policy during the war, when we made promises to both Jews and Arabs, with an eye to enlisting their support against our opponents, without pausing to consider very closely whether these promises could be reconciled.

"The truth is that we have deliberately turned Palestine into a bi-national country. Each of the two communities looks forward to a future in which it will not only possess a majority in the population, but will be able to assert the sweeping rights which are customarily accorded to majorities in parliamentary democratic countries where the population is not divided against itself by national differences. Now in a bi-national country it is impossible to introduce a constitution of this kind without placing the numerically weaker community totally and permanently at the mercy of the stronger. Accordingly the proposed new Palestine constitution departs from the standard democratic type in two ways. On the one hand, it assigns a fixed quota of members in the Legislative Council to the Moslem, Jewish and Christian communities respectively—with a separate electoral roll and separate constituencies for each. On the other hand, it leaves the last word with the High Commissioner in holding the balance.

"Such a constitution will please neither Arabs nor Jews; yet it represents the maximum amount of self-government that can be granted to the people of Palestine without precipitating an internecine inter-communal struggle. For, while Jews and Arabs have got on unexpectedly well together in the field of municipal self-government, co-operation between them on the Legislative Council would be much more difficult if the Council were given the far-reaching powers of the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

## Jerusalem Calling

THE Palestine Government should provide generously for the Broadcasting Service, recently inaugurated by the High Commissioner, for if ever subsidies were justified, they are in this case. The Government has no press of its own. The Jewish press is well organised and exerts a powerful influence over one of the most literate people in the world. The circulation of the Arab press is expanding, as more and more Arabs pass through the schools provided by public funds. It, too, is very influential. The Government has no means of directly reaching the population, and its point of view remains unknown to the great majority. Broadcasting offers the Government an unrivalled opportunity of approaching directly all sections of the population; it will enable the Government to explain its actions and its policy on all matters, great and small. It is to be hoped that in poor villages and communities the administration will encourage interest in broadcasting by subsidising the sale of locally produced receiving sets.

The main transmitter of the Ramallah station has a power of 20 kilowatts. A high-power transmission was considered impossible at this early stage, particularly as the authorities wish to concentrate on programmes for Palestine audiences. For events of more than local interest it is expected that the B.B.C. will co-operate with the Palestine station in relaying them to this country. The Christmas broadcast of the Bethlehem Bells has shown us that this can be done successfully.

Other events of more than local interest, such as the Easter celebrations, the Purim carnival, and the opening of the Tel-Aviv Fair, are also suitable for transmission to this country, and there is a good deal to be said for occasionally broadcasting to wider audiences special performances by the world-famous Ohel and Habimah players.

Like all other cultural institutions, the Palestine Broadcasting Service should reflect and improve the national life of the country it serves, strengthening its virtues and revealing its faults. The British public has a deep-rooted aversion to the exploitation of public services by individuals for private profit, and the B.B.C. has consistently refused to "sell time on the air" to private corporations or individuals for advertising purposes. The belief that broadcasting should be used for cultural and entertainment purposes only is, it is understood, shared by the Palestine authorities.

Controversial subjects should not be entirely excluded from the programmes. On the contrary, it is all to the good that questions affecting the life of the country should be occasionally discussed. Even a partisan viewpoint can be expressed without giving offence, if it is expressed by authoritative and responsible spokesmen, who will refrain, in the interests of their own cause, from making provocative statements. Indeed, the opening of the Palestine Radio Station may, under wise guidance, encourage that spirit of co-operation which is so urgently needed for the full development of the country.

That the Jews will make full use of the cultural opportunity now offered to them is proved by the programme of the opening night. In addition to the official speeches, it included an address by the Hebrew poet, author of

*Noah Pandre*, Salman Schnoeur, on the late Chaim Nachman Bialik, also a Hebrew recitation by Rowina, the famous star of the Habimah Theatre, and recitations of "Megillath Haesh" (Scroll of Fire), by Bialik, and from the Song of Songs; also Hebrew melodies by the tenor Vittorio Weinberg. The musical section of the opening programme of the Hebrew Hour was devoted to the works of the Palestine composer, the late Joel Engel.

The Hebrew Hour will begin every evening at 8.5 p.m. Palestine time; it will commence with the news and an historical summary of leading Jewish events. Sections from the Prophets will be read on the Sabbath and Sabbath songs will be sung.

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## Supervision of Banks

THE Banking Amendment Ordinance came into force on March 11th. It will enable the Government to exercise constant supervision over banking enterprises in future, and should give additional security and confidence. Unfortunately the Government have at the last moment given way to the pressure of the foreign banks on the principle underlying the Ordinance. When it was first projected, exception was taken to the proposal that home banks were to publish an Annual Statement in the *Palestine Gazette* and in a local newspaper, while the Statements of foreign banks were not to be subjected to the same public scrutiny. If a comprehensive picture of economic conditions was to be available, the figures for the foreign banks were essential.

The Government have now decided that all the detailed information they require is to be submitted to the Registrar of Companies and to the Treasury, but none of it is to be available to the public. The Government have in fact adopted the worst of all policies. They have refused to overhaul and rationalise the banking system as a whole; they have abandoned publicity of accounts. They have, however, assumed complete responsibility for regulating the banks. This is both rash and foolish.

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## Survey of Palestine

MORE than sixty years ago Lord Kitchener, then a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, was concerned in a survey of Palestine undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund. It is thought that a new survey is necessary and it is expected to begin almost at once under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the British Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology.

# Palestine

Vol. XI

April 22nd, 1936

No. 9

## The Disturbances in Jaffa

FROM cables received from Palestine, it is possible to give a more or less consecutive account of the happenings in Jaffa during the last few days, resulting in a large number of Jewish victims—fifteen dead and over fifty wounded. On Wednesday evening, April 15th, Israel Hazan, a Jew, was killed and several others were wounded while travelling on the Tulkarem-Nablus road, off the main Haifa-Jerusalem road. The attack was accompanied by robbery, but only the Jewish passengers were attacked.

On April 16th, unknown persons penetrated a lonely Arab shack between Raanana and Kfar Saba, and shot two Arabs. One was killed outright, while the other died in hospital after having declared that the assailants resembled Jews. Police dogs, however, traced footprints to a house occupied by Arab workmen.

On Friday, April 17th, the funeral of Israel Hazan, the victim of Wednesday night's hold-up, took place at midday in Tel-Aviv. It was largely attended. Mr. Rokach, the acting Mayor, spoke on behalf of the municipality, and large crowds sang the "Hatikvah" at the cemetery. Subsequently a clash occurred between the police and Jewish youths who attempted to demonstrate in the streets. Several youths were injured by truncheons, while a few British-Jewish constables were stoned. The police, after warning, fired shots into the air, whereupon the demonstrators dispersed.

It is the general impression, supported, it seems, by preliminary investigations, that the Tulkarem hold-up by brigands had an anti-Jewish character, since Arab cars were not touched and a German passenger in a Jewish car was not molested. An Arab suspect was arrested on April 18th.

At the demonstration following the funeral of the Jewish victim at Tel-Aviv, eleven were arrested and four were taken to hospital, including one Jewish policeman. Others were only slightly injured. There were minor incidents when small groups of young men drove out an Arab carriage and the Arab drivers and bootblacks coming as usual from Jaffa for the Sabbath trade. The Government had warned the Press to avoid incitement in connection with the two recent murders, and nothing further happened on Saturday.

On Sunday, April 19th, as a result of the spreading of rumours that Jews were killing Arabs, Arabs made attacks on Jews in the streets, and five Jews were taken to hospital. Later the mob assembled at the Jaffa branch of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, and began to attack Jewish pedestrians and Jewish omnibuses. Two Jews were killed and thirty wounded. The police had to fire on the mob, killing two Arabs.

According to a later account the disturbances began on Sunday morning

with the stoning of Jewish buses and attacks on Jewish pedestrians by Arabs, causing a clash between the Arab mob and the police, who were defending the Jews. The mob also attacked the police, who fired, killing two Arabs at the same place where two Jews were killed, near the Anglo-Palestine Bank; but no attacks were made on the Bank. Crowds of Jews assembled at one end of the Jaffa-Tel-Aviv road, whilst the Arabs gathered at the other end. A police cordon at the border stopped all traffic on the road, as well as the traffic between Tel-Aviv and the colonies and Jerusalem. Quiet was restored as a result of the strong stand made by the police.

An official communiqué published by the High Commissioner on the Jaffa disturbances stressed the fact that the Jews were attacked by Arabs, while the death of two Arabs was the result of firing by the police. The official communiqué issued late on Sunday reads as follows :

"The High Commissioner regrets to announce that the disturbances which occurred at Jaffa this morning involved several casualties. Owing to false rumours, which were at once officially contradicted, that Arabs had been killed, crowds assembled at about 11 a.m. at the Manshie quarter of Jaffa and disturbances took place, in the course of which several attacks were made on Jews. The police promptly intervened, and by the early afternoon order was restored and the situation was completely under control. The casualties known so far are 7 Jews killed, 11 seriously injured, 28 slightly injured, 2 Arabs killed, 1 seriously and 14 slightly injured. Three rounds were fired, under the direct control of the superior police officers, after due warning had been given—one round when the crowd refused to disperse, two rounds in order to stop a murderous assault which was actually in progress. The death of two Arabs was the result of these shots. As a precautionary measure a defence Order-in-Council has been proclaimed empowering the High Commissioner to put emergency regulations into operation. Curfew will be imposed at Jaffa and Tel-Aviv; the inhabitants must be within doors by 7 p.m. until 5 a.m. No incidents are reported in any other part of the country."

From later messages received on Monday it transpires that ten Jews are dead as a result of Sunday's disturbances, while fourteen injured are still in hospital, and twenty-six are slightly wounded. A number of Englishmen were injured at Jaffa, including Mr. Alan Park, a Jerusalem city engineer, with his wife and child. The nationalist Arab party of Nablus met on Sunday afternoon, and decided to proclaim a general strike until "full Arab demands had been granted." The Political Department of the Jewish Agency is maintaining constant touch with the Government. Mr. Shertok visited the Chief Secretary on Sunday afternoon, and was later received by Sir Arthur Wauchope.

The funeral of the ten Jewish victims, including those who have not yet been identified owing to their faces being mutilated, started at 7 a.m. on Monday morning. Mr. Ben Gurion, Mr. Shertok, and Mr. Ben Zvi proceeded to Tel-Aviv to attend the funeral. The national institutions are flying the flags at half-mast. It was quiet during the night, and Arab workers came in to the Jewish colonies as usual.

Despite the early hour, a huge crowd gathered at Tel-Aviv for the funeral of the Jewish victims. Crowds left the Hadassah hospital and proceeded via the municipality to the cemetery. The first speaker was Mr. Dizengoff, the Mayor of Tel-Aviv. The crowds continued to increase. Large police forces and troops in the city maintained order,



According to the latest information that has reached us on Monday, Arabs have renewed their attacks on Jews. At 7 a.m. on Monday a group of Arabs attacked Jews at Hacarmel Street, near Tel-Aviv and Jaffa. A clash resulted, and three Jews as well as Arabs were injured. The police rapidly arrived. Normal work is proceeding at the Haifa Harbour; immigrants are landing safely, and there is tranquillity both in the town and in the Emek, also in Jerusalem, where Arab shops are open.

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## Palestine and European Peace

**I**N a pamphlet which Messrs. Hutchinson have just published, Mr. J. W. Dunne, best known perhaps for his books on the metaphysics of time, propounds what he describes as a solution of the present European crisis. He believes in regional systems of security and peace, and the title of his pamphlet, *The League of North West Europe*, perhaps indicates the system that he has in mind for this country. There are to be four members of this League—England, France, Belgium and Germany—and only four, for Italy he purposely excludes for reasons not of morals or politics, but purely of geography. He is attracted by the idea of this north-west corner of Europe as an impregnable keep in the castle of peace. "It seems," he writes, "almost as if providence itself had built this citadel of peace and was waiting, smiling, to see when we should notice it." Only an imaginative thinker, as Mr. Dunne undoubtedly is, could envisage a smiling face of providence behind the cloud-wrack of international politics in the Europe of to-day. It lies outside the scope of this publication to discuss the general arguments by which Mr. Dunne supports his projected League. It is sufficient to say that there is much in them to attract the student of the strategy of peace. But what makes the pamphlet more original and attractive still is that he does, however imperfectly, connect the problem of peace and the problem of the Jewish persecutions. He sees very clearly that the chief obstacle to his proposal in this country is the indignation here at the German treatment of the Jews. "Ought we to make friends with this Mammon of unrighteousness?"—that is the state of mind which Mr. Dunne has to overcome. Before the Jewish persecutions began in Germany, Herr Hitler's projects of peace in the West would have had an entirely enthusiastic reception in this country.

Mr. Dunne sees that the two problems cannot well be separated, and he wants this country as an honest friend of peace also to befriend the Jews in Germany. He does not see how we can effectively question Germany's abstract right to expel all foreign elements in her population that she may dislike. We should have no right even to censure her if she observed one condition, namely that she should compensate in accordance with the elementary rules of equity those who having trusted to her proffered hospitality suffer financial loss from its sudden withdrawal. And he goes on to

argue that we are bound in honour to assist Germany to give this compensation.

"It was we," he writes, "who sponsored, published, and boomed that ridiculous fabrication, the alleged Protocol of the Elders of Zion," and he accuses us when we discovered our mistake of having made "little or no attempt to overtake the harm we had done." Accordingly, he suggests a long-term loan to Germany at nominal interest, such loan to be applied to the purpose of compensating the dispossessed Jews. It would not, he says, be a great price to pay for our honour. Also, as one suspects he thinks, without some such price there is no chance for his projected League of the West. The selfish argument for accepting Herr Hitler's offer, or Mr. Dunne's modification of it, is overwhelming; it is in morals that the project sticks. You may argue to your own satisfaction against the moral scruples of a million English men and women, but only a convincing moral gesture will argue them away.

Mr. Dunne, then, has done a real service by connecting the problem of peace in Europe with the righting or at any rate the alleviation of Jewish wrongs. But he is as short-sighted with one eye as he is keen-sighted with the other. He forgets Palestine. It is of no use turning Jews out of Germany, even with compensation, unless there is another country to which they can go with some reasonable prospect of liberty to make a worthy destiny for themselves and their race. We could have shown our sympathy with the Jewish victims of oppression by a broad imaginative handling of the Mandate, and that official England has been so slow to rise to the opportunity in Palestine of constructive imperial statesmanship will become one of the classic examples of the limitations of the Civil Service mind, however accomplished and conscientious.

That could have been done—could still be done—without any question of a loan to Germany; but if you could at the same time lay the foundations of a genuine reconciliation between England and Germany, it would vindicate even more eloquently the truth that of all races the Jew is the closest and the most natural ally of peace. He is the true internationalist in sentiment.

Mr. Dunne overlooks Palestine even when he is discussing the reasons for leaving Italy out of his projected League. He doubts whether we should be well advised to attempt control of the Suez Canal in the event of war with Italy and Japan, and suggests that a trans-African strategic railway leading to a Near East coast naval base might prove a possible alternative. With Haifa still undeveloped as an airport and as a link in our air communications with India, and with a mandate in Palestine to fulfil, there can be no thought of scuttling from the Mediterranean, but perhaps Mr. Dunne is thinking of the vulnerability of the Canal itself from the air and not of our naval power in the Mediterranean. But there is a simpler alternative to his trans-African railway. The wealth of Solomon came from the overland route from Akabah to the Mediterranean; and the best insurance against the blocking of the Canal would be a short length of railway along the same trade route between Arabia and the Mediterranean which Solomon found so profitable before a Suez Canal was ever thought of.

## Road and Rail Transport

THE Government's advisers on transport found themselves caught in a vicious circle. Owing to the competition of road transport the railways showed for a time a small annual deficit amounting on an average to about 8 per cent. of the revenue. Because they did not pay there was fear of investing substantial amounts for capital improvement. The advisers on transport were even more opposed to the extension of the roads, even though, as a result of the petrol tax, these showed a revenue some eight times greater than the loss on the railways.

The Government's anxiety was seen in the frequent resort to the advice of British experts. Sir Felix Pole, late General Manager of the Great Western Railway, one of the latest to be consulted, has, after a detailed investigation in Palestine, recommended the policy adopted by the British railway lines, when some five years ago they were hard pressed by deficits and road competition. They modernised and improved their services, offered cheap night and week-end rates and co-ordinated road with rail services. This has enabled them again to pay dividends.

Sir Felix Pole proposed the construction of a new line, at an estimated cost of £5,000,000, from Jaffa to Magdiel, through the Sharon, the improvement of communications between Jaffa and Haifa by eliminating delays at Lydda, the construction of a joint passenger station for Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, the present stations to be adapted for goods traffic, and the railway extended from Jaffa station to the port. All these proposals have been shelved. They are regarded as "unjustified at this juncture on the ground of expense."

On the other hand the Government promises to spend some £850,000 on additional locomotives and rolling stock, shunting lines and port improvements at Jaffa and Haifa. This is clearly an instalment.

The characteristic feature of railway finance is that it requires an initial expenditure of capital very large in proportion to annual working expenses. Moreover, the working expenses are to a considerable extent independent of the number of persons served or the amount of goods carried. The cost of running a train is practically the same whether one passenger travels on it or a hundred; the drivers and conductors must be paid, fuel supplied, track kept in repair, and management expenses met. Hence the cost of production per unit of service falls rapidly as the number of persons served increases, while a reduction in the use of the plant brings with it less than a proportional reduction in expense.

This year the deficit on the railways has been wiped out. They show indeed a large profit. The revenue provides for a profit on the capital invested, provided that the capital expenditure is not included as running expenses. But railway development cannot and should not be expected to yield an adequate return in revenue as soon as it is undertaken. The most common error in railway development, it is true, has been to spend tens of millions

decades before they could be expected to pay. It is arguable that the much-discussed railway line from Haifa to Damascus falls into this category. But Sir Felix Pole's proposals belong to the type of extension likely to pay in a very short time.

Another common error is to view road and rail transport as rivals. For short-distance journeys they may in fact prove to be so. But this is a narrow and mistaken view. The task of the Palestine Administration should be not merely to co-ordinate road and rail, but to make a joint service of them. Cheap, frequent and efficient railway and bus lines stimulate home and tourist travel, encourage trade, help to develop the natural resources of the country and the potentialities of its people. A regular two-hourly service between the two busiest towns, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa and Haifa, taking no more than one and a half hours by rail, would enable the railways to offer a satisfactory alternative service to the service which the best bus routes could provide.

The transport system of Palestine can be made to carry out its vital function of aiding the development of the country only if principles of industrial statesmanship are adopted, and not mere book-keeping maxims. One department should be concerned to develop the transport system as a whole, viewing its commercial and strategic needs, and not forgetting the amenities. The merging of the revenues of these different branches would result immediately in a surplus of about half a million annually. This, together with another half-million from the budget, should be spent over the next four years on a programme of capital extension for the transport services to make good palpable deficiencies and shortcomings.

Sir Felix Pole's proposals for the completion of the Haifa-Tel-Aviv road and for radical improvements at the ports could then be carried out. The expenditure of this amount over four years would improve the capital equipment of the country and stimulate its economic life; its mere announcement would increase confidence in the future of the country.

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## Jewish Labour in the Ports

THE failure of officials in Palestine to play a creative part in the carrying out of those clauses of the Mandate which refer to the Jewish National Home is strikingly illustrated by their reluctance, to use no stronger word, to give to Jewish labour its due opportunity in the public works carried out by the Government. There can be no doubt that there is implicit in the Mandate the obligation to employ a reasonable proportion of Jewish workers on all enterprises carried out under Government auspices. Not only did Great Britain undertake in the Balfour Declaration to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home, which surely must mean that the employment of Jewish labour cannot be a matter of indifference to the administration, but this point is specifically dealt with in an important sentence

which was included in the famous letter which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as Prime Minister, addressed to Dr. Weizmann in February 1931. That sentence runs as follows: "With regard to public and municipal works falling to be financed out of public funds, the claim of Jewish labour to a due share of the employment available, taking into account Jewish contributions to public revenue, shall be taken into consideration."

Now the Jewish population forms nearly a third of the whole, and it is agreed on all sides that the Jewish contribution to public revenue forms much more than half of the total. Nevertheless the number of Jews employed by the Government on public works is nearly always insignificant and, astonishing as it may sound, often non-existent. The repeated protests of the Jewish Agency have had little effect, and it has become clear that only the pressure of public opinion in this country is likely to produce the radical change which is necessary to bring the policy of the Administration in this respect into harmony with the spirit of the Mandate.

It is impossible to examine the whole field of public works in a single article, but the deficiencies of Government policy may be illustrated by figures taken from the administration of the ports.

About 500 porters are regularly employed by the Port Management at Haifa on a system of direct labour. At the Port of Jaffa about 400 porters are employed under a Government contractor. In addition, hundreds of labourers are engaged casually for portage work at those ports.

The whole of this force consists exclusively of Arab labour. What is more remarkable still, among the 500 men employed at Haifa about 100 are Egyptian immigrants, while a large proportion of the casual porters are Hauranis, Arab immigrants.

In other sections of port work under the charge of the Government the same practice of exclusion of Jewish labour prevails. About sixty men are employed in operating the water craft in the two ports; no single one of them is a Jew. Again, there is no single Jew among the Customs guards at the port of Haifa, who number over ninety, while at Jaffa there are only four Jews out of a total of eighty Customs guards.

This state of affairs is obviously quite indefensible, and the indignation which the publication of these facts from time to time arouses is not difficult to understand. The officials in Palestine have only themselves to blame if it is difficult to believe that many of them are really desirous of carrying out the Mandate.

The bias shown in the selection of labour in the ports is not only an affront to the Jewish community in Palestine, but is economically unjust. The bulk of the goods imported and exported through Haifa and Jaffa is Jewish. The vast majority of the passengers landing and embarking at both ports are Jews. In brief, the development of the ports of Palestine and the great increase in the number of people employed in them have been essentially the result of Jewish immigration and development. It cannot be held to be unreasonable that the Jews should claim a fair share of the employment they have created, and it is to be hoped that the Government will take the earliest

opportunity of rectifying a patent injustice to that section of the population which has transformed Haifa and Jaffa from insignificant country towns into important ports.

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## The Legislative Council

CURRENCY has been given to a report that Dr. Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, has addressed a letter to the High Commissioner for Palestine in which he is alleged to have stated that the Jews might participate in the Legislative Council on certain conditions.

The report, which has been officially repudiated by the Jewish Agency as wholly without foundation, was based on an account given in the Arab paper *Alliwa*. The conditions said to have been set forth by Dr. Weizmann included a guarantee of a quota of annual Jewish immigration into Palestine of at least 50,000 during the next five years, the opening of Transjordan to Jewish settlement, a literacy test for voters, the legalisation of the so-called illegal Jewish immigrants in Palestine, and a number of other conditions.

In an official statement, issued by the Jewish Agency both in London and Jerusalem, it is pointed out that there have been no negotiations between Dr. Weizmann and the High Commissioner for the participation of the Jews in the proposed Legislative Council, and no conditions have been suggested subject to which Jews might be prepared to enter the Council. The report is pure invention.

In the statement by the Jewish Agency it is pointed out that there has in fact been no change in the policy of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as regards its declared decision not to participate in the Council as at present proposed.

According to latest reports from Jerusalem the various Arab parties have not yet come to any agreement as to the composition of the Arab delegation to London. While some of the parties seem to have agreed to consider favourably the scheme to establish a Legislative Council in Palestine, other groups insist that they can only participate if the Government agree to amend their proposals.

A number of meetings were held by the Arab parties to discuss the composition of the Arab delegation, which is due to arrive in London some time early in May, but no decision has been arrived at as to its composition. Ragheb Nashashibi, the leader of the Arab Defence Party, is said to be strongly opposed to the inclusion of the Grand Mufti in the delegation to London, while several leaders of the Istaklal Party are said to be opposed to any co-operation with the British Government and are therefore urging their party not to be associated with the delegation to London. It is also reported that the Grand Mufti is hostile to his party's participation in the delegation to London.

# Palestine

Vol. XI

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No. 10

## The Eloquence of Facts

WITH a detailed account of the Arab disturbances we publish in this issue an impressive survey of the progress, almost entirely owing to Jewish enterprise, of Palestine in the last few years. The mere figures are impressive in themselves, and will surprise even those who know in a general way that an immense work is being done in Palestine. If this country had progressed in population, industry and wealth in the same proportion since the war as Palestine, we should now have a population of 150 millions, our revenue would be over £1,000 millions, and surplus this year would have been no less than £250 millions sterling. Nor has the advancement in Palestine been confined to one section, but it is diffused through all classes. The Arab population is increasing; in one of the main industries of the country, orange growing, the increase of land under cultivation by Arab proprietors has increased even faster than the land in Jewish ownership. Palestine, in fact, is relatively to pre-war days the most prosperous, one might say, the only prosperous country in the world. Nowhere else is there serious work of colonisation in progress.

This progress, which should be studied in the elaborate figures that we give is the more remarkable because it owes nothing to Government subsidy or to the discovery of precious metals which forces development at an unnaturally rapid pace. It is due simply and solely to the force of an idea, Zionism, and to the love borne by the Jews for the land of their classic history. The tale of material progress could be supplemented if only it were possible for figures to document the spiritual quickening of the country. The smallest country of the New East is rapidly becoming once more the most important; and that in the domain of faith and ideas as well as of material progress. It is this ideal aspect that makes the whole world tributary to Palestine; the advancement that can be expressed in figures is due solely to the spiritual ideal that is the Zionism, and is a pale reflection of a moral enthusiasm such as no other country in the world has been able to draw upon since the war. Is Palestine not the one certain and permanent good that has come out of the war?

The figures of our contributor are published at an appropriate moment, when the country is disturbed by serious riots. They put these discontents in their true perspective as the artificial ferment of a mere handful of bigots. The Jew asks nothing from the Arab except that he should love Palestine, that he should recognise that he owes his own liberty to the same charter as brought the Jews there, and that thanks to Zionism the world is tributary not to the Jew only but to Palestine, but, therefore, equally to the Arab.

Does the British Government realise what it owes to Zionism and its alliance with Great Britain and the East? Not always or to the full imaginative extent. Never before in our history has the whole world been laid under tribute for the benefit of one country's external policy. What a contribution Zionist Palestine brings—a Dominion except in name that develops by its inherent effort without strain on our resources, improved communications by the air with India, greater safety of our sea communications, a bulwark of our position in the Mediterranean, an alternative route to the Canal, an emporium of oil for the navy. The British Government in Palestine has great virtues, but sometimes one thinks of its unimaginative officialdom in the terms of Bunyan's parable of the man who works, eyes cast down, with the muck-rake, and does not see that someone is standing by and offering him a Crown.

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## The Arab Disturbances

CABLES received every day since the last issue of PALESTINE enable us to print a more detailed account of the continued disturbances than has appeared in the daily Press.

It cannot be said that Mr. Thomas' replies to questions in the House of Commons have been satisfactory. He was asked, for example, whether he thought that recent events in Palestine ought to confirm the Administration in its view that Palestine is now ripe for a Legislative Council, and he made the following reply: "I hope the hon. member does not intend to convey that any decision of this House or expression of opinion of this House is responsible for the disorder." It will be seen that the answer has not the smallest connection with the question. It is also remarkable that the High Commissioner's first communiqué printed in Palestine last week, in which it was, in contrast with the statement in the House, expressly said that the Arabs had attacked the Jews, was omitted in Mr. Thomas's statements.

While the official communiqués during the week were consistently optimistic, isolated incidents continued to be reported from Palestine; the road between Lydda and Jerusalem was closed to motors as being unsafe, and in other places Jewish lorries and omnibuses could journey only under a military convoy; Arab shops were shut and work in Jaffa port was suspended. This was the situation on Friday morning.

The comparative responsibility of the two parties is suggested by the trial in Jaffa last Thursday of six Arabs and two Jews in connection with the disturbances. The Arabs were charged with being in possession of firearms and other weapons, and illegal assembly; they were sentenced to terms of from three to one month's imprisonment each, whilst the two Jews, who were in possession of pocket knives, were fined £5 each.

The charge that Jewish youths fired at a police patrol in Tel-Aviv on



Wednesday evening is denied by the Tel-Aviv municipality, which has sent to the Government a demand for an official enquiry.

Six thousand Jewish inhabitants of Jaffa have taken refuge in Tel-Aviv; the Government has agreed to be partially responsible for their support.

Friday passed quietly, but on Saturday evening two Jewish shops were fired in Jerusalem and there were cases of Arabs firing Jewish properties in other parts of the country. One of the shops destroyed in Jerusalem was rented from the Armenian Church.

(The Arab strike continued, but at a meeting in Jerusalem on Saturday the moderates made an effort to bring it to an end on the ground that shutting Arab shops had meant increased business for the Jewish shops. The meeting concluded with the passing of a resolution to continue the strike until the Government should agree to prohibit further Jewish immigration, to forbid the sale of land to Jewish purchasers and to appoint a National Government. These demands, which amount to the surrender of the policy of the Balfour Declaration, were signed by the Grand Mufti, a director of the Arab Bank, and the Mayor of Jerusalem.)

Despite the disturbances, the financial strength of the Jewish position in Palestine is evidenced by the fact that last week 300,000 shares in the Anglo-Palestine Bank of the nominal value of £1 were issued in London at 37s. 6d., and the demand many times exceeded the supply.

On Thursday, Dr. Weizmann made the opening speech at the Jewish Medical Congress at Tel-Aviv. Among the countries represented were England, France, Belgium, Austria, Latvia, Rumania, Poland and Holland. Dr. Weizmann said: "We will not be intimidated in our work of upbuilding, which will be continued with intensified energy; the Congress symbolises our reply to recent events; they are the explosions of the destructive forces of the desert, here is a force for the construction of civilisation. It is the ancient war of the desert against human progress. Our work will continue despite these disquieting occurrences."

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## A Survey of Recent Developments in Palestine

THE Jewish population has more than doubled during the last three years, whilst the Arab population has, in the same period, increased considerably. Capital to the extent of some £40 millions to £50 millions has been imported. There has been a substantial increase in the total output of the country, some products and services having multiplied fourfold in value. Foreign trade has almost trebled in value. The currency necessary for facilitating this increased activity has also trebled. Government revenue has more than doubled and the budgetary surplus is now in the neighbourhood of £7 millions.

This brief survey presents a comprehensive statistical account of the recent economic development of the country.

## POPULATION OF PALESTINE

	Total	Jewish	Moslem	Jewish as percentage of total population
1919	590,000	55,000	457,000	9%
1922	715,000	84,000	488,000	12%
1931	1,036,000	175,000	760,000	17%
1936	1,400,000 (estimate)	400,000	850,000	28%

Jewish population as a percentage of the total has increased from 17 to 28 per cent. during the last few years. There are to-day 56 Jews to every 100 Arabs.

The increase in population has been accompanied by a growth of urbanisation. A shift in the relative importance of the different towns has taken place. Tel-Aviv, with a population of 140,000, has become the leading municipality. Second place is disputed by Haifa and Jerusalem, each of which has a population of about 100,000, while Jaffa is fourth with some 60,000 inhabitants.

Immigration is responsible for most of the increase in population. This has proceeded at an increasing rate during the four-year period 1932-5.

## IMMIGRATION, 1932-5

	1932	1933	1934	1935
Total	11,289	31,977	44,143	64,146
No. of Jews	9,553	30,327	42,359	61,854
Capitalists (with minimum of £P.1,000)	754	3,267	5,193	6,296
No. of Jews	727	3,250	5,124	6,209

During the period when, for the world as a whole, the number of emigrants returning to their countries of origin exceeded the number of emigrants going out to new countries, Palestine absorbed 160,000 newcomers. Of these over 10 per cent. were in the capitalist category. Ninety-nine per cent. of the capitalist immigrants, 15,310 out of the 15,510 registered, were Jews.

An analysis of the occupations shows that 59.2 per cent. of the present Jewish population are engaged in manual occupations, in agriculture, industry and handicraft, transport, building and domestic service; 20 per cent. are engaged in trade; 14.8 per cent. in the professions and arts. Some 6 per cent. are living on their income or are being supported by their relatives.

There is a gradual but significant increase in the numbers engaged in industry, handicraft, transport and building. At the same time there is a relative decrease in the numbers engaged in agriculture—14 per cent. to-day as against 18 per cent. at the end of 1931.

As far back as 1885 Sir Robert Giffen pointed out that there was a close relation between the migration of capital and of people: "... in the earlier years of prosperity, a considerable lending of capital from old to new countries goes on, and this lending of capital promotes emigration from the

old countries to the new, helping to give greater employment for labour in the new countries than there would otherwise be."

A recent publication of the International Labour Office stresses the fact that migration only forms part of a whole: "Since demographic movements, which are both causes and effects, are always preceded or accompanied and followed by movements of capital and goods, not to mention services in the form of transport and commercial and other operations, and since the movements take place either directly between the country of emigration and that of immigration, or, more frequently, between a whole set of countries, each of which is affected in turn, any attempt to restrict immigration while encouraging the exchange of capital, goods and services, or vice versa, is sure to meet with considerable difficulties."

In the case of Palestine the import of capital has two noteworthy features. Some 90 per cent. of the capital was provided by Jews, and the greatest portion of it by Jews who immigrated together with their capital.

#### THE IMPORT OF CAPITAL

It is estimated that the Jews introduced into the country £3 millions in 1932, £9 millions in 1933, £12 millions in 1934, and £14 millions in 1935, making a total for the four years of £38 millions. During this same period a sum of more than £5½ millions was provided by the London money market. The loans were divided as follows:

Tel-Aviv Loan, 1935-60 ... ..	£1,000,000
Jewish National Council ... ..	200,000
Jewish Agency Loan, 1934-49 ... ..	500,000
Anglo-Palestine Bank ... ..	550,000
Jerusalem Electric ... ..	450,000
Palestine Electric ... ..	2,137,625
Palestine Potash ... ..	727,162
<hr/>	
Total ... ..	£5,564,787

In addition, the Palestine Government in the period under review invested in the country part of the loan of £4,475,000 raised in 1927.

The total capital owned by the Jews in Palestine is now estimated at over £100 millions.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF INVESTMENTS

Most of the capital introduced into the country during this period has been invested in agriculture—citriculture and mixed farming—industry and handicrafts, transport and building undertakings. During the four-year period under review the following investments were made by the Jews:

## INVESTMENTS IN PALESTINE 1932-5

	£
Plantations ... ..	5,300,000
Mixed Farming ... ..	1,050,000
Industries and handicrafts ...	4,000,000
Transport ... ..	1,450,000
Building ... ..	23,000,000
Land purchase ... ..	4,000,000
Total ...	£38,800,000

Some of the capital introduced was invested in banking and in increasing the deposits in the banks. The latter amounted to £6 millions in 1932, £12 millions in 1933, £15 millions in 1934 and £17 millions in 1935.

## PRODUCTIVE OUTPUT

Total Area of Citrus Groves in dunams (1 dunam—0.247 acre)

	Owned by Jews	Owned by Arabs	Total
1932 ...	86,000	74,000	160,000
1933 ...	120,000	84,000	204,000
1934 ...	150,000	115,000	265,000
1935 ...	165,000	135,000	300,000

During the season 1932-3 four and a half million cases were exported, in 1933-4 five and a half million cases and in 1934-5 seven million cases.

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION (in tons)

	1932	1933	1934	1935
Wheat ... ..	51,073	44,447	82,855	103,000
Barley ... ..	24,300	33,926	68,714	68,000
Total winter crops ...	81,235	83,840	158,675	—
Durra ... ..	15,452	8,860	42,423	46,000
Olives ... ..	6,559	3,599	25,000	—
Melons ... ..	32,125	20,434	40,510	69,000
Vegetables ... ..	24,371	21,305	36,465	—
Tobacco ... ..	571	402	500	—

There should be added stock farming, poultry raising and dairy farming, for which no satisfactory estimates are available.

## INDUSTRY

	No. of factories	No. of workers	Capital invested	Value of production
Government census, 1928, for whole country ...	3,305	17,955	3,515,000	3,886,000
Census of Jewish industries, 1930 ... ..	2,688	11,349	3,362,000	2,119,000
Census of Jewish industries, 1933 ... ..	3,388	19,595	5,371,000	5,352,000
Estimate of Jewish industries, 1935 ...	4,000	31,000	8,000,000	7,500,000

## URBAN BUILDING ACTIVITY

	1932	1933	1934	1935
No. of permits ...	5,947	7,369	8,174	—
Approx. value (£) ...	2,946,000	5,601,000	7,002,000	7,500,000

## SALE OF ELECTRIC POWER in kilowatt hours

	1932	1933	1934	1935
Palestine Electric ...	11,590,000	20,137,000	34,386,000	50,362,000

The Jerusalem Electric Corporation has also shown a steady increase in sales and serves about one-eighth of the population.

## TRANSPORT

<i>Shipping</i>	<i>Haifa</i>		<i>Jaffa</i>		Total	
	No. of vessels	Tonnage (000's)	No. of vessels	Tonnage (000's)	No. of vessels	Tonnage (000's)
1934 ...	1,404	3,469	1,114	2,454	2,518	5,923
1935 ...	1,818	4,901	1,130	2,407	2,948	7,308

	1932	1933	1934	1935
<i>Railways</i>				
No. of passengers carried	1,125,000	1,275,000	1,930,000	2,560,000
Tonnage transported	610,000	720,000	920,000	1,126,000
No. of trains ...	16,000	20,000	25,000	—

The gross revenue increased from £727,000 in 1934 to £863,000 in 1935, and the working expenses from £614,000 to £708,000. A substantial surplus is anticipated this year, as against the small deficit of last year.

The number of registered cars, lorries, omnibuses and motor cycles has rapidly increased. In 1932 4,400 were registered, in 1933 6,100, in 1934 10,200, and in 1935 14,000. The Government revenue from licences, customs dues on motor vehicles, petrol, lubricating oils and accessories rose from £400,000 in 1933 to £650,000 in 1934 and to £800,000 in 1935. The total cost of constructing and maintaining the roads has been twice covered by the revenue.

An estimate in a field where exact figures are altogether absent puts the value of the productive output of the Jewish section of the population at £20 millions per annum.

## FOREIGN TRADE

There are of course only two ways in which capital can be introduced into a country: by the import of bullion or by an excess of imports over exports.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS (in £000's)  
(including specie)

	Imports	Exports	Import surplus
1931 ...	5,942	2,049	3,893
1932 ...	7,924	4,131	3,793
1933 ...	11,268	3,801	7,467
1934 ...	15,426	4,400	11,026
1935 ...	18,375	4,697	13,678

The actual trade balance is three or four millions less than the visible trade balance, when account is taken of tourist services, educational services, remittances to relatives and the sums placed in the country by the Jewish national funds. An unfavourable balance is natural, inevitable and desirable whilst the immigrant Jews are bringing their capital with them and the country is undergoing rapid development.

The terms of the Mandate, it is true, have been interpreted in a manner which imposes a severe handicap on Palestine's trade relations. Palestine's products are not allowed imperial preference in the United Kingdom market. It is not in a position to make bilateral trade arrangements. Of course, when the citrus-fruit crops reach their maximum expansion (it takes seven years for the trees to bear fruit), and the potash company increases its output, this will put a different complexion on the export figures. But the essential fact to note is that whilst capital now in foreign countries is being transferred and invested in Palestine there must be an adverse trade balance.

It is clear that with the growth of internal and external trade a greater quantity of currency was required.

#### CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION

						£P.
March 31st, 1932	...	...	...	...	...	2,409,000
„ 1933	...	...	...	...	...	2,822,000
„ 1934	...	...	...	...	...	4,070,000
„ 1935	...	...	...	...	...	5,326,000
„ 1936	...	...	...	...	...	6,300,000

The currency cover is invested in trustee securities and now yields an annual income towards Palestine revenue of close on £200,000.

With the growth of imports, land transfers, the use of motor transport, etc., the revenue of the Government has steadily increased.

		Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus
		£P.	£P.	£P.
1932-3	...	3,015,917	2,516,394	499,523
1933-4	...	3,985,492	2,704,856	1,280,636
1934-5	...	5,452,633	3,230,010	2,222,623
1935 (9 months)		4,265,453	2,887,066	1,378,387

The budgetary surplus amounts to-day to £7 millions, i.e. more than twice the normal annual expenditure, and the engines have not yet been reversed.

This survey shows that there has been a rapid advance in every major department of economic activity. That it has been accompanied by stresses and strains, and that it has created a number of urgent problems, is only what was to be expected. But it is an unchallengable fact that no other part of the world administered within the British Empire has enjoyed such prosperity or registered such progress.

# Palestine

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## The Moral of the Disorder

JEWES go to Palestine as pioneers of a New World in the East and the task of pioneers is beset with toil and often by grave physical risks. They fully accept the dangers that are inseparable from their work, and indeed would cheerfully do more than they are allowed to protect themselves. But naturally they are anxious that the perils of pioneer work should not be artificially increased, and in particular they are sensitive to any suggestion that they have themselves contributed to the disorders from which they are the chief sufferers. The present disturbances are so like what has taken place before that they must be attributed to the same causes, but in one important respect they differ. It was formerly the fashion to put the blame on the Jews, either as after the first disturbances at Jaffa it was said that the Jewish immigrants provoked attack by bad manners or by their too ebullient ardour, or as after the riots that followed the incidents at the Wailing Wall it was alleged that they were the expression of genuine distress caused among the Arabs by their displacement on the land by Jews. But no one has even hinted that the Jews were in any way to blame for what has happened in the last fortnight. A telegraphic error did indeed make it appear as though the Jews at one point had early in the trouble given provocation, but the text of the High Commissioner's statement makes it clear that nothing of the kind happened and completely exonerates them from blame. Not only so but the High Commissioner's measures in defence of the peace were properly energetic, and regrettable though the loss of life has been, the police force, vastly improved on the old days, at no time let the situation get out of hand. Apart from these very important differences, similar incidents in the present and former troubles suggest a common cause and incidentally disprove the false explanations that obtained currency in the past.

The troubles have been sporadic rather than general, from which we may infer that some of the Arabs have learned common sense, and that only where the local circumstances are favourable are the mischief-makers able to stir passion to violence. The main centre of the trouble seems to have been in Jaffa and to have originated amongst Arabs from the Hauran, which is not a part of Palestine. Jerusalem was affected, but Haifa hardly at all. Once or twice transport has been interrupted on the roads, notably between Jaffa and Jerusalem and between Nablus and Tulkeram; there have been cases of arson, but outside a few places the actual violence has been confined to isolated assaults. It is clearly not true that Jews were in greater danger when they lived separated from the Arabs; on the contrary, though everyone should realise how important it is that the two races should mix freely and

anything in the nature of a racial boycott would be a grave mistake, it was in places like Jaffa where the Jews are mingled with the Arabs and are in a minority that they were in most danger. Nor must one infer from the general strike that there is a general sense of grievance amongst the Arabs. Any strike for any reason is popular for a few days because it is a holiday from work ; but the amount of opposition to the strike among the Arabs has been considerable and it has taught many of the strikers how much their employment owes to the Jews. The dominant impression left on one is one of disunion and divided counsels among the Arabs and even of very considerable conversion among the Arabs to the polity of moderation and reconciliation.

For all that, these recurrent disorders are still serious and it is as well that we should understand the causes. Between the Jew and the Arab there is no racial enmity ; both are Semites, and some of the most prosperous eras of Jewish prosperity in the past have been in association with the Arabs. Moreover, the Arabs as a whole have a good money sense, and if most of them are incapable of themselves achieving the conditions necessary for prosperity, they know prosperity when they feel it, and the Arab population of Palestine would not be growing as fast as it is unless there were prosperity. Nor can they fail to understand that it is to the Jews that they owe this prosperity or how much Palestine has to gain by having the whole world as her tributary of capital and brain. A generation ago Palestine was little more to the world than a museum of antiquity or the sacred floor of a chapel ; already for its size and for what one may call its leverage it is the most important country in the world. The Arab feels as much even if he does not know the causes. The truth is that these disturbances are not the natural expression of economic discontent or of racial animosity, but are due to the deliberate exploitation of certain characteristics of human nature that are not confined to Palestine or to the countries where two races have to live side by side. They are in fact a revolt against prosperity ; a clash not between races or religions but between the centuries. In mild forms it takes place in every country : even our own country has had its Luddite riots, and our revolution from a country predominantly agricultural to one whose wealth is mainly in commerce and manufacture was not entirely without violence. Its incidents indeed were different from those of Palestine ; but even in these if all progressive manufacturers and farmers had been Calvinistic Welshmen and all stick-in-the-mud farmers and workers in cottage industry had been Anglo-Saxons and members of the Church of England, there might have been some fairly close parallels even in the detailed expression of the quarrel.

The trouble in Palestine is that this conflict between the centuries, between progress and poverty, between obscurity and fame does largely run on racial lines, but it is not racial hostility that makes the conflict. It is the conflict of the old with the new age that makes the racial trouble. Ordinarily, the attraction of increased prosperity and power are sufficient to prevent it from taking the form of lawless violence and outrage ; but if there are people



sufficiently powerful and unscrupulous to incite the mob to violence for reasons wholly unconnected with its welfare, the consequences may be as serious as they are from time to time in Palestine. There are such people in Palestine and the Government knows well who they are.

Though the victims of outrage are usually Jewish, the Government can be under no illusion against whom it is really directed. The objects of the strike are stated to be the repudiation of the Balfour promise to the mandate. But without this mandate we should not be in Palestine at all; and without the Jews Palestine would be in much the same state of suspended animation as a colony like Trinidad, being a century and a half behind the times. We are a great colonising people in this sense, that no one since the Greeks has had the gift of making a new nation in a country that is empty or already occupied by any civilisation capable of offering resistance. We are not good colonisers in the sense that we mix well with alien civilisations or are very successful in developing backward estates into a new life of its own. For that reason it is a rare stroke of luck for this country to have a country like Palestine to which the whole world, through the Jews, is tributary of ideas, capital, brains, and energy such as no civil service, however good, can command. Moreover, short as is the time in which we have been in Palestine, it has revealed an ideality of interest which its welfare and strength and our own forcefulness in the East that could not escape the least imaginative amongst us. What, so many, even sixty years ago, would have rejected as a useless encumbrance and entanglement is now become the head stone of the corner in our Eastern Empire. As usual, thanks to the genius of a few men, our country has stumbled into luck which at least three other nations in Europe would exalt to have.

The obvious moral is that this Arab attack on the mandate is not essentially an attack on the Jews that are its victims, but on the foundations of our present position in Palestine and on our hopes of a future in the East more liberal than our past. But there is another moral too. How are we to prevent what we have called the conflict of the centuries from following social lines? Not by trying to conciliate one race or to buy its support. That is to advertise the very difference which we want to get rid of, to create a sense of grievance where none existed before, and to play into the hands of unscrupulous agitators. The way to get rid of it is to ignore race and to discharge our duty with but one single thought—to fulfil the mandate and to promote the advancement of this great country.

Despite all attempts to hold back the tide, a distinctive and successful national life, both industrial and cultural, is being developed at a surprisingly rapid pace. The success already assured of the Levant Fair is proof sufficient of industrial development. And nothing could more dramatically demonstrate the emergence of a general culture than the successful establishment by the famous Polish-Jewish pianist, Bronislaw Hubermann, of a Palestine Symphony Orchestra, which is shortly to be conducted by the great Toscanini, at a series of concerts.

# The Fair and the Riots

(From our Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, APRIL 30TH.

THE Levant Fair was opened this afternoon by the High Commissioner, and it is estimated that 15,000 people were present at the ceremony. Mr. Dizengoff, the Mayor of Tel-Aviv, welcomed His Excellency, and in his speech emphasised the great economic and industrial progress of Palestine since the last Fair two years ago. He said that during that time, hundreds of industrial and cultural institutions had been founded. Despite the difficult economic situation in the world, the number of countries that had sent their goods to the Fair was proof of the soundness of economic conditions in Palestine and the confidence in its progress felt by industrialists in other countries.

After Mr. Dizengoff's speech, which was enthusiastically applauded, the crowd listened to Mr. J. H. Thomas's radio speech. Mr. Thomas said :

"It gives me very real pleasure to participate in the opening ceremony of the international Levant Fair, which is once more, after an interval of two years, opening its doors at Tel-Aviv to the markets of the Near and Middle East.

"The growth of your remarkable city has been strikingly rapid, and that of the Levant Fair itself hardly less so. It began in 1925 as a small exhibition of local produce. Within the short space of eleven years, thanks to hard work, enthusiasm and the constructive imagination of those responsible for its inception, it has developed into an institution of which any great city of the world might properly be proud.

"Naturally the unhappy events of the last two weeks have cast a deep shadow upon this occasion. But I am confident that these sad happenings will not prevent the organisers of the Levant Fair from repeating and surpassing the remarkable success which they achieved two years ago.

"On behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom I wish the Levant Fair a great and memorable success and I extend a very cordial welcome to its exhibitors from whatever land they come."

After the radio from London, the High Commissioner declared the Fair open. He emphasised Palestine's importance as the bridge between East and West, and he expressed his satisfaction at the increasing buying capacity of the country. Referring to the recent outbreaks, he stressed his own deep sympathy with the innocent victims of the outrages, which he said was fully shared by Mr. J. H. Thomas and the Home Government.

The speeches were translated into Hebrew and Arabic and were broadcast by Palestine Radio.

The ceremony was attended by Dr. Weizmann, representatives of practically every Palestine institution, and the majority of the Consuls, by the Chief Secretary, with many of the higher Government officials, and the officer commanding the troops.

During the last twenty-four hours, there have been a number of minor

outrages, made more serious from the fact that they have occurred in different parts of the country. The Arab leaders show no inclination to bring to an end the present obviously organised effort to compel the Administration to abandon or at least radically to modify, the National Home policy. Indeed, at a meeting of Arab leaders this evening it was decided to publish an appeal for the continuance of the strike, while at the same time, a proposal from the extremists to organise demonstrations was rejected by a large majority.

One satisfactory feature of the situation is that the harbour at Haifa is working normally. There is no lack of Arab labour and, indeed, to-day, twice as many men applied for work as could be employed. On the other hand, Jaffa is still disturbed.

One result of recent events is that the Tel-Aviv Municipality is petitioning the Government to open Government offices and courts in Tel-Aviv itself, the population of which is twice that of Jaffa, so that the Jewish population of Tel-Aviv will not be compelled for official business into a hostile and indeed a dangerous milieu.

It cannot be too clearly stated that the whole movement is one of extreme nationalism, which could hardly be effected by any attempt to deal with "Arab grievances," even if they existed.

#### JERUSALEM, MAY 1ST.

There has been a demonstration to-day of some 1,500 Arabs at Haifa, which had hitherto been unaffected by the present trouble. The demonstrators refused to disperse and the police were obliged to fire. Four Arabs were wounded, one of them seriously. A Jewish motor omnibus was stoned by the crowd and four passengers wounded.

To-day there have been May Day demonstrations at Haifa and Tel-Aviv of the Jewish Labour Confederation, the speakers urging the necessity of good relations between Jewish and Arab workers, and warning the Arab workers that the strike and agitation are being organised by the effendis for their own ends.

#### JERUSALEM, MAY 3RD.

The official communiqué issued this evening states that the situation is generally quiet, but reports a few small fires and the throwing of primitive explosives in different places. It confirms the report of Paloor that there was a serious fire in Haifa at a Jewish timber yard, and that British blue-jackets from warships in the Harbour were landed to assist in quelling the fire. Twelve Arabs were found by the police late last night between Jerusalem and Ramallah lying in wait under suspicious circumstances; they were arrested,

## Separation or Symbiosis

By NORMAN BENTWICH

ONE of the few relieving features in the recent sad events in Palestine was the conduct of the Arab lightermen of Jaffa, who conveyed a number of Jews, threatened by the wild mob, to safety in Tel-Aviv. The lightermen, who were once the most turbulent element of the port, were organised some years ago into a co-operative society under the influence of the Jewish Labour Movement. They have come to realise the common interests of the workers of Palestine, whether they are Arabs or Jews. And although in their union there are no Jewish lightermen, they are on good relations with the Jewish Federation of Labour. The incident emphasises the desirability of multiplying the contacts of Jews and Arabs in Palestine, which alone can give a sure basis of peace and understanding between the two communities.

The separation between the two in Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, which has been intensified in recent years by the amazing growth of Tel-Aviv, has not been altogether for good. There was a time when Tel-Aviv was a quarter or ward of the municipality of Jaffa, and Arabs and Jews sat together on a single municipal council, formed together a single chamber of commerce, and worked and shopped together. After the Jaffa riots of 1921, when a number of Jews were killed in the Arab quarter of the city, there was a general exodus of the Jewish inhabitants of that quarter to the growing Jewish suburb. A few years later Tel-Aviv, which had already received its own local council while remaining part of the municipality, applied for and obtained a complete separation of the local authority. Rapidly it became larger than the parent town; and during the last two years has become by far the largest city in Palestine. Under the Local Government Ordinance of 1933 it was constituted a separate municipality; and it has a municipal, social and artistic life more developed than that of any other area of Palestine.

The Jews are naturally and rightly proud of their achievement of the all-Jewish town which grows and grows. One of the immediate reactions of the recent riots has been a movement of the few thousand Jews who were still living in or around Arab Jaffa into Tel-Aviv. Only in the Jewish township, it is said, can there be security. And the demand has already gone up for separate law courts and land registry office in Tel-Aviv, and for a separate port so that Jews may not have to go down to the neighbouring city.

The opinion may be hazarded that one of the reasons why neither on this occasion, nor in 1933, nor in 1929, was the outbreak against the Jews as serious in Haifa as in Jaffa, is that in Haifa Jews and Arabs live side by side, and participate together in municipal and commercial activities. It is no doubt harder and less pleasant for the Jews to work in the development of local government together with a people who have a less progressive outlook; but it is only by co-operation in the literal sense that understanding is to be achieved.

The principle of symbiosis, the association in the world of nature of two

different organisms which are attached to each other and contribute to each other's support, operates in human relations. And every association of Jews and Arabs in a common enterprise tends slowly but surely to break down the barriers between them. There has been a signal example of unbroken good relations between the peoples in one of Palestine's towns, Tiberias, where since the British occupation they have been in nearly equal numbers, with a small Jewish majority, and they live happily side by side.

The single chamber of commerce in Jerusalem, where Jews and Arabs and English men of business meet together under an English chairman has also been an instrument of goodwill. It is one of the great merits of the Jewish Labour Federation that they seek constant relations with the Arab workers; and in union strikes Arabs and Jews combine, in contrast to the political strikes of Arabs which are directed against the Jews. It must be a long and hard way to bring about regular human contact between all classes, more particularly in the towns of Palestine. But it is a way which must be followed in spite of outbreaks.

In the Note which he attached to the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the riots of 1929, Lord Snell urged the establishment in Palestine of local committees of goodwill composed of Arabs and Jews who would get together and foster good relations in their district. They would be on the lines of the associations which exist in the southern States of America for bringing about better understanding between the white and coloured populations. It is to be regretted that no effect has yet been given to the proposal. The value of such committees in times of tension might be incalculable.

A few years ago Lord Snell repeated his counsel. The supreme need, he said, is "by kindly contacts and helpful associations to build up a reservoir of neighbourly goodwill, which will hold fast against the assaults of those who aim to foment hatred between them." Out of the present crisis it may be possible to extract a determined resolve to foster, not only in Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, but all over the country, small Arab-Jewish groups who will have it as their constant aim to remove sources of friction and practice mutual helpfulness.

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## The Stockdale Report

**T**O the Jews in Palestine agriculture was and is fundamental. But whilst for the first few years after the war agriculture was the one industry of Palestine, it is now only the predominant industry. It is no longer true that the structure of the country stands or falls with its plantations and farms, but even those who welcome the recent progress of industrial enterprise are eager to see the most intensive use made of the country's agricultural possibilities.

Mr. Stockdale, Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, is too modest in entitling this booklet a "Report on his Visit to

Palestine and Transjordan, 1935." It is a Report on Agriculture, and it gives as concise and comprehensive a picture of the present state, the problems and the prospects of agriculture in Palestine, as can be found. Mr. Stockdale has nothing but praise for the work now being done to improve agriculture in Palestine. The most interesting part of the Report is the "Summary of Recommendations."

Irrigation is the most urgent problem. Of the southern area he writes: "The whole aspect of the country could be changed and the welfare of the people materially improved if water supplies were available." At present wells are dug on the old trial and error method. The water when found may or may not be suitable for local purposes, and Mr. Stockdale suggests that a comprehensive survey of the underground water supplies is essential if real progress is to be made. The prevention of soil erosion and the conservation of water supplies by afforestation constitute the second most important problem. On this question "sufficient information is now available to warrant a definite forward policy."

Here are two vast fields in which the Government can and should extend their activities. Indeed, the impression left by the Report is that every branch of agricultural life in Palestine requires, before widespread and lasting progress can be made, an extension and improvement of Government services. In addition to irrigation and afforestation there is great scope for Government initiative and encouragement in surveying, agricultural research, and education, the elimination of pests, experimental breeding and grafting and so on. The Animal Husbandry Department "is sadly in need of better facilities for its work," and the staffing of the departments, particularly in the lower grades, is open to improvement. The export inspection service in the citrus industry is inadequate.

Agriculture cannot be separated from the rest of the economic life of the country. Mr. Stockdale points out that citrus crops have outrun transport and shipping facilities, and suggests that the roads and railways from the groves to the ports must be improved and better port facilities provided. The Administration is already doing a great deal, and in some matters, as for example, in organised marketing, the initiative must come from the producers themselves, for a marketing scheme that was forced on unwilling producers would be doomed to failure from the outset. Nor should Mr. Stockdale's insistence that more experience is required with short period loans before large sums are risked on long term loans be forgotten.

The material progress of the country (and particularly of the Arab section of the population) depends to quite a considerable extent on the development of the Government agricultural services. The usual objection: "We can't afford it," is not applicable to Palestine. The only justification for a budgetary surplus—that is, for taxing the population more heavily than the expenditure requires—is its employment on public works and undertakings that will increase the productive capacity and the wealth of the country.

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## A Testing Time

THE violence of the disorders in Palestine seems to have lessened ; on the other hand the Arab strike continues and has become more general, and with feeling in the country running high enough to support a racial strike, there is always the danger of fresh and fiercer outbreaks of violence. The Government, therefore, has wisely summoned reinforcements of the military garrison. Police are handier than troops in repressing civil disturbances, but most of the Palestinian police are Arabs, and though their loyalty has held so far as is known here, the leaders of the strike are attempting to extend it to Arabs in the civil service and may try to seduce members of their race in the police force. It is well, therefore, to be prepared against all eventualities. Moreover, troops if less convenient in the actual work of suppressing outbreaks of violence exercise by their mere presence a greater restraint on their beginning. Throughout, the action of the Government has been prompt and energetic, and commendation which in past disorders has had to be made with considerable reserve cannot on this occasion be too high. And, as the Government itself has recognised, its task has been assisted by the remarkable measure of restraint shown by the Jews, not least in great centres like Tel-Aviv, where the Arabs are in a small minority. The Government has the situation well in hand, but it is none the less important that it should know that it has the support of opinion at home in the disciplinary measures that it may have to take to restore the normal life of the country.

It is clear that the more moderate parties among the Arabs have been overawed by the extremists. The older generation which remembers Turkish rule preferred the subtler methods of intrigue, and, if it incited to violence, did so rather to reinforce weak arguments than with any expectation that it would be successful. The post-war generation has definite hopes of defeating the Government by a war of folded arms. It is by no means averse from sporadic violence, but it relies principally on a strike which is really a species of blackmail. Palestine is prosperous. Grant our demands, the strikers say in effect, or we will hold up the economic life of the country. Arson of crops and farm buildings has been common in the present disorders, and proves that, unlike those which took place before, the method and motives are those of deliberate sabotage. The demands now, as before, are for the stoppage of Jewish immigration and a cancellation of the Mandate, and there is of course no reason to fear that this Government or any Government will yield to demands in that form. But it is important to make it quite clear that any sort of concession to a movement like the present must lead to disaster.

In the past the Government, while defending the Mandate from open attacks, has sought for ways in which the direct issue might be shirked or turned. It has cast about for economic grievances and made arrangements for succouring supposedly dispossessed Arabs out of public funds. Or it has offered political concessions to the Arabs in the form of representative institutions. Or it has even in practice made the welfare of the Arabs its especial care, thinking, perhaps, that the Jews had a strong enough organisation to look after their own interests. Concessions of that kind are clearly quite irrelevant to the present troubles. "We do not care about economic prosperity," the strikers say in effect, "but are striking against prosperity. We will not have prosperity as your gift, or as the gift of the Jews. The struggle is purely and simply between one race and the other. We are striking, not for any of your compromises but against any compromise."

That is an issue on which victory must be on one side or the other. It must either be a victory for the Mandate or its decisive defeat. It is a test of resolution and strength, not a balance of argument. The tone of Mr. Thomas's answers in the House of Commons shows that he realises that; it was admirably firm. But it is not to be supposed that the forces which in the past have weakened our interpretation of the Mandate have ceased to operate. It will be argued that a continuance of the present struggle is bad for the country; that the two races have somehow to live together—a truth which Jews have always recognised; and that if by this or that concession the strike can be ended, the price for so great an advantage may well be worth paying. It will on the contrary be dearer than any Government can afford to pay. The Government, if it yields on any point, will potentially have yielded on all; the method of the strike will have been justified; and the Arabs will not be slow to use the same methods again. On the other hand, definite and unequivocal defeat will discredit these methods. The Arabs will at last understand that the Government is not to be intimidated, and they are likely to recognise, as the Jews do, that both races must live amicably together and make Palestine greater by their co-operation and goodwill.

Palestine is too small a country to stand any artificial restrictions on the full freedom of Jews to develop to the utmost of their power. Whittle down the Mandate in the slightest degree and we shall make a failure of the duty to which we owe our position in the country—a failure the more tragic and discreditable coming now after the defeat of our diplomacy in Abyssinia, and when our prestige in the Eastern Mediterranean is seriously tarnished. It is not to be denied that the failure to save the independence of Abyssinia is a far greater blow to Great Britain than it is to the League of Nations. The failure to fulfil the obligations in Palestine to which this country is pledged would in the circumstances be disastrous. The issue in Palestine has never been presented before in so blunt a form. Unless we accept it and bring it to complete victory now, we shall never know peace. Any concession will be Danegeld, and carry its inevitable penalty.

We would repeat that the restraint shown by the Jews, and particularly by the young Jews, in face of brutal and continuous provocation is at once



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“The Hebrew Press has given prominence to acts of friendliness on part of Arabs, in Jaffa and elsewhere, who protected their Jewish neighbours and passers-by during the disorders. It is good to know that even the most rabid incitement cannot always suppress elementary human feeling. It is such acts which provide a source of confidence for the future rapprochement of the two peoples. For the Jews, at all events, do not believe that peace in Palestine is less possible to-day than a fortnight ago, or that it can be achieved except through co-operation between Arabs and Jews. Neither is the embarrassment of the Government of any comfort to them, seeing that they are interested first and foremost in creating a home for themselves, and a harbour of refuge for those many thousands of their brethren whose life in Germany and elsewhere has been rendered unbearable.”

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## The Situation

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

JERUSALEM, MAY 7TH.

**D**URING the past days, Arab outrages have been repeated in various parts of the country, and the recalcitrant attitude of the Arab leaders inspires fears of a more serious attempt to intimidate the administration.

Hassan Sidkey Dajany, a member of the municipal council of Jerusalem and head of the Arab transport strike committee, and his assistant, were arrested on Wednesday for circulating a manifesto, in which the non-payment of taxes and a strike of Arab Government officials were urged.

The Government is facing the situation with exemplary firmness. In an interview with the Arab leaders, Sir Arthur Wachope, the High Commissioner, warned them of the consequences of the difficult position created by their acts, and demanded that they should definitely abandon their measures calling for civil disobedience and a strike of Arab Government officials. He said that he was opposed to any public gathering leading to violence and murder, demanded that Arab students should return to their schools, and insisted on the termination of the strike, which was causing disorder and lootings. Sir Arthur Wachope reminded the Arabs of the invitation to London, and declared that they might now lose this opportunity. He added that no amount of coercion would alter British policy. Sir Arthur asked for an immediate reply.

The Arab leaders, after conferring, saw the High Commissioner in the evening and informed him that the strike would continue, that they had already decided to defer the mission to London, and that the District

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a proof of the strong and statesmanlike leadership of the Jewish Agency and of the determination that the success of a great ideal shall not be made the more difficult by impatience and want of discipline. The general attitude of the Jews is reflected in the following extract from a Jewish paper :

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Committees had decided in favour of civil disobedience. They protested against the arrest of Dajany. The Mufti declared that their struggle was not directed merely against Jewish immigrants and the purchase of land, but for complete Arab independence.

During the week there have been for the first time breaches in the Arab strike in the old city of Jerusalem, where several shops were opened. Shops were also opened at the Nablus Gate. Seven young men who were picketing, and who attempted to enforce the closing of the shops, were arrested, and the Arab shops were reopened under the supervision of the police. It is reported that a number of Arab merchants are already bankrupt owing to the strike. It appears that serious differences have arisen among the Arab leaders as a result of the declaration by the High Commissioner.

The Arabs submitted a memorandum to the High Commissioner in which they state that since the British Government has taken over the administration of Palestine the number of Jews in Palestine has increased from 50,000 to 400,000, and that if Jewish immigration continues the Jews will soon have a majority in the country. It is pointed out that in spite of the events in Palestine and notwithstanding the strike, Jews continue to enter the country. It is further stated that the Arabs have no desire to proceed to London if Jewish immigration is not stopped. Regret is expressed in the memorandum that there have been murders, incendiarism, and that property has been damaged, but the leaders decline any responsibility for these happenings, which were the result of the policy pursued by the Government. This is the first time that the Arab leaders have openly expressed condemnation of violence committed for political reasons.

The Arab Press to-day emphasised the coolness of the reception accorded by Sir Arthur Wauchope to the Arab leaders. The first interview did not last longer than ten minutes.

A joint memorandum has been submitted by the insurance companies of Palestine to the Government pointing out the heavy losses they have sustained owing to incendiarism, and urging the authorities to take strong measures for the prevention of these crimes.

The Arab Press reports that the Mufti opened a conference in Jerusalem yesterday with a long, inflammatory speech in which he declared that the Jews are planning to drive the Arabs out of Palestine and to build a new Temple. It is understood that the Emir Abdullah has urged that the strike shall be brought to an end, but in spite of this advice it has been decided that it shall continue, and that the Arabs shall refuse to pay taxes after May 15th.

Even if this threat is carried out, it will have little practical importance. Direct taxation represents only a very small part of the Palestine budget; the most important direct taxation is the house tax, and the authorities would have the power of seizure in the event of non-payment.

The increasing resentment of the rank and file against the continuance of a useless struggle was shown to-day at a meeting of Arab workers at Jaffa harbour. They demanded either work or bread, and the contractors were obliged to pay £320 for the continuation of the strike.

## A Retrospect

**I**T is important to recall that the present Arab outbreaks in Palestine are only the last of a series obviously planned to occur at what have seemed the most appropriate times to embarrass the British administration.

On April 4th, 1920, an Arab crowd attacked the Jews in Jerusalem and pillaged some sixty Jewish shops. About 200 were wounded, fifty of them severely. The Arab gendarmes remained inactive. British and Indian troops patrolled the streets. Representations were made by the Zionist Commission in Palestine to General Sir L. Bols, the Chief Administrator, as well as to Col. Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, who promised that the offenders would be severely punished and that further disturbances would be prevented.

Nevertheless, the outbreaks were renewed on the two following days in the old city, with the result that thirty more Jews were wounded, one of them mortally. Houses were forcibly entered and the Jewish occupants attacked; furniture was smashed and bedding ripped open. As a result of further representations, martial law was proclaimed and a promise given that the Arab police would be withdrawn and the defence of the city entrusted to British troops. Notwithstanding this, however, new attacks against the Jews took place on the third day, when eleven Jews were wounded and two Jewish women were violated.

A second attack on Jews took place on May 1st, 1921, while a Jewish labour procession passed through the streets of Jaffa and reached Tel-Aviv. On the procession reaching Tel-Aviv, policemen had to fire in the air to prevent any encounters. A few days later, Arabs attacked the Jewish colony of Rehoboth; they were repelled by police and several Arabs were killed; on the same day (May 6th) Arab demonstrations took place in Nablus and Tulkarem; and the Jewish colony of Hedera was attacked by Arabs who were driven back by settlers.

Shortly before this outbreak the Arab Press emphasised the necessity of showing the British taxpayer that it would be impossible to maintain order in Palestine without a British garrison there, a clear indication that the outbreak was by no means spontaneous.

On June 30th, 1921, there were again outrages at Jaffa, when Arabs attempted to prevent the landing of Jews who arrived from Beyrouth.

But the most formidable and outrageous attacks by Arabs on Jews were in August 1929, when the Arabs organised a terrible butchery of Jews.

The attack was organised by the political leaders of the Moslems, who are as anti-British as they are anti-Jewish, and succeeded in stirring up the Moslem population by the wildest fables that the Jews contemplated aggression on the Haram-al-Sharif, the Mosque area.

In 1929 the outbreak was undoubtedly made the more serious by the hesitation and blundering of the officials, in contrast to the prompt efficiency with which the present crisis has been handled.

## Workmen's Compensation

THE Draft Ordinance published in the *Palestine Gazette* of April 16th, dealing with compensation to workmen for industrial accidents and diseases, is an extension of the existing laws. The maximum compensation to dependants in case of death is £250. Total or partial incapacity entitles a workman to claim two-thirds of his average weekly earnings for a maximum period of five years. The eight groups of occupations covered are building operations, transport, quarrying, machine tending, electricity, road, dock, and harbour workers. The industrial diseases included are anthrax, lead, mercury, arsenic and hydrocyanic gas poisoning.

Workmen, manual labourers and others, who suffer personal injury by accident or loss through industrial diseases arising out of and in the course of employment in the specified trades may claim compensation from their employers. The term employer is to include the Government and any person or company with whom a workman earning less than £350 a year obtains a contract of service for regular employment.

The Ordinance is based on the precedent of the British Acts, but no attention seems to have been paid to the consideration that if Great Britain had not introduced this type of law before its social insurance legislation, it would not have done so now. Why tie the future of social legislation in Palestine to a bad British precedent of thirty years ago? Why force the workman to take action, and expect him to know that he must give notice of the accident and take proceedings within a certain period? Why leave the employer in uncertainty as to the amount of his liability? Why involve the Courts in a kind of decision for which they are eminently unsuited? Why employ hosts of lawyers to debate whether accidents arose "out of and in the course of employment"? No provision is made in this Draft Ordinance to prevent insurance companies from drawing two or three or four times as much in premiums as they pay out in benefits.

The object which should be aimed at is to secure the workman and his family against the loss resulting from certain injuries, and not to mulct employers for damages. This would be best contrived by forming a Compensation Fund to which every employer paid a sum monthly in respect of every workman he employs, and its administration should be supervised by a body representing the Government, the employers, and the workmen. The administrators of such a fund would not have the interest in reducing workmen's compensation which insurance companies have. Such a measure would not prove a hindrance to a modern system of social insurance, which will one day become necessary.

The criticism voiced here is supported in the writings of most modern authorities on social insurance, of whom two may be quoted, one British, one American. Mr. Gordon contends that "It is not right that so hard a task should be laid upon a workman disabled by industrial injury as to establish his right to compensation in the manner which is at present necessary." He argues in favour of "a definite scheme of insurance against all accident risks to be incorporated in the National Social Insurance scheme."

Mr. Rubinow, the American, writes : " How much fairer might not the treatment of the victims of industrial accidents and their families be if most of the costs of the employers could be utilised for the increase of benefits, rather than in payment of a highly competitive business organisation which grows in spite of this competition by making industry pay not only the cost of the injuries, but also the cost of this high organisation and the cost of this intensive competition."

It is clear that the Palestine Government wish to do the right thing, but they have not used the best models. Let them consult and seek the advice of the Advisory Committee of the International Labour Office, on which both the British and the American Governments are represented.

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## Urbanisation

CONCERN is sometimes expressed that a considerable percentage of the population of Palestine, and particularly of the Jews, is found in the four largest towns, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa. These four centres have a total population of some 300,000, amounting to 25 per cent. of the entire population. Fifty per cent. of the Jews in Palestine live in them. How do these figures compare with the distribution of population in other countries ?

In Great Britain 20 per cent. of the total population live in the rural areas, and no fewer than 38·8 per cent. live in towns with a population of 100,000 and over. This latter figure compares with 15 per cent. in France and 13·7 per cent. in Italy. The figures for the countries of the Near East are not dissimilar—18 per cent. in Syria, 12 per cent. in Egypt, and only 9 per cent. in Palestine. Surprisingly enough, the figure for Australia is 41·3 per cent., which is explained by the concentration of the urban population of the vast island continent in five large towns. In New South Wales 67·8 per cent. of the population live in towns.

The urbanisation of Palestine has not in fact proceeded very far. It is certainly not yet a disturbing tendency. The growth of towns, in Palestine as elsewhere, is a necessary concomitant of the growth of industry. Even in countries the wealth of which is predominantly agricultural and pastoral, the towns hold half to three-quarters of the total population. There is therefore no reason to condemn the growth of industry relative to agriculture in Palestine ; rather should it be welcomed. There is everything to be said in favour of such notable enterprises as the Municipality of Tel-Aviv, the Palestine Electric Corporation, and the Potash works.

Industrial enterprise in Palestine has in recent years made considerable strides forward. Last year the value of total industrial production amounted to eight and a half million pounds, to which should be added the seven million spent in the building trades. While the Jaffa orange has gained the recognition of the world, and great hopes and fears are associated with its production, the value of the industrial output is already five times as great as that of the citrus crops.

The industrialisation and urbanisation of Palestine does not in any way imply the neglect of agriculture. Jewry must be rooted in the soil, and there is room for 70,000 more Jewish families on the land. The Government can make this infinitely difficult by legislative and administrative measures. They cannot at the same time pursue a policy which forces the Jews into industry, and complain of the growth of the towns. They must realise also more clearly than hitherto that it is a most important duty of government to ensure that the towns are properly planned, with wide thoroughfares and open spaces, and provided with an adequate fresh water supply and proper sanitation. The function of government is to govern both in the towns and in the country.

## Absorptive Capacity

THE following interesting calculation has appeared in the *Palestine Review* :

“ Now that the question of arranging a mass transfer of German Jews to Palestine has arisen, investigations as to Palestine’s capacity for absorbing new immigrants on economic lines are arousing much interest. The results of such investigations are decidedly promising, always providing, of course, that the political problems of land and immigration permits can be overcome. In the field of industry alone, it is estimated that some 6,000 additional workers—or, at a conservative estimate 18,000 souls—could be absorbed within the next few years. This estimate was arrived at by the following calculations. A number of articles which are already being successfully produced in Palestine are taken, and the assumption made that two-thirds of their present imports could be replaced by an expansion of local production. It is an easy step from this to calculate the number of workers such added production could employ.

“ Agriculture was reckoned also to offer employment for a further 4,000 workers—or 16,000 souls—if all milk, eggs, butter, and vegetable imports were replaced by home products. It is estimated, further, that this addition of approximately 30,000 to the basic agricultural and industrial population, would involve a growth of the population employed in the subsidiary branches of the economy—trade, transport, the professions, service, etc., by 46,000, thus making a total of close on 80,000 souls as Palestine’s immediate absorptive capacity.

“ Large sums of money would, of course, be required to make such an absorption possible. Credit and other facilities—even if not a direct subsidy—would have to be made available to help on struggling industries. Protective tariffs would be necessary to safeguard many lines of production. Cheap urban and rural housing would have to be provided and land made available on easy terms. It is, in fact, a large-scale planning scheme which is needed to increase the strength of the Jewish population.”



# Palestine

Vol. XI

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No. 13

## Nahum Sokolow

THE death of Nahum Sokolow removes one of the great figures in the history of Zionism. He was in his seventy-fifth year, but his passing comes as a surprise and a shock to all who knew him, for his physical energy seemed unabated and his mental energy was at its highest. Only a year ago he was travelling by air to South Africa and making a propaganda tour there extending over months—a task which would have taxed the resources of a young man. He was writing, not simply ephemeral journalism, but work of scholarship and reflection almost to his last hours.

It would not be easy to compute the languages, the literatures, the philosophies, and the histories of which Nahum Sokolow was master. In *belles lettres* he was as omniscient as mortals may hope to be in these days, and in spite of a first-rate memory all his learning sat lightly upon him. It constituted a background to all he wrote and spoke, and from it he readily drew the generalisation or the apt instance which fortified his argument. He was a delightful conversationalist with a happy, scholarly but not academic, wit. He had met too many people in too many lands and been engaged too much in the practical conduct of affairs to have the air of the cloistered scholar. His literary style in writing and in speech was inclined to be too conversational, rather loose-limbed and copious. He was one of the most charming of companions and no personality in Zionism engaged more affection.

Nahum Sokolow had explored the whole range of Hebrew scholarship and history in all ages. He was one of the fathers of modern Hebrew journalism—he edited the first Hebrew daily newspaper—and of modern Hebrew literature; and though some may prefer the precise and concise classicism of Achad Haam, Sokolow probably exercised an even greater influence than he upon contemporary Hebrew prose style. For many years, even before Herzl, he was prominent in Jewish nationalism, and he attended the first and all subsequent Zionist Congresses. Even before the war he was a member of the Zionist Executive, and during the war and after he played a notable part in connection with the securing of the Balfour Declaration and its ratification by the Powers. For a number of years he shared with Dr. Weizmann the headship of the whole Zionist movement, and during the four years when Dr. Weizmann was out of office he was the President of the Jewish Agency. In the controversies as to policy among Zionists he occupied a middle position, for neither his temperament nor his opinions could provoke strong reactions.

## The Need to Rule

IT is being whispered that the British Government proposes to appoint a Royal Commission on Palestine. Now Royal Commissions are appointed for one of three reasons. Sometimes a mass of facts has accumulated, so difficult in their interpretation and so complicated in their detail, that a government cannot trust its own civil service, and must call in distinguished men from outside. That can hardly be the reason for the new Palestine Commission. About no country has so much been written or its information so well documented and sifted as about Palestine. There are no facts to know which a Minister cannot get to know by ringing his bell. Sometimes, again, a government will appoint a Royal Commission because it cannot make up its mind about some new departure of policy. But there is no very obvious reason why the Government should want to make a new departure in its policy. Palestine is the only country in the world which has gone steadily ahead since the war; its Government is a trustee working to a mandate, which in certain respects is very strictly defined, and no great departures of policy are possible one way or the other; and further, the tasks of government are simplified by having the whole world through the Jews tributary to a work which normally is the chief difficulty of government in a country that has long been neglected. It has problems, but they are problems which for the most part are best solved by discharging the elementary functions of all government, namely, defence against foreign interference, maintenance of internal order, and judicious finance.

The first suggestion of a Royal Commission was made by Lord Lytton in the recent debates in the Lords on the proposed legislative council. It was made by way of protest against a proposal which there was then reason to think was going to be carried through behind the back of Parliament by pure bureaucratic action. It was in fact a proposal for the protection of Parliament against bureaucracy, and as such was intelligible. But that cannot be the motive of the Commission that the Government proposes to set up. There remains a third reason why Royal Commissions are appointed, and it is not that the Government cannot make up its mind, but that it has made up its mind or a sufficient number of its members have made up theirs, but wants a Commission to find better reasons than any that are readily available or can conveniently be avowed on the Government's own responsibility. If the proposed Commission is a Commission of this kind the motives are at any rate intelligible, but intelligible to be alarming and to excite fears that the Government is about to commit the worst mistake that it has yet made in the execution of the mandate.

Even in the most democratic politics there are times when a government must rule as well as administer. Perhaps Mr. Lloyd George was right in his complaint the other day that it is one of the faults of our own democracy that its leaders have forgotten to lead and its rulers to rule. But if it be true of our own domestic politics it is doubly and trebly true of a country like Palestine, where the materials for democratic government are still wanting, where there is a definite duty to discharge, where there is an

organised movement afoot to prevent the Government from discharging that duty, and where in addition there is reason to believe that assistance is being given to these attempts from outside the country and from motives unfriendly, not merely to Palestine but to Great Britain. The argument often used to justify harsh repression, that force is the only argument that is intelligible to some peoples, is not one that a liberal mind will use of troubles in Palestine or anywhere else. Jews recognise that they have somehow got to live with the Arabs, and are anxious to have their active assistance in whatever will promote the interests and good fame of the country as a whole. But it is no use talking of co-operation between Jews and Arabs so long as there are forces at work whose first principle is that there shall be no Jews in Palestine with whom to co-operate. That, nothing less, is the motive of the strike which is now in progress. Its avowed aims are not to restrict but to stop Jewish immigration, not to modify the mandate in this or that minor particular, but to abolish it, not to promote the welfare of the country differently in this or that respect, but to destroy the conditions on which the country has progressed since the war, and on which alone it will be able to progress, not to help Great Britain, but to embarrass it and detract from its future strength. An issue such as that is not an issue of argument, but of power; and any government of Palestine, that shirks it, is merely piling up for itself difficulties which will assuredly break it in the future.

That would be true at any time, but it is doubly true at a time like the present, when owing to the failure of the League in Abyssinia, British prestige in the East has suffered a serious setback. It has even been said that the strikers have received monetary assistance from official Italian sources. To deal with such a situation by the appointment of a Royal Commission is to repeat the mistakes which are now generally admitted to have been made in Abyssinia. You cannot defeat force by paper; not until the mandate has been wholeheartedly accepted by the Arabs is there the slightest chance for reason or for that co-operation which we are all anxious to see begin and which would by now be an accomplished fact but for the disloyal opposition of a few men. Until this condition has been satisfied, every gesture of compromise is a fresh argument for the malcontents; suggests that we are in two minds; and encourages them to continue. That process has been going on from the beginning and is the chief source of present difficulties. No harsh measures are necessary or desirable; only a single mind and a given constancy to duty which no one can possibly misunderstand. In a word, we must rule.

The Jewish leaders are complaining, and properly complaining, that the Government has encouraged lawlessness by negotiation with the law-breakers and by discussing grievances that are either imaginary or grossly exaggerated. The Jewish population, whose lives and property are in danger, have continued to show extraordinary restraint, but the administration cannot expect that restraint to continue if adequate protection is not forthcoming. The business of the Government is to govern and to suppress disorder. The business of Great Britain in Palestine is to carry out the intention of the mandate.

## The Situation

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

MAY 13TH, 1936.

A BOMB was thrown on Monday night at the house of the Arab mayor of Haifa, Mr. Hassan Shoukry, who is regarded by the extremists as a traitor for his refusal to take any part in the strike movement. The bomb was not a primitive affair, like others recently thrown by Arab youths, but was perfectly constructed.

Great efforts have been made this week to extend the strike at Haifa. On Monday, Hassan Sidky Dajany, the member of the Jerusalem Municipal Council, now on bail on a charge of urging the non-payment of taxes, went to Haifa to urge the harbour workers to join the strike, but he urged in vain. On Tuesday, the Mufti himself went to Haifa, with the result that some of the Arab boatmen went on strike, but the great majority of the Arab harbour workers are working as usual.

In Jerusalem, Arab omnibus owners have to-day urged the strike committee to permit the omnibuses to resume running owing to the heavy losses of the proprietors. It is also stated that the Arab greengrocers have urged the resumption of trade.

That a considerable number of Arabs have been coerced into joining the movement is suggested by the fact that early this morning shots were fired near Jerusalem on a number of Arab stonemasons on their way to work. One man was killed and another wounded.

Later in the day, two Jews were murdered in the old city of Jerusalem. The first, a man of forty-five, was shot in the head, near his house, as he was returning to lunch; the second was a man of seventy, an inmate of the Home for the Aged. The Jews in the old city are in a state of terror; many Jewish families have left their homes, and are endeavouring to find temporary quarters outside the wall.

Despite the comparative failure in Haifa, the Arab Press reports that the strike committee, which has been visiting Nazareth, Acre and Nablus, has everywhere been enthusiastically received, and it is a matter of some importance to note that a proportion of the Christian Arabs are supporting the strike movement. Last night there was a demonstration of 1,000 Christian Arabs in Jaffa which, however, dispersed quietly.

It is evident that the strike leaders have considerable funds at their disposal, and there is a growing belief here that they have received help from a foreign country, particularly concerned at the present time to embarrass the British Government. The leaders, too, are in touch with the national leaders in Syria, where it is suggested there may be a one-day sympathetic strike. On the other hand, it is reported that the Emir Abdullah has warned the national leaders in Amman that he will take prompt measures to suppress any attempt at a strike, and that demonstrations will not be tolerated in Transjordan.

The High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, spoke on the radio this evening. He said: "During the past four years I considered two British

battalions in addition to our police an adequate garrison for Palestine. But in the last few weeks there has been a regrettable increase in lawlessness, attacks on persons and property, and many acts of arson and destruction of crops. I therefore informed the Colonial Secretary that I considered the increase of our normal garrison advisable, and requested one battalion of British infantry, a company of light tanks, and some additional armoured cars, to be sent to Palestine. These have now arrived. I stated that there was no need for any troops to be sent by air; this method of transport can be adopted when necessary. The two main reasons that caused me to ask for additional troops were, first, to give greater mobility to our present forces, so as to deal rapidly with any disturbances; secondly, to enable the police to give more protection against arson and the burning of crops, and to secure the arrest of those guilty of such criminal and wicked acts. Since the disturbances began, 600 arrests have been made, the great majority of which have already been dealt with by the courts."

Many acts of incendiarism continue to be reported. Some idea of the damage that has been done may be gathered from the Memorandum presented to the High Commissioner, in which it is stated that in the settlements of Ain Harod, from April 20th until May 5th, 590 dunams have been burnt, 2,395 dunams destroyed, and 51 dunams of orange grove also destroyed. A dunam is a quarter of an acre. Owing to the damage done to the water-works, 60 cubic metres are wasted hourly, representing a loss of thousands of pounds. There are 2,400 Jewish inhabitants in the Ain Harod settlements.

The difficulty of the collective punishment of Arab villages has been proved this week. Six hundred and seventy inhabitants of an Arab village on whom a collective punishment had been imposed for setting fire to the Keren Kayemeth forest, left the village and distributed themselves among the villages in the district. Only three families remained.

Despite all the troubles, the Levant Fair at Tel-Aviv continues its success. To-day the foreign representatives were entertained at a luncheon at which Mr. Johnson, the Treasurer of the Palestine Government, presided. Twelve nations were represented, and the speakers paid glowing tributes to the development of Palestine as manifested in the agricultural and industrial sections of the Palestine Pavilion. They were unanimous in their praise of the spirit that enabled the Fair to be opened in time, despite all the difficulties, and they expressed their faith in the ultimate triumph of Jewish constructive efforts.

JERUSALEM, MAY 14TH, 1936.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency to-day addressed a communication to Sir Arthur Wauchope, in which they reiterate the representations made verbally and in writing since the commencement of the disturbances, for the enforcement of order and the termination of the strike; they also repeat their warning to the Government regarding the grave outcome of the absence of effective action on these lines. It is declared that by tolerating the strike and not taking action against the Arab strike committee, which openly incites civil disobedience, defies the authority of the Government, and attacks the basis of the mandatory regime, the Government contributes towards the aggravation of the situation and incurs responsibility for further possible

disorders. The Jewish population have manifested the greatest self-restraint in face of constant aggression and provocation, not because of weakness or fear, but by reason of their deep-seated moral conviction against retaliation, and the recognition that responsibility for public security devolves upon the Administration. The Executive expresses confidence, despite the shaken faith of the Jews, in the determination of the Government to fulfil its duty. The Jews will continue to behave as heretofore, and will not do anything to aggravate the situation.

It is the conviction of the Executive that only vigorous measures which would make clear beyond all possible doubt the firm determination of the Government not to tolerate any lawlessness, and not to be deterred by any threats of violence or political blackmail, can avert the serious danger menacing the peace of the country and the fundamental basis of its Constitution.

It is reported that Sir Arthur Wauchope, in two interviews to-day with Arab leaders, tried to induce them to terminate the strike and send an Arab delegation to London to present the Arab viewpoint to the British Government, but the negotiations ended in complete failure. At the second interview this afternoon, the Arab leaders stated that the strike would continue until Jewish immigration had ceased.

I learn that Sir Arthur Wauchope suggested to the Arab leaders that the British Government would appoint a Royal Commission to investigate Palestine problems, and to which Arabs could submit grievances, on condition that they should terminate the strike.

JERUSALEM, MAY 16TH, 1936.

This evening three Jews have died from wounds received from revolver shots fired by a young Arab as the audience was leaving the Edison Cinema in the very heart of Jerusalem.

This is the last of another long series of outrages reported to-day.

JERUSALEM, MAY 17TH, 1936.

A crowd of Jews, estimated at over 10,000, were present to-day at the funeral of the victims of last night's outrage. In a moving oration, Mr. Ben Zvi declared that the authorities were responsible for the bloodshed. "We came here to build up the land, and we have been met by a campaign of destruction, but we shall not allow England to yield to murder and we shall not allow ourselves to remain at the mercy of the mob."

The Jewish Press to-day says that the Jewish people will have nothing to do with a Royal Commission to discuss their indisputable right to enter the country. To-day's *Palestine Post* says: "If the life of the Jews is forfeit, so is the life of every non-Arab." "This movement by the Arab Supreme Council seeks to throw the land back to the Dark Ages. Jews, Europeans and Britishers are no longer safe because assassins hold the stage and assassins call the tune."

It is authoritatively stated that the Arab demands for the termination of Jewish immigration have been categorically rejected by the High Commissioner.

The streets of Jerusalem are silent, and only solitary footfalls break the silence since the curfew was imposed at 8 o'clock.

## Arab Discontent

“ARAB Discontent” was the answer casually given in the House of Commons the other day as the explanation of the disturbances in Palestine. It might have been a more convincing answer had it been accompanied by some statement of the nature and origin of the “discontent” and some attempt to explain why the disturbances broke out soon after an Arab delegation had been invited to come to London to give reasoned expression to it.

Before the War, Palestine was a remote and pestilence-ridden province. A once fruitful land had been reduced by centuries of Turkish misrule and neglect to swamp and wilderness, and the miserable Arab peasant, at once the victim of usurious landlords and the prey of an oppressive oligarchy, saw his only hope in emigration. The population for many years remained stationary. With the coming of the British administration and the introduction of Jewish initiative, capital and labour, there began a period of astonishing development difficult to parallel. British justice, social services, education, scientific methods, the introduction of new capital resources and the consequent agricultural and industrial developments, have united to transfigure the economic and social status of the Arab peasant. The survivors of the old Arab oligarchy, which flourished on corruption, may indeed regret the change; but the ordinary Arab has attained a degree of well-being far beyond the wildest dreams of his pre-war predecessor. He lives in a country which has registered during the past twenty years a greater measure of progress than any other in the world, and he can look forward with confidence to a further period of steady and increasing social and economic progress.

Nothing is more eloquent of the benefits which have accrued to the Arab population than the record of its own growth. It has almost doubled since the war, and it is significant that the increase has been most marked in districts in which the influence of Jewish enterprise has made itself felt. Thus, from 1922 to 1932 the non-Jewish population of Haifa, Jaffa and Jerusalem, all of which are centres of Jewish development, has increased by 85 per cent., 61 per cent., and 43 per cent. respectively. In Nablus and Hebron, districts unaffected by Jewish development, the increase for the same period has only been 9 per cent. and 8 per cent. respectively, while in Gaza there has been an actual decrease.

In the country as a whole, while the Jewish population has risen from 50,000 in 1919 to 400,000 at the present time—an increase of 350,000—the Arab population has risen during the same period from 457,000 to 850,000—an increase of 393,000. The mere natural increase of the Arab population has therefore kept pace with the Jewish increase due very largely to immigration.

Before the British Mandate and the adoption of the Jewish National Home policy there was a real and deep-seated discontent among the Arabs: not the artificially stimulated discontent which provides slogans for unscrupulous agitators, but a genuine discontent which expressed itself in emigration. And whereas the emigration was so steady that the population remained

stationary, to-day there is a considerable, and in a large measure illicit, Arab immigration into Palestine from surrounding countries. It is, indeed, significant that during the past few weeks the Government has had to deport some hundreds of Haurani Arabs from Jaffa, where they have been among the chief mischief-makers. The impartial observer finds it difficult to believe that there is any genuine basis for discontent if instead of an Arab emigration from Palestine there is a considerable immigration from Arab countries into Palestine.

The causes of the present disturbances must be sought elsewhere. There is first the discontent of the survivors of the oligarchy of Turkish times. They have not yet become reconciled to the loss of their privileged status and their immunity from too close a supervision by a Government which was less watchful of the rights of the peasantry than the British administration. Moreover, the internal conflicts among these faction leaders have compelled them to vie with each other in the intransigency of their appeals to the religious and racial fanaticism of an illiterate peasantry, so that the moderate of yesterday becomes, as the present disturbances have shown, the extremist of to-day. That explains, for example, why the Mayor of Jerusalem, who was elected to the City Council with the aid of Jewish votes, is to-day a member of the Strike Committee.

Again, there is the influence of the strategy practised by Syrian and Egyptian extremists, with whom the Palestinian Arab leaders are in constant consultation. It is significant that riots and political strikes have been much more frequent in Syria and Egypt, and that there has been proportionately an immensely greater police and military expenditure in both countries, though in neither is there a Jewish National Home. But the appearance of success which has attended the primitive methods of political argument employed by Arab leaders in these countries has not been without its effect in Palestine.

Moreover, it is notorious that foreign influences inimical to the continuance of a British Mandate have been increasingly at work in Palestine since the beginning of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. The Arabic broadcasts from the Italian station at Bari evoked a protest from the British Government some months ago. The question may well be asked whether this aspect of the problem has as yet received sufficient attention at the hands of the Palestine Administration.

Behind all these causes is the eternal conflict between an advancing civilisation and the destructive impulses of the desert. The British Government is not only called on to afford protection to the Jews who have settled in the country on the basis of an undertaking solemnly entered into by Great Britain, but is called upon equally to defend the majority of the Arab population which desires to continue its normal work in peaceful collaboration with the Jews and is prevented from doing so by the threats and terrorism of the agitators.



# Palestine

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## The Need for Courage

THE troubles in Palestine are not by any means over, and their persistence in the absence of any specific economic or religious irritant points to causes that are deep-rooted and not of to-day or yesterday. The last thing that anyone would wish, at a time like the present, would be to embarrass the Government of Palestine. It has made mistakes, of which the worst was the idea of a Royal Commission, which was apparently offered as an inducement to Arab leaders not to continue in a course of policy which in effect if not in intention encouraged arson, murder and rebellion. The Home Government has made itself a party to that feebleness, and against it, rather than against its local agents, should criticism be directed. But criticism is not only or so much of any specific act done or left undone, but of what seems to be a fault, implicit from the very beginning, in the whole approach to the problem of Palestine. The Government's intentions have been good and there is no accusation of bad faith. But it has from the first misconceived the conditions of success, so far as they depended on its own action. It has misinterpreted its duty as being merely one of arbitrator; it has been lenient where severity would have been kinder; without meaning to do so it has encouraged hopes in the Arabs which cannot possibly be met and of which the recurrent disorders are the result; it has misread the Arab character; in a word, its policy has lacked courage.

In the heyday of Imperialism at the end of last century "prancing proconsuls" was a common term of abuse with Liberal malcontents, and they had sometimes good cause to use it. Not infrequently the energy and initiative of the "men on the spot" exceeded the intentions of the Home Government and caused it great embarrassment. Palestine, at any rate, has had no cause of complaint on that score. Its trouble has been the opposite one of execution lagging behind the intentions, of departments whittling down a big conception, and of proconsuls who, so far from prancing, could hardly be got out of the stable. One is not thinking either of the late Secretary for the Colonies or of the present High Commissioner or of any particular individuals. Mr. Thomas certainly sympathised with the Zionist efforts in Palestine and General Wauchope understands our position and is by no means lacking in soldierly energy and drive. One is thinking rather of a continuing psychological process that has been going on for years in the official attitude towards Zionism. The project of making a Jewish National Home in Palestine was not a purely Jewish idea, nor was it conceived by its official sponsors in this country purely in the interests of the Jewish people. It was just as much a British as a Jewish project; it arose out of the exigencies of a war in which we naturally and not without justification identified

British interests with victory and the conditions of durable peace in the world; but it had its roots pretty far back in nineteenth-century British policy, sentiment, and Biblical piety; it was a partnership which produced highly advantageous consequences in the war and produced even greater advantages later, not merely for Jews only or even Great Britain, but for the whole of the East. And further the conscience of the whole world blessed the idea and gave it a magnificent send-off.

Jews everywhere threw themselves into the project with great energy. They conceded every technical point to British convenience; they declined to worry about words or phrases; they just worked their hardest, and poured their capital of money and ability into Palestine without stint. And their great success has moved the admiration even of those who at first were disposed to be sceptical or even to regard the whole project as a sentimental fad or a mere residuum of war psychology. For the first time since Mahomet and the Great Caliphs, the East has not merely stirred in its sleep but set to work with an energy and optimism worthy of American pioneers. There was an impelling motive for that energy not only in the love that is in the heart of every Jew for the land of his ancestors, but in the oppression of harsh masters in their adopted countries. Palestine was a land of promise that fascinated the more as Jewish bondage grew more bitter and wider in its extent. So much for one side of the partnership. But now mark the other and British side of the partnership accounts. One makes no reproaches. One recognises that the British task demanded qualities of a different order from that which Zionists have exhibited in such astonishing measure. They had to see all round every question; they had heavy responsibilities not confined to Palestine; and they had to shape racial ideals into the old precision of law and regulation. An ideal, like molten metal, must cool as it rushes from the furnace into the mould which shapes it. Make all these allowances in the most liberal measure.

The fact remains that the Government has contributed singularly little if anything to the actual realisation of the National Home for which it received the Mandate. The valour of its troops conquered the country; it has administered law and finance; it has thrown the prestige of its good name in the East round the project. But of active and positive contributions to the formation of the Home there has been virtually none. It has administered what was there, but it has made nothing. Its foundation has been critical and in the main restrictive; it has been a purely civil service Government without constructive ideas and without creative energy. Periodically, the very idea of the Home in any broad sense seemed to have run down so far as the Government was concerned; it had to be wound up again with each recurrent crisis, always with protestations of fidelity to the Mandate as though the very necessity of these protestations did not excite the same sort of suspicion that is aroused by a woman who thinks it necessary to assert her respectability.

It is this lack of simplicity and directness in a Palestinian policy that makes the present disorders so serious. Disorders which in other circumstances would reflect no discredit on the Government, become the occasion

of reproach so long as there is any room for doubt about our fidelity not only to the letter but to the spirit of the Mandate; and that doubt is to be removed not by word but by more vigorous and decisive action. It is a change of spirit that is needed, not only in British and Jewish interests, but as the condition of peace in Palestine and of loyal co-operation between Jews and Arabs. But there can be no co-operation without loyal acceptance by the Arabs of the Mandate.

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## Public Works

**W**E publish elsewhere in this issue a note comparing, on the basis of borrowing for development purposes, Palestine and New Zealand.

Any such comparison is at the best rough and subject to much correction and criticism. But two broad facts stand out and cannot be denied: while a country like New Zealand has been ready to pledge its future in order to make that future worthy, Palestine has accumulated a large surplus at the expense of its present and its future. Lack of imagination and of courage in part accounts for the difference: who wills the end wills the means. But assuming that a change of policy is in contemplation, is Palestine equipped with an administrative apparatus adequate to the larger task? The answer would seem to be emphatically that it is not. The Public Works Department, by general consent, takes too long to accomplish what it has in hand, and would be snowed under by an extensive programme of development. It is partly a question of individuals, it is partly a question of numbers of staff, it is still more a question of organisation.

The Public Works Department was originally designed not so much to create as to maintain. Its task was conceived, not as the collaborative building up of a country, but as the repair and the modest routine extension of existing public assets. Palestine years ago outlived that humble conception, but the Public Works Department cannot shake it off. What is the remedy? The simplest course would be to create a new department for development, while leaving the old to carry on the routine work of maintenance. A new department with a new chief, a new staff and a new spirit would be fired with the magic of a great undertaking, and would make of Palestine what it can and should be, a model to the colonies of progress.

Any such department should not think of itself as sundered from the local authorities. The growth of towns in Palestine is a very notable fact. Most of them are very inadequately furnished with the amenities of modern urban life. The pace has been too rapid, the local bodies have a limited experience, and there has been a lack of expert guidance and sympathy from above. Central control has rarely gone beyond budgetary control, and sound finance is the beginning but not the end of life in a civilised state. The time is overdue for a worthier conception of municipal organisation and enterprise, and a Department of Development can infuse into the central government a creative energy and an imaginative quality now lacking.

## The Situation

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

JERUSALEM, MAY 20TH.

THIS evening the Supreme Arab Committee has issued a report of two recent interviews with the High Commissioner, which concludes with the statement that the strike will continue until "the Almighty grants justice and removes evil." The High Commissioner declined to consider the interruption of immigration, but told the Arabs, so the report says, that the Government would appoint a Royal Commission, on the findings of which future immigration would depend. The Committee replied that the Arabs do not trust any new inquiry and if the Commission is appointed they will not appear before it to give evidence. The Committee declares that the only object of the inquiry would be to throw dust in the people's eyes.

It is noteworthy that this latest proclamation makes no reference to civil disobedience, while it disclaims responsibility for militant action.

The strengthening of the Palestine garrison and the stronger measures being taken to suppress disorder are having their effect, while at Tel-Aviv the Jews have once more shown their capacity for meeting emergencies and their persistence at a time of special difficulty. The Port of Jaffa being closed by the strike, ships are now being unloaded at Tel-Aviv by, of course, Jewish labour. This development has at once cheered the Jewish population and depressed the poorer Arabs, who are suffering severely from a strike for which now they have little stomach.

The first consignment to be unloaded at Tel-Aviv was a cargo of cement from a Yugoslavian steamer which unloaded yesterday. The first sack to be carried ashore was taken to the Tel-Aviv Museum, where it will be preserved as a landmark in the history of the port. Crowds lined the beach yesterday and watched the unloading, and after their job was finished the workers marched singing through the streets.

A temporary custom house has been opened, staffed by Jewish clerks formerly employed in the Jaffa customs office. The temporary wooden jetty is being replaced by a pier of steel and concrete sixty metres long.

On Monday the Palestine official *Gazette* stated that 4,500 certificates had been granted for the Jewish Labour Immigration Schedule for the current six months. This is an indication that the Government has no intention to forbid immigration, but the Labour daily, *Davar*, points out that the schedule is insufficient, and does not inspire confidence that the Government's future policy will adequately carry out the intention of the Mandate.

A deputation of Arab stevedores called on the District Commissioner, Mr. Crosbie, and urged that he should prevent the unloading at Tel-Aviv. Mr. Crosbie replied that the sea is not the monopoly of the Arabs, and as they refused to unload at Jaffa, the Government is compelled to sanction the only alternative.

A British warship has arrived at Jaffa from Haifa and the authorities are ready to cope with any attempt to carry out the threats of the Arab stevedores and of the Arab Press.

The Grand Mufti has himself called on the High Commissioner to urge that unloading at Tel-Aviv should be prohibited, but there is not the least possibility of any such thing. On the contrary, Mr. Crosbie declared to-day that Sir Arthur Wauchope has approved the transfer of a number of administrative offices to Tel-Aviv, thus making Tel-Aviv independent of Jaffa.

The unloading is continuing to-day although it is made difficult through the lack of the necessary number of lighters, and the building of the concrete pier is proceeding at top speed. The Arab papers declare that the discharge of goods at Tel-Aviv is a temporary expedient designed to break the Arab strike, and that the shore at Tel-Aviv is unsuitable for unloading goods. As soon as the strike is at an end, the Arab Press assures its readers, the Jews will again use the Port of Jaffa. On the other hand, Mr. Dizengoff, the Mayor of Tel-Aviv, said at a speech to-day at the Levant Fair, "If I were a foreign journalist, I would cable: 'there are disturbances throughout the country but a port is being built at Tel-Aviv.'"

Telephone communications were cut last night between Jerusalem and Haifa and minor outrages continue, but there are indications that the strike is reaching its last phase. A number of Arab merchants have petitioned the Strike Committee in Jerusalem either for sufficient financial support or for permission to reopen their shops, and it is said that the deputation of Jaffa portworkers that have seen the Committee in Jerusalem this week urge that the strike shall be called off.

It is believed that there is considerable dissension among the Arab leaders themselves; the more moderate are fearful of the development of terrorism, but hesitate to urge the termination of the strike.

*Al Guehad*, the leading organ of the Wafds in Egypt, suggests the convening in Palestine of a round-table conference between Arabs and Jews, and advises the Palestine Arabs to recognise the legitimacy of the work being done by the Jews, who are returning to Palestine on the basis of an international agreement.

The exiled Emperor of Abyssinia received a number of Jewish journalists on Monday afternoon. He said that he was struck by the remarkable development of Palestine since he last visited it in 1924. He recognised that the Jews are a peace-loving race. He mentioned that the Falashas in Abyssinia always live amicably with their neighbours. He was grateful for the sympathy of the Jewish people with Ethiopia, and trusted that the Jewish Press would continue that sympathy.

Another indication of the spirit of the Jewish people is the opening at Nathania this week of a new theatre which can hold 800 people. In a speech before the performance by the Habimah company of *The Eternal Jew*, Mr. Foot, the District Commissioner, commended the cordiality of Arab-Jewish relations in this district. There were Arabs as well as Jews in the audience, and British soldiers and police.

JERUSALEM, MAY 24TH.

The Jewish National Council of Palestine has published a proclamation in which it points out that twenty-five Jews have been murdered during the strike; that thousands of dunams of land have been burned, and

thousands of trees uprooted. The National Council emphasises the fact that the development of the Jewish National Home, far from being ruinous to the Arab population, is in fact turning a wilderness into a productive land, increasing its fertility, and extending its absorptive capacity. Arab villages in the vicinity of Jewish settlements are far better off than the Arab villages remote from those settlements.

In conclusion, the National Council declares that the Jewish people will not retreat and that no obstacle and no force will affect the determination to build up in Palestine a Jewish homeland where the persecuted Jews from all parts of the world can find a refuge and a tolerable life.

The High Commissioner has given an audience to Mr. Auster, the Jewish Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem, and has authorised him to be Acting Mayor. The High Commissioner discussed with Mr. Auster various urgent matters connected with the Jerusalem Municipality and promised to give instructions for the settlement of certain difficulties.

The Arab Municipalities of Nablus and Hebron have informed the High Commissioner that they will continue the strike, and that they will not attend to the affairs of their respective towns.

It is now reported that the Government has promised full protection for Arab shopkeepers who reopen their shops. The Jewish Press expresses not unnatural surprise that this action has been so long delayed.

It is also reported that the manager of the Ottoman Bank in Jaffa has threatened to close the accounts of Arab merchants unless the strike is called off.

Outrages continue and the police and British soldiers have been attacked in various parts of the country. Abortive attempts to prevent the unloading of ships at Tel-Aviv also continue.

JERUSALEM, MAY 25TH.

The Hebrew newspaper *Davar*, reviewing the situation after five weeks of disturbances, says that the evil spirit has not yet been checked, but that there are signs of a much firmer grip of the situation by the Government. The granting of the new immigration schedule, the protection of the ships unloading at Tel-Aviv, and the opening by the Government of a number of administrative offices in Tel-Aviv, with the deportation of agitators, indicate that the Government is moving forward, while the attacks on British soldiers and police are a clear indication of the intention of the agitation.

A new company has been formed in Tel-Aviv for maritime purposes and specially for the development of Tel-Aviv as a port. £100,000 will be invested in this company. The founder shares are being taken up jointly by the Jewish Agency and the Tel-Aviv Municipality. The ordinary shares have been offered to the public.

An attempt has been made by the Arabs to prevent the cargo boat *Richard Burkhardt*, bound from Hamburg with a cargo of sugar, from entering the port of Tel-Aviv. The attempt was abortive and the ship is now being unloaded.

Despite further efforts of the Strike Committee, the work at Haifa harbour is proceeding normally. A further 300 Arabs have offered their services, but have had to be refused as there is already a sufficiency of labour.

## Palestine and New Zealand Compared

**A** PUBLIC works policy adapted to the present needs of the country has been so long postponed that it has now become not merely necessary but urgent. The vigorous prosecution of such a policy would make a contribution to national development which cannot otherwise be made; in its absence the general structure of the country shows serious gaps and grave defects. Even if development by private enterprise were preferable, which is a matter of opinion, there is no reason to suppose that private enterprise can in fact perform most of these particular tasks; in most countries they have been left to the central and local authorities. The practical choice is between public enterprise and the continued absence of water supplies, lack of roads, out-of-date railways, inadequate ports, deforestation, and badly constructed towns. The State can take account of interests wider, in space and time, than the individual company can. If it refuses to act the economic life of the country suffers, development is unhealthy and costly evils are produced.

A British administration is likely to seek guidance by turning to one or another of the Dominions. New Zealand is a handy model. Let us note how much it is spending annually on public works, and what proportion this bears to revenue.

In the year ending March 31st, 1927, the Government of New Zealand spent £6,659,000 on public works, equalling 27 per cent. of the revenue; in 1931, £8,222,000, or 35 per cent.; in the year ending March 31st, 1936, £2,960,000 or 11 per cent. of the revenue. Total expenditure on public works over the last ten years has been nearly £51 millions, or 23.5 per cent. of revenue.

This public expenditure, it should be noted, is financed not out of revenue but out of the Public Works Fund. The New Zealand Government acts on the orthodox principles of public finance and new capital expenditure is met by loans. The State balance sheet at the end of March 1936 shows a total gross public debt of £282,561,000, against which there are assets amounting to £309,000,000, of which £268,000,000 are interest-bearing. It will be observed that the public debt amounts roughly to twelve times the average annual revenue.

The statistics issued by the Treasury Department of the Government of Palestine make it impossible to extract the corresponding figures of capital expenditure for that country. But it is clear that, apart from the £4,200,000 spent out of the 1927 loan, there is an addition of £528,000 consisting of advances made in anticipation of the projected loan of £2,000,000, and capital expenditure from revenue on roads, public buildings, etc., which may be taken at £500,000, making a total of £5,228,000. One million of this was spent on the purchase of the railways and other assets taken over from the Military Administration. The Civil Administration has therefore spent some four and a quarter millions on capital account during fifteen years (up to March 31st, 1935), or an average of £282,000 per annum, i.e. 10.8 per cent. of the average revenue.

The policies of the New Zealand and of the Palestine Governments are in sharp contrast. While the former have pursued the traditional British policy of helping to develop the national estate and improve the material well-being of the citizens, the latter dug in and endeavoured to hold back the economic machine.

## The Negev

THE visitor to Palestine by the overland route from Kantara looks out from the train on to a wilderness of rocky wastes relieved in a very few places by oases. Now and again he sees some Bedouin encampment. More significant, he remarks, is the tendency for green shrubs to force their way up close to the railway track. The contrast between the present wilderness of Zin and a widely cultivated region held by powerful fortresses in Byzantine times is as sharp as anything in history. Theories have not been wanting to explain it. Changes in climate and in rainfall, changes in fertility, the increase in desiccation, have all been suggested, but none of them is entirely convincing. The true explanation is much more matter of fact and in keeping with the explanation of the general neglect of the country up to 1917.

But why did the Byzantines wish to live in such an inhospitable region? Why did they construct vast rock cisterns, an immense dam and many deep wells? The answer is interesting. Sinai was a cheaper and safer route linking up Ceylon, the Indian ports and South Arabia with Constantinople and the Mediterranean than the alternative route from Turkestan round the north of the Black Sea to Cherson. Northern Sinai has always been the thoroughfare of Asia and Africa. For this purpose use has been made at various times of three great roads. One of these, the most favoured commercially, is the northern coast road by Gaza and El Arish. Another was the southern route by Themed, Akaba and Maan. The third ran from Hebron direct to Egypt without touching Gaza or the Mediterranean.

Gaza, Beersheba, Raheiba and Esbeita lived on the carrying trade of spices, Chinese silks and emeralds which came from Ceylon, the Indian ports and South Arabia. Perhaps they even engaged in certain handicraft processes, in finishing some of the raw materials which came from the East. The Byzantine fortresses guarded this trade. Religious hermits were also attracted to the region. But when commerce vanished and religion waned the wilderness came into its own again.

This story is told in the interesting and important book, *The Wilderness of Zin*, by C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, which was originally published as a report of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1914-15, and is now published by Jonathan Cape. It is the scientific foundation for the advocates of the thesis that modern Palestine must include and develop the whole region that lies between the Palestine coast south of Gaza and the gulf of the Red Sea at Akaba, and that this will provide an all-British trading route between Great Britain and the East.



# Palestine

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No. 15

## The Story of Progress

### Memorandum to the League of Nations

**T**HE Jewish Agency has prepared its annual summary of the development of the Jewish National Home during 1935 for submission to the League of Nations. In a covering letter in which he requests the High Commissioner to forward the Memorandum to the Secretary-General of the League, Dr. Weizmann, the President of the Jewish Agency, summarises a wonderful record of achievement. The following are some of the more important passages in Dr. Weizmann's letter :

The Memorandum records a further year of marked economic progress. Jewish immigration of all classes in 1935 exceeded the figure of 60,000. The development of agriculture and industry proceeded apace, and Jewish immigration continued to contribute to the growth of Government revenue. In the last quarter of the year 1935 economic conditions were to some extent disturbed by the repercussions of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. Early in September there was a run on some of the banks which, though quickly checked, left its mark for some time on the economic situation, principally in the restriction of credit. The slight setback to economic activity resulted in some unemployment. Since the beginning of the current year conditions have shown a gratifying improvement and the upward trend of economic development may be said to have been resumed.

The economic structure of Jewish settlement and development work has shown remarkable powers of recuperation. The banking system has overcome its temporary difficulties, and at present local deposits and the influx of capital from abroad are on the increase. The number of unemployed Jewish workers is now the same as in the months of October and November 1935, when it was estimated at 5 per cent. of the total Jewish working class—not more, in fact, than a normal labour reserve. As in the meantime twice this number of Jewish workers have entered the country under the labour schedules, there has in effect been a clear relative decrease of unemployment. Economic prospects indicate the probability that a certain proportion of the present unemployment will be re-absorbed in the near future, while such residue of unemployment as may remain will certainly not exceed a reasonable margin. The Jewish Agency has always urged the need for such a reserve, in the interests of a normal level of wages and of stable conditions in the labour market, and it can now point to the recent normalisation of wage standards as bearing out its contention. The investigation of labour requirements undertaken for the coming schedule period reveals a prospect of steady

economic expansion warranting, in the judgment of the Jewish Agency, a substantial grant of immigration certificates on the basis of both the normal increase of employment and the special allocation provided for the absorption of Jewish immigrants from Germany by the Central Council for German Jewry.

## Immigration

Any policy to restrict immigration on the ground that the total number of Jewish immigrants which Palestine has proved capable of absorbing in any past year is for some reason regarded as too large, would be deprecated. It must again be emphasised that the main factor creating the remarkable powers of absorption revealed in Palestine to-day is Jewish immigration itself. Limitations upon Jewish immigration restrict that absorptive capacity and consequently slacken the pace of the development of the Jewish National Home. The elementary struggle for existence now facing large sections of the Jewish people, and the central part played by Palestine in the solution of this problem, make it imperative for the Jewish Agency to insist on the utmost possible utilisation of the economic resources created by Jewish effort in Palestine for the absorption of the largest possible number of Jewish immigrants.

## The Legislative Council

In regard to the proposed Legislative Council, the attitude of the Jewish Agency and other Jewish representatives has been endorsed with complete unanimity by Jewish public opinion in Palestine and throughout the world, and has met with a considerable measure of understanding and sympathy in authoritative non-Jewish circles. It would indeed be a cause of deep regret and disappointment if the Government persisted in their intention to carry out a scheme which would force the Jews in Palestine into a minority position in relation to the non-Jewish population. The Jewish Agency regrets its inability to co-operate in the establishment of the proposed Council.

## Land Purchase

As to the Government's intention of promulgating a law imposing serious restrictions on the sale of land in Palestine, the Jewish Agency has made strong representations to Your Excellency against the introduction of any such measure, which in its view is bound very seriously to curtail the possibilities of land purchase for Jewish agricultural settlement—the essential basis of the Jewish National Home. The Jewish Agency then pointed out that the proposed measure would be contrary both to the provisions of the Mandate and to those of the Prime Minister's letter of February 13th, 1931. Article 6 of the Mandate imposes upon the Government of Palestine an obligation to encourage the close settlement of Jews on the land.

Arab agriculturists of all classes have not suffered but, on the contrary, have benefited from the sale of their surplus land to the Jews. It is mainly in this

way that they have been enabled to obtain the capital necessary for the improvement of their farms—a fact evident from the progress of Arab agriculture, particularly in those areas where land has been acquired by Jews. The prohibition of the sale of “subsistence areas” (lots viables) must, in the submission of the Jewish Agency, deprive the Arab farming community, to a large extent, of its most important source of capital for development, and will tend to crystallise existing agricultural conditions, blocking the road to further progress.

## Government Land

The Jewish Agency would appreciate an opportunity of examining any Government lands still unallocated, with a view to applying for any areas suitable for Jewish settlement. The State land so far allotted to Jewish bodies has consisted for the most part of marshes and sand dunes, and not of agricultural land. In the covering letter to the Memorandum presented by the Jewish Agency last year Your Excellency's helpful attitude in authorising the acquisition by the Palestine Land Development Company of the Huleh Concession was gratefully acknowledged. The concession was acquired at a very high price, and the cost of drainage and reclamation of the whole area, including the portion set aside for the Arab cultivators, will have to be borne entirely by the Jewish interests concerned.

The case of the Huleh concession, where the provision of land for Jewish settlement is bound up with the improvement of the position of the local Arab agriculturists, will, it is hoped, form a precedent for a series of development and settlement schemes in other parts of Palestine. The main elements of such schemes should be the discovery and proper utilisation of water resources, the setting aside of large areas for close settlement by Jews, and the consolidation of Arab holdings into compact blocks with the provision of irrigation facilities to make possible their intensive development.

## Trade

Jewish industry in Palestine already represents an investment of £7,000,000, by the end of 1934 it had reached an annual output of £6,500,000—an increase of 160 per cent. in the course of four years—and it now employs over 25,000 workers. Industry can already be classed as the most important single factor in the economic life of the country and as such it rightly claims a prominent place in the scope of the Government's activities.

The proposal which the Jewish Agency would desire to advocate is that a double tariff system be adopted comprising minimum and maximum rates, the minimum to apply to countries purchasing from Palestine goods in a certain minimum proportion to Palestine's purchases from them, and the maximum to those whose purchases fall below that minimum proportion. The rate of reciprocity may be made flexible and subject to revision from time to time. Alternatively, a quota system may be introduced, the application of which is now becoming widespread throughout the world. Neither of these arrangements would appear to be discriminatory, since all countries would

be free to avail themselves of it. The Jewish Agency would urge that all necessary steps be taken on the part of the competent organs of the League of Nations to secure an authoritative interpretation of Article 18 of the Mandate, such as would permit of the application of either of the proposals above outlined.

### Public Services

The share allotted to Jewish labour on public works during the period under review has been insignificant. On the Palestine Railways the proportion of the Jewish Railway personnel is about 8 per cent. ; in the ports of Palestine, as far as the governmental services are concerned, the share of Jewish labour is nil. Not only is this position seriously unjust to the Jewish population, but it is also detrimental to the interests of good government, from which point of view it would seem to be essential in a country like Palestine that the members of one race should not predominate in so exaggerated a degree at the expense of the other among the personnel of the essential services. In the Police Force, the number of Jewish members, though lately increased, still lags considerably behind the proportion of Jews to the total population. In fixing the share of Jewish labour the contribution of the Jewish population to revenue should be taken into consideration. This share, which in 1932 was estimated jointly by the Government and the Jewish Agency to be 37 per cent. is now, according to the calculation of the Jewish Agency's experts, well over 50 per cent.

### The Arab Strike

At the time of writing, the Arab strike is still in progress and the country continues in a state of tension. This is not the first time that an attempt has been made by the use of violence to force the hands of the Mandatory Government into abandoning the policy of the Jewish National Home and to deter the Jewish people from proceeding with its work of settlement in Palestine. The Jewish people has demonstrated on similar occasions in the past that no such attacks can shake its determination to rebuild its National Home in Palestine. The Jewish Agency trusts that the Mandatory Government on its part will not be deflected by any threats, strikes or violence from carrying out its mandatory obligations.

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## Subsidising Rebellion

**W**HETHER and to what extent the Italian Government is subsidising the Arab strike are questions necessarily obscure ; but that the Palestine Government has been subsidising it is settled fact, and the size of its subsidy can be calculated. Among the earliest adherents to the strike were the Arab bus and car drivers, who further sought to hamper communications by spreading nails and broken glass on the roadways. They

did not go without their reward. When the Government engaged with the task of maintaining order required more transport it took into its service large numbers of the striking Arab drivers and their vehicles. Had the strike been an economic one this procedure would have been odd ; but the strike is political pure and simple, and aimed at forcing the Government to abandon its obligations under the Mandate and surrender the control of the country to an Arab faction. Three consequences followed promptly. Firstly, a considerable sum of money flowed from the public Treasury into the pockets of the strikers and the Strike Committee. Secondly, the Arab drivers being employed in transporting police and troops had advance information as to the Government's operations which they promptly transmitted to the Strike Committee. Thirdly, the impression was generated that the Government looked upon the strike with a semi-benevolent eye as a movement directed against the Jews with which the Government itself was only indifferently concerned.

This subsidising and patronising of rebellion continued for weeks in spite of protests. It has come to an end only in the last few days. A political babe in arms could have foreseen all its implications, and one is driven to ask how such a policy could have been initiated and persisted in. The most charitable interpretation presupposes in the responsible officials a political ineptitude disqualifying them for their posts. Even in Palestine, where patience with administrative incompetence is a tradition, the moral should be drawn and acted upon.

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## The Situation

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

JERUSALEM, MAY 25th, 1936

THE Empire Day celebration at the Levant Fair at Tel-Aviv to-day, attracted huge crowds, who gave a great welcome to Sir Arthur Wauchope when he rose to speak. Sir Arthur referred to the fact that Great Britain takes over half of the general exports of Palestine, and 70 per cent. of its citrus exports. It was therefore to the advantage of Palestine that British imports should be increased. He recalled also that many English loans and investments have been made in Palestine. He pointed out to foreign exhibitors that while encouraging the sale of goods to Palestine, they should appreciate the far-reaching benefits of reciprocal trade. The High Commissioner then said :

“The very regrettable circumstances and the many acts of lawlessness during the last few weeks have of necessity depressed business and trade, but these disturbances are temporary. I have the same confidence not only in the maintenance, but also in the eventual increase of our trade, as in the

continuous development of our commerce and industry. During the last four weeks the law-abiding citizens of the country have been under deep provocation, and have shown a restraint which I highly appreciate. I again assure you that neither the strike nor acts of violence will cause the Government to deflect one jot from the determination to discharge its full obligations under the Mandate. I congratulate the organisers of the Levant Fair, and also the citizens of Tel-Aviv, who, by a commendable display of energy, determination and confidence, have not allowed the temporary local difficulties to interfere with the success of the Levant Fair."

Mr. Dizengoff, the Mayor of Tel-Aviv, opened the Empire Day celebration by quoting an excerpt from Nehemiah that during the days of Sanballat, the Israelites built the Temple with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. He emphasised that Jewish Palestine was the ally of the British commonwealth of nations, and it was Palestine's wish to be regarded as part of the British Empire for tariff purposes, just as Palestine should choose British goods in preference to others.

Mr. Dizengoff announced that 200,000 people had visited the Levant Fair in the twenty-five days since the opening, despite the difficult times and the disorders with which the Fair was confronted. The people of Israel were an ancient people, for a long time experienced in trouble and tribulation, and would endure these days. The Jews depended on the promises of Great Britain, and hoped that it would not allow Jewish honour to be trampled upon or retreat from its obligations. In conclusion, Mr. Dizengoff said, "Long live the British Empire."

As another example of the manner in which the Jewish population is facing the present crisis, I would quote the opening yesterday at the Levant Fair of the Jewish Labour Organisation Pavilion, which bears the inscription, "Forward, despite all." Before the opening several thousand members of the Workers Youth Organisation were reviewed by prominent Labour leaders, who urged them to solidarity and goodwill.

The Arab workmen at the Royal Air Force Aerodrome at Ramleh have gone on strike, and the authorities have now engaged one hundred Jewish workmen.

To-day the authorities have also made arrangements to employ Jewish omnibuses and taxis instead of Arab vehicles for the transport of troops and police.

The Arab Strike Committee has issued a new manifesto protesting against the immigration schedule and the banishment of Arab leaders and urging the continuance of the strike.

According to reports in the Arab Press, a meeting of Arab policemen has been held in Jaffa, when it was decided to join a police strike that is taking place in another part of the country. Reports in the Arab Press have to be received with the greatest caution, false reports being continually provided, with the evident thought of inciting the Arab people to further outrages.

The Jewish captain and crew of the steamer *Tel-Aviv* were given a great reception on Marine Day celebrations in the Levant Fair. Mr. Dizengoff said

that Tel-Aviv port is an expression of Jewish independence ; the Jews are now assuming a role on the sea as well as on the land, and soon also in the air.

JERUSALEM, MAY 30th, 1936.

Last night and early this morning there has been a recrudescence of outrages. Trees have been destroyed in the Jewish orange groves, wheatfields have been burned, vineyards have been destroyed, several Jews have been wounded, and there have been clashes between the rioters and the police.

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## The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

THE publication of a volume of addresses by Dr. Magnes, the Chancellor of the University during its first decade from 1925 to 1935, and now President, calls attention to the remarkable achievement of one of the principal expressions of the Hebrew renaissance in Palestine. Dr. Magnes was not only the director, but also the chief architect of the University in the first ten years. He has been attended throughout by the "vision splendid," even though, in the realisation, the splendour of the vision has sometimes been impaired by lack of means and inadequate material, and has occasionally "faded into the light of common day." The University started with Institutes of Jewish and Oriental Studies, of Chemistry, Microbiology and Hygiene. It was destined, in the first place, for research more than for teaching. Regular teaching soon had to be introduced in the Humanities, both because Palestine was inevitably a favoured place for studies in Jewish lore, and because the University could not fail to be the coping-stone of the educational structure of the Jewish people in the land. The teaching of Science at first was less systematic ; but this year the first graduates in Science took their degree after a four years' course. The institutes have developed into two faculties in which teaching and research are equally pursued ; a Faculty of Science dealing with the biology of the land of Palestine, and a Faculty of the Humanities dealing with the biology of Judaism, its life and development.

The Hebrew University is not simply a place where the philosophy, history and literature of the Jewish people are studied, as in other lands. In the Yishuv, i.e. the community of Jews living in the National Home, as Dr. Magnes says, the Jewish mind is formed and the Jewish outlook is determined by the substance and form of the Jewish tradition. The main characteristic of the new life in Palestine is the intensification of Jewish living and thinking. "The spiritual centre" implies concentration. The use of the Hebrew language in the lectures and publications of the University indicates the difference of the standpoint from that of seminaries and institutions of Jewish learning in other lands.

It is another function of the University, which has already reached the beginning of fulfilment, to be a means of interpretation between the east and the west. The Jew is a born mediator; and the Arab Department, which is better equipped scientifically than any Arab institution in the Middle East, is laying the foundation of understanding between Jewish and Arab scholars. That understanding must be based on a common appreciation of each other's kindred civilisation.

The contribution of the Science Institutes is more practical but not less notable. The Institute of Chemistry has obtained valuable knowledge about the soil and the minerals of Palestine; the Director of the Institute of Micro-biology, a brilliant English scientist, Dr. Adler, has been conducting researches throughout the Mediterranean region on behalf of the Royal Society of England into the sandfly: the Institute of Hygiene has had the assistance of the Empire Marketing Board in the study of human and animal nutrition: the Departments of Botany and Zoology have already made a more complete study and collection of Biblical fauna and flora than had been accomplished: while the University lecturer in Archæology has made an outstanding contribution to the knowledge of the ancient synagogue in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The University took on a new importance and a fresh stature when Jewish scholarship and science were expelled three years ago from Germany. It was clear to all that the young seat of learning in Jerusalem should provide a home for many of those men of genius and talent who were driven from their work by Nazi frenzy. As Dr. Magnes said in an address in 1933: "Our duty is to maintain the integrity and sanctity of the individual human soul and human conscience, the rights of minority minds, and the independence of the Universities: and to combat with all our might the tyranny of the Absolutist political state." The University itself has absorbed some twenty German teachers; while the Sieff Research Institute at Rehovoth, the Technical College at Haifa (which is, as it were, the Engineering Department of the University) and other institutes have taken another thirty. It is notable that one of the rescued scholars interpreted last year the Hebrew writing on the potsherds which were found at Lacish, and which restored to us Hebrew writings contemporary with Jeremiah; that the brothers Zondek, famous in the world of medicine, preferring the home of Palestine to lands of refuge, are combining in fresh research; and that an institute which has been endowed for the study of cancer is manned entirely by men whom Germany has thrown out.

The vision which Dr. Magnes had of the University in 1935 was as bright as the vision of 1925. Set on the mountain of Scopus, above Jerusalem, and overlooking the place of the Temple, it should be "the sanctuary at the horns of whose altar scholars of differing mind will find a refuge, and a chance of immolating themselves in their passion to further an increase of knowledge and to find truth."



# Palestine

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## Progress and Reaction

A WEEK ago we published an abstract of the review of progress in Palestine in 1935 which the Jewish Agency has sent to the High Commissioner for transmission to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The story of the Jewish National Home is the most romantic chapter in the history of our times, whether one thinks of it in its material aspects as the redemption of a long-neglected estate or of its ideal content, or of its message of hope for Jews in a new bondage or its immense vista into the dark background of time or as a speculation in a future epoch of greatness for the East. Yet it has regretfully to be admitted that neither the romance nor the realism of the new Jewish Palestine has yet appealed to the British people as they might have been expected to do, and that the imaginative vision of statesmanship which promised Palestine as a national home was, so far as British policy has been concerned, the glorious morning of a day that has somewhat clouded. The relations of Zionists with the British Government at home and in Palestine are friendly, but all the ardour and all the courtship, if one may so express it, are on one side, and on the other side the reserves, the qualifications, doubts and misgivings.

The contrast is marked in the review of the Jewish Agency. It is a brilliant record of work done in and for Palestine by the Jewish immigrants; but side by side with it you see the Jewish Agency reduced to begging the Palestinian Government not to make this or that departure of policy which must inevitably injure past progress and prevent its continuance in the future. There is something unnatural and almost perverse in such a relationship. Rather would you expect the conditions to be reversed so that the British and the Palestinian Governments should be exhorting the Jews to redouble their efforts and so far from applying the brakes betraying impatience with even the best that the Jews could do. Even friends of Zionism will sometimes betray a state of mind which regards the Jewish home in Palestine as a concession to Jews. It is, or should be, nothing of the kind. It is an equal partnership, in which the British responsibilities are far outweighed by the British privilege.

This paper is concerned primarily with the British and non-Jewish aspect of Zionism. The ample fulfilment of the promise of the National Home is advocated here not only or so much as a measure of justice to Jews as a reinforcement to the interests and ideas for which the British Commonwealth stands in the world. Some progress has been made of late to a more general appreciation of the strategic value to this country of the geographical position of Palestine. We may look forward with hope to the establishment of better relations with Italy, but rivalry in the air combined with the Italian conquest of Abyssinia will undoubtedly make our position in the Mediterranean less

secure than it was. Palestine alike in the air, on land, and at sea has become the key to India; the immense strategical importance of its position is beginning to stare us in the face. But it is not so generally realised that to make the most of our privileged position there we need not only naval harbours and aerodromes, but a nation. Without Jews, Palestine is only a part of Syria. The existence in Palestine of a nation intensely patriotic and progressive is necessary to the military argument. Without the Jews, Palestine would be a heavy responsibility; they double and treble the value of the asset. If there were no Zionism, British policy might well have wanted, even on purely military grounds, to invent it, and, in doing so, we should have followed the precedent of Cyrus, Cæsar and Napoleon.

The Jew is still more indispensable if we think only of the conditions of progress in Palestine and of what a Government can do to promote it. Even if the Arabs were a far more progressive and loyal people than they in fact are, the country could only develop without the Jews at an expenditure of effort and money for which the country is not in the mood. Our success in making nations in the great empty spaces of the world has been wonderful; but we have not been conspicuously successful in countries in which Crown Colony government is best suited. Our colonies, in the modern sense of that word, are not progressive, partly because we do not mix well with another civilisation, partly because we have always grudged the money for their rapid development, partly because nineteenth-century England succeeded in making dominions but comparatively failed with its colonies. The administrative traditions of our civil service do not fit in with the development of colonies. These considerations would have retarded the progress of Palestine indefinitely but for the Jews.

What a stroke of luck Zionism was for us! It purged Imperialism of its taint; and, indeed, gave it in Palestine a halo of duty. It provided us with ready-made Palestinian patriots, and ideal colonists. It relieved the Palestine Government of a considerable part of what undeniably would have been State expenditure in providing land for immigrants. It enlisted for the first time since the Caliphs a modern progressive spirit in the service of the East. In a real sense, perhaps, the Jews are our beneficiaries in Palestine.

## Appearance and Reality

**I**N Oriental countries appearance is not less important than reality. A Government must not only be strong, resolute and determined, but must appear to be such. One has only to read with care the cables (which incidentally are now being censored) from Palestine to see that the Palestine administration is not creating precisely that impression. It has greatly increased the garrison, and if the problem were a military one such a measure would be admirable. But in all probability the gangsters who are murdering, sniping, and burning number no more than two or three hundred. The great mass of shopkeepers, dock labourers, and workers who are being impoverished by the strike are being terrorised or induced to hold out by the hope of political concessions. Everything turns on whether that hope is fed or

starved by the acts or defaults of the Administration. Upon that point there is some evidence. Two or three weeks ago some of the leading British businessmen in Palestine were about to present to the Government a strong protest against its lack of vigour in dealing with the disturbers of peace; they were persuaded to hold their hands. Now if that was the feeling among independent resident Englishmen naturally anxious to believe the best, it can be imagined what must be thought by credulous Arabs.

There have been incidents to foster such a belief. When the first brutal murders took place in Jaffa of harmless Jews engaged in their everyday affairs, by some curious mischance the High Commissioner's *communiqué* condemning the Arab murderers was not telegraphed to England, but instead Mr. Thomas read out in the House of Commons a report which spoke of "clashes" and appeared to put the blame equally on Jews and Arabs. When the Arab drivers sought to interrupt communications by striking, there was at first talk of depriving them of their licences. Instead they were taken into Government service and thus given not only financial aid but excellent opportunities of conveying to the Strike Committee and the dacoits early information as to the movements of police and troops. When handfuls of rowdies blocked the road through Ramleh they were not promptly and vigorously cleared out of the way, but traffic was diverted outside the town. When strikers closed the port of Jaffa the Government for weeks refused to allow goods to be landed at Tel-Aviv, although prompt action of that kind would have brought these strikers to their senses. When the High Commissioner publicly forbade the Strike Committee to go to Haifa to stir up a strike, they promptly went there and made their attempt, and the police did not try to interfere with their movements. When an Arab leader sought to seduce the Arab Civil servants from their loyalty he was punished by a paltry fine of £25.

The treatment of the Strike Committee is the acid test. It may well be that the Committee no longer directly controls the terrorist groups, but the strike itself would collapse quickly and the terrorist activities peter out soon, if drastic handling of the Committee convinced even the simple-minded of the Government's stern resolution. The High Commissioner has not arrested them. He receives them almost daily. He tries to persuade them. He even negotiates with them. And negation always means making the offer of political concessions. The offer of a Royal Commission to inquire into their "grievances" is that and nothing more, and the Arab political leaders understand that perfectly. If they have refused to accept it, it is simply because they are asking for an even more positive and definite surrender to violence—the suspension of Jewish immigration. And even that surrender was in the air a few weeks ago, and has not yet utterly vanished from it.

One can appreciate the case for patience, but it has been tried too long and failed; and it has been drawn from a false reading of psychology. In Palestine it is necessary to rule, and it is necessary for all men to know that you are ruling and mean to rule. To fumble, to suffer yourself to be defied, to falter, shatters the prestige of a Government, however excellent its intentions.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, JUNE 1ST.

THE Arab Mayors who interviewed the High Commissioner yesterday have decided to-day that all municipal services such as the supply of water, light and scavenging shall be discontinued in Jaffa, Nablus, Ramaleh, Lydda and Hebron. There appears to have been considerable differences of opinion among the mayors; one party suggesting that the strike should be limited to five days, and the other insisting that it shall continue until the Arab demands are fulfilled.

Manifestoes printed in Italian have been posted on the walls of the old city of Jerusalem; they declare, "Drive out the Jews, who are the chief enemies of Europe and Christianity."

There has been a meeting in Jerusalem of 150 Arab constables, who decided to submit to the Government twelve demands. These include full equality with the British constables, who should in future salute the Arab inspectors, and an order that Arab constables shall not serve in Jewish quarters, nor Jews in Arab quarters. The constables threaten to strike if their demands are not conceded.

Although the Arab Strike Committee repudiates any responsibility for the terrorist gangs, there is every reason to believe that the terrorist leaders are receiving money from Jerusalem.

The Government has informed the Tel-Aviv Municipality that the payment of relief to the Jewish refugees in Jaffa will cease on June 17th.

The Arab Press, temporarily suspended by the High Commissioner, has reappeared to-day. The papers publish a telegram sent by the Arab Strike Committee to the Permanent Mandates Commission at the League of Nations protesting against British policy in Palestine, and demanding complete independence and the suspension of Jewish immigration. The Arab papers also publish a proclamation urging British soldiers not to permit themselves to be exploited for the defence of the Jews.

The continuance of murders and outrages is causing an increasing demand that the Jews shall be permitted to protect themselves, as the Government is not yet able to ensure the safety of their lives and their property. The remarkable self-control shown by the Jewish community has been praised by the High Commissioner, and their discipline and self-control should make it quite clear to the Government that the Jewish community would only use arms for self-defence.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 3RD.

Many well-to-do Arabs, including some of the leading merchants in Jerusalem and Jaffa, have during the past few days left Palestine in order to escape from the terrorists, who are now demanding money from their richer compatriots and threatening them with murder if the contributions are not

forthcoming. In Jaffa, the shopkeepers have met to protest against the continuance of the strike, and a number of idle port workers have attacked the local officers of the Strike Committee after a demand for more pay had been refused.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 4TH.

Four factories will be set up in the buildings of the Levant Fair after it is closed on Saturday. The Maspero Cigarette Factory, which is a large international concern with its headquarters hitherto in Jaffa, will occupy one of these buildings until the disturbances are over.

The Government has given permission for the deepening of the mouth of the River Yarkon, which is of great importance for the development of the harbour at Tel-Aviv, as it will provide shelter for the lighters now compelled to anchor in the open sea.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 5TH.

A considerable number of Arab members of the municipalities of Jerusalem, Haifa, Safed and Tiberias are resisting the proposal to discontinue the public services. The Arab municipalities of Bethlehem, Ramaleh, Genin, Gaza and Khanyunis are still not on strike.

The Arab police force has been granted an extra one shilling a day and there seems now little doubt that it will remain loyal.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 6TH.

Several Arab shops have been reopened in Haifa to-day. The Mayor of the town has at last bowed to repeated threats and has informed the Government that he will resign his office in ten days unless an agreement is made with the Arab people.

Members of the Arab Strike Committee returned to Jerusalem this evening from the consultation they have had at Amman with the Emir Abdullah, who urged them to call off the strike and to send a delegation to London in which he, the Amir, would personally participate. The Arab leaders, however, have rejected these proposals.

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## An English Business Man's Survey

**A**T the general meeting last week of Eastova Ltd., a concern that owns a crushing mill in Palestine for the production of edible oil, and its by-products of soap and cattle cake, the chairman, Mr. Sidney Allen, surveyed the Palestinian situation and paid high tribute to the achievements of the Jewish immigrants. Mr. Allen said :

I am, I believe, one of two Christian Englishmen at the head and in ultimate control of one of the larger and better-known commercial undertakings in Palestine. I am concerned only to discern the facts. I have no cause to marshal or to distort them in the religious or political interests either of the Arabs or the Jews.

The British Army in the Great War was compelled to enter Palestine to ward off raids on the Suez Canal. Ultimately we conquered the whole country, but before that stage was reached, in November 1917, the famous Balfour Declaration was published, with the approval of the British and Allied Governments, and undoubtedly with the intention of securing the sympathy of Jews in the enemy countries. . . .

Ultimately the British Government was given a Mandate from the League of Nations to implement this Declaration. There has been a surfeit of dialectical discussion since as to whether the object or the condition should come first, but nothing will alter the impression created and intended to be created in the mind of the man in the street at the time the Declaration was made. The object should never have been proclaimed by the British Government nor the Mandate given by the League without good reason to think it could be achieved, while observing the condition.

What has happened since? Some 300,000 to 400,000 Jews have been allowed to immigrate. The Jews are now about one-quarter of the population, and have acquired rather less than 5 per cent. of the land. The Arabs now protest that there is not room in the country for the population there already, much less is there room for any more Jews. The first part of this contention must imply that the Arabs are worse off economically than they were, whereas no unbiased observer can fail to agree that the truth is the very reverse: so much so that, perhaps unfortunately, there has been a marked immigration of Arabs from across Jordan and elsewhere into Palestine. Much more employment has been found for the Arabs, and at rates of pay they had never conceived possible. Further, they benefit from the remarkable developments effected by the Government in the shape of drainage, roads, communications, health, agricultural, educational, and other services. And let it be noted *en passant* that this has been largely paid for by the Jews.

The second part of this contention rests on a false assumption as to what can be done with the land. An Arab spokesman at the Royal Asiatic Society in London said last week that they reckoned more than 30 acres was required to sustain a family. The Jews say no more than five acres is required. Moreover, much of the best Jewish land was unirrigated when they arrived: much was a malarial swamp.

Let me give one instance of the contrast in farming by the Arab and the Jew, which is of particular interest to you. It is well established as a scientific and economic principle that a milch cow requires a certain amount of food to keep it alive; and beyond that, a definite amount for each unit of milk it yields. This additional food is provided in a concentrated form, of which cattle cake, one of our products, is an important part. In 1930 the Jews bought 200 tons of our cake, and in 1935, 4,100 tons. We estimate that in 1936 the Jews will buy 6,000 tons. The Arabs buy none. It is not surprising

that, according to the latest figures I have, the average milk production of the Jews is 3,500 litres (or 777 gallons) per annum per cow, against an average production by the Arabs of 500 litres (or 111 gallons) per annum per cow.

In an attempt to carry the Arabs with them the Government have until now adopted the typical British attitude of patient consultation and listening, which has been construed by the Arabs and Jews alike as weakness and vacillation. They have listened to the Arabs too long. Let me give you one instance of the Arabs' complaints.

For reasons I have not time to mention, the olive grower professes to fear he will soon have no market for his olive oil. The Government have spent much time and trouble, spread over many months, in inquiring into this problem, and thereby have encouraged this kind of complaint. The truth is there is no problem at all. Our company would be more than pleased to buy all the olive oil Palestine can produce, on two conditions: first, the Arabs must ask a price in conformity with the world's market price, which they do not; secondly, they must abandon the crude methods they adopt to harvest and crush their fruit—methods which result in producing, quite unnecessarily, an oil that requires refining if it is to fetch a good price.

It is worth noting that most goodwill is observed where Arab and Jew are farming alongside, and where the Arab is learning from the Jew.

I submit that before all things the Government are required now to make it clear without a peradventure of a doubt that the controlled immigration of the Jews will continue. The proposal to follow past Royal Commissions with yet another will serve only to leave everyone in doubt when there should be no doubt. The country is the size of Wales, with a population of under 1,500,000. We have governed it since 1920. It would be incredible that the grievances of the Arabs have not been known and assessed by the Government long since. The fact is that every Government Department and official know what the Arab spokesmen do not conceal—namely that the said spokesmen, for whatever reason, do not want the Jews in the country at any price.

But if there is room for discussion as to how far the immigration of the Jews should proceed, a British-owned company carrying on business in a country ruled by a British Government can surely expect that civil order will be restored and that we shall be free to go about our lawful occasions without hindrance.

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## Educational Progress

**L**AST week we summarised the story of material progress sent out in the Memorandum addressed by the Jewish Agency to the League of Nations. The Memorandum also contains interesting information concerning the development of education.

In the summer of 1935 there were 52,030 Jewish children attending schools in Palestine, of whom 34,787 attended the public schools under the direction

of the National Council of the Jews of Palestine, and 17,243 schools not affiliated to the National Council (34 of these attended Government schools). The total school-going population of Palestine at that date was 116,961, the Jews accordingly constituting 44.49 per cent. It is significant as indicating the important trend towards agriculture among the Jewish immigrants that there was an increase of 2,040 pupils in the schools of the agricultural settlements.

In order to meet the increased number of pupils, 190 new classes were opened in the schools under the auspices of the National Council and 241 new teachers appointed. This latter figure, however, includes the replacement of teachers resigning or retired during the year.

Very considerable progress has been made in the publication of textbooks, children's books, and supplementary literature for teachers and pupils in the Hebrew language. In order to overcome the difficulties attendant on an inadequate knowledge of Hebrew on the part of many immigrant children, a special school was opened for those children who could not, for this reason, be readily absorbed in the classes of the local schools, and in other cases special preparatory courses were arranged.

The burden imposed on the community is a heavy one, and the smallness of the Government's contribution gives rise to considerable resentment. Even leaving out of account the fact that the large financial surplus accumulated by the Government is largely due to Jewish immigration into and effort in Palestine, it is strongly felt that the Government should at least fix its contribution to the cost of the Jewish schools on the basis of the proportion of Jewish to general population. It is noteworthy that in Tel-Aviv, for example, where for the year in question, elementary education cost the municipality £68,167, the Government contribution, through the Jewish Community, was only £2,185. It is also felt to be seriously inequitable that while the Jewish schools are urgently in need of additional buildings and grounds (many of the existing premises being unsuitable), the Government has allocated a sum of £133,000 for the erection of Arab school buildings in the financial year 1934-5 without any corresponding grant for Jewish school premises.

The tenth anniversary of the opening of the Hebrew Technical Institute, Haifa, was celebrated in January 1935, in the presence of the High Commissioner and of leading personalities of the Jewish community. The number of students at the beginning of the year was approximately 230, and the Institute has to record a year of steady progress. The increase in receipts from tuition fees enabled it for the first time in many years to end the fiscal year without a deficit, and this despite the fact that contributions from abroad (with the exception of some special gifts to enable the absorption of a number of instructors from Germany) had shrunk to very small dimensions. The income of the Institute during the year under review totalled £14,999, being a surplus over expenditure of £1,885, which went to pay off outstanding debts and to decrease the deficit accumulated in previous years.



# Palestine

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## Palestine and British Prestige

THE moral "resist the beginnings" is more helpful for the future than for the present state of Palestine, but in justice to those who have to restore law and order it is necessary to point it now. The trouble in Palestine is far more serious than it need have been had it been dealt with at the outset with as much vigour as is being shown now. Perhaps we should be justified in attributing the more vigorous measures that are now being taken to the new head of the Colonial Office. Mr. Ormsby-Gore said last week nothing about the troubles in Palestine that his predecessor had not said before, but he conveyed the impression to those who heard him of greater determination and of impatience at the growing seriousness of the disorders. In the last two weeks we have had examples of what on the most indulgent construction showed a remarkable lack of judgment in dealing with the disorders. How came it that the first statement of the High Commissioner on the disorders seemed, in the form in which it reached this country, to put the blame equally on Jews and Arabs when in fact he had made it quite clear that all the blame was on the Arabs, and that the Jews have scrupulously abstained from any attempts at retaliation in violence? That clearly was not the High Commissioner's fault. Whose was it? Again, who was responsible for the crazy policy of taking the Arab drivers, when they went on strike, into the service of Government, thus in effect subsidising the strike and providing the dacoits with opportunities of early information about the movement of troops? Why when Jaffa was closed did the Government refuse for so long to allow goods to be landed at Tel-Aviv? Why was the Strike Committee allowed to stir up Haifa, where everything had been quiet? And why was the Strike Committee not only left immune but actually received and negotiated with by the High Commissioner? More than once the Government has given the impression of acting like a referee as though arson and murder were a friendly match, *Gentlemen at Large v. The Workers, or Sabotage v. Toil*.

The ordinances issued last Friday show some vigour. Under them the death penalty or life imprisonment is imposed for a number of offences, such as firing on a member of His Majesty's forces or on the police or throwing bombs with intent to cause death or injury to person or property. Interference with or damage to harbours, railways, roads, power stations, water supplies, telephones and telegraphs come under the same ordinance, and the Government is further authorised to confiscate and demolish any buildings from which shots are fired or bombs thrown. These new regulations will surprise not by their severity but by the fact that they are now made for

the first time after the disorders have been going on for more than a month. Had the same things happened in this country, the necessary legislation would have been passed within a week, although we have a Parliament and in Palestine they can legislate by ordinance. If the Palestine Government had dealt promptly and severely at the outset with the disturbance of the peace the troubles would have been over by now, to the great saving of property, of credit and of human life. One can understand the motives of the High Commissioner and respect them even while we think them misapplied to the facts. The same motives which led him to think that a Legislative Council would reconcile the Arabs to the Mandate made him hesitate to adopt strong measures in dealing with open and flagrant political crime. He put on the Jews the blame for doing what the British are in Palestine to help them to do; he sought to appear impartial as between Jews and Arabs, when the Arabs were in fact in violent revolt against the first duty of any Government, Mandate or no Mandate.

When a British High Commissioner carries his honest faith in concession so far, it is easy to understand that in its progress through officialdom such a policy is capable of being coarsened into actual sympathy with the views of the strikers. It is even being said that the Arabs have been given to understand, not by the High Commissioner but by some of his agents, that though their methods are reprehensible there is genuine sympathy with their objects. One need not believe these stories, but that many people in Palestine believe them explains why the disorders have grown instead of subsiding as the weeks have gone by. Last week the estimate of the gangsters who are murdering, sniping and burning put their numbers at not more than 300. Suppose that these numbers have since grown to a thousand; make every allowance for the difficulties of the ground; concede even what is likely that they are getting assistance from outside—is it credible that these outrages would continue if the Arabs did not think that the door open to political concession might be forced open still wider to an argument of violence and destruction? The root cause of this, as of former troubles, is a misreading of the Arab mind, which is not moved by the theories which lead the High Commissioner to prescribe a Legislative Council as a cure for all ills but is very quick to detect and exaggerate and misinterpret any ambiguity of policy, any apparent lack of sincerity or determination. One must remember that the Arabs in Palestine received their political education under the Turk, who did not negotiate with the peoples that he governed but expressed his intentions only in action.

Admittedly the problems in Palestine present great practical difficulties. But is not that why our country was selected to execute the Mandate? It had greater experience, and was supposed to be particularly successful in handling Eastern races. If when in the material and cultural sense Palestine is progressing more rapidly than any other country in the world, thanks to the energy with which the Jews are fulfilling their part of the bargain, Great Britain was to show herself incapable of discharging the first functions of government, namely to give security to life and property, it would be a serious blow to our prestige that would make its effects felt far beyond the

confines of Palestine. Palestine is not an obscure dependency which can languish or fall into disorder without the rest of the world caring very much. It is a world trust of which we are managers; everything that happens there is matter for comment and criticism in every country; there is great jealousy amongst other nations at the privileged position that we occupy there as trustees of the Mandate, and our bad default is noted, exaggerated, and used against us by our detractors. Surely it should be a point of honour that we should discharge the Mandate in Palestine better than any other nation could possibly do it. Whatever complications there may be in the details of our task, there can be no room for argument that the first duty of any government is to keep order; and even by this elementary standard of efficiency we are not distinguishing ourselves.

## The Jewish-Arab Agreement

IN a letter addressed to *The Times*, Dr. Weizmann has recalled the agreement come to between the Emir Feisal, afterwards King of Iraq, and himself during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The late T. E. Lawrence was present at the conversations and approved the agreement.

It is now commonly asserted by the Arab leaders that the pledge for the creation of an Arab kingdom to include Palestine preceded the Balfour Declaration, and that therefore the Declaration was a betrayal. This clearly was not in Feisal's mind, for, when he addressed the Peace Conference, he made the following specific reference to Palestine:

“On account of its universal character I shall leave Palestine on one side for the mutual consideration of all parties interested; with this exception, I ask for the independence of the Arabic areas enumerated in the Memorandum.”

Two months later Feisal wrote:

“We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposal submitted by the Zionist Organisation to the Peace Conference and we regard it as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned to help them through; we will wish the Jews a hearty welcome home.”

Here there is the specific acceptance of the National Home policy.

The agreement signed by the Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann consists of nine articles, the following of which is the most important:

“All necessary measures are to be taken to encourage and stimulate the immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants on the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasants and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights and shall be assisted in forwarding that economic development.”

The condition set out in the last sentence has certainly been carried out.

## The Press and the Arab Outrages

THE British Press generally agrees that the Arabs are the aggressors in Palestine and the Jews the victims, that the National Home policy must be pursued and that the disorders must be finally suppressed. In a leading article the *Daily Telegraph* said :

The firm language used in the House of Commons yesterday disposes of the face-saving suggestion that the British Government should agree to suspend further Jewish immigration until after the Royal Commission had reported. Had order been maintained in Palestine and had such a request been put forward by a constitutional deputation visiting London, it would have deserved consideration. But to entertain it now, in the hope that acquiescence might enable the moderate Arab politicians to recover their lost authority, would have been weakness of the worst sort. No Government can accede to demands made revolver in hand. What the present situation requires is that the Jewish settlers in Palestine should receive the unconditional protection that they have the right to expect. They are not there on sufferance, but as the result of a policy deliberately announced by Britain and deliberately endorsed by the League of Nations. It is in itself entirely reasonable that a land holy to Jew, Moslem and Christian should shelter members of all three faiths, and in spite of all the feuds of the moment, the creation of a Council in which all can work for the common weal of Palestine is no empty dream. But internal peace, a readiness to live and let live, combined with a confidence in the Mandatory Power's sense of justice, is essential to any Constitutional advance ; and so long as intolerance, credulity and agitation possess men's minds and provoke violence, there can be no alternative to the policy of the firm will and the strong hand.

The *Morning Post* was equally firm :

It is not in dispute that the policy of a Jewish National Home in Palestine has brought great economic benefits to the country as a whole. An enormous amount of capital has been imported into the country by the Jews ; new industries have been created, unexploited land has been taken into cultivation, new towns have been built and new exports developed. Palestine has never been so prosperous in her history, and she was one of the few countries in the world which underwent an uninterrupted expansion during the recent universal slump. It may be that the lion's share of the advantage has gone to the Jews rather than to the Arabs ; it may be that the Arabs, or many of them, are worse off than if the Jews had stayed away. These are questions on which it would be both improper and premature to express any opinion pending the report of the Royal Commission. But one cannot ignore that there is evidently room in Palestine for both Jews and Arabs, at any rate as far as the economic aspects of the matter are concerned. This affords encouragement for the belief that the problem of ensuring an amicable political accommodation between the two communities should not prove ultimately insoluble. The task of the Mandatory Power is to make both parties realise that it holds and intends to hold an even balance between them.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, JUNE 8TH.

**D**ISSENSIONS are increasing among the members of the Arab Strike Committee, the followers of Auni Abdel Hadi, its secretary and the moving spirit in the strike, who has been exiled to a military concentration camp, accusing the Mufti, the leader of the rival party, of maintaining secret relations with the Government.

A large number of rifles and a very considerable quantity of ammunition have been seized on the Syrian frontier. The smugglers were caught as the consequence of close co-operation between the French frontier guards and the Palestine police.

Companies of Jewish special constables are now taking part in the suppression of the disorders.

A fresh attempt has been made to persuade the Arabs working in the harbour at Haifa to join the strike. The attempt has again failed and work is proceeding normally, while at the same time Jewish steamers are being rapidly unloaded at Tel-Aviv.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 9TH.

The Hebrew paper *Davar* prints the following summary of the destruction of trees during the last few days: "680 trees destroyed in Nathania, 30 dunams orange groves and 15 dunams of vine trees near Ashdud, 1,700 near Miska in the Tulkam district, 650 in Gedera, 570 in the vicinities of Nathania and Even Yehuda, 1,050 in the Rishon-le-Zion, 800 near Sarafand."

JERUSALEM, JUNE 10TH.

Telephone and telegraph communication with Jerusalem was entirely cut off this evening.

In the neighbourhood of Haifa, Arab villagers have implored Jewish employers to permit them to resume work in the orange groves.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency, in co-operation with the Tel Aviv Municipal Council, is collecting funds in Palestine for building houses and securing work for the sufferers from the disturbances.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 13TH.

The Customs Superintendent at Jaffa has issued a warning to the porters that if work is not immediately resumed they will lose their licences; a similar ultimatum to the lightermen was rejected by them this evening.

£78,268 has been collected from the 24,000 members of the Jewish Labour Union for their unemployment fund. The money will be used for the construction of roads and especially for the development of the employment of Jewish labour in agriculture.

Several Arab newspapers have been temporarily suspended since the beginning of the troubles and to-day it is reported that *Hayarden*, the organ of the Zionists Revisionists, has been suspended by the Government for a month.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 14TH.

As an example of the manner in which the rebellious Arabs are interfering with important industries in which British capital is invested, I quote the fact that this morning a number of lorries belonging to the Palestine Potash Company, and an omnibus carrying Jewish workers from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea, were fired at and three Jews were slightly injured.

Owing to the demands of the terrorists for money for the strike funds, a number of Arab notables have left Haifa during the last few days and are on their way to safety in Egypt.

The Jewish ship *Atid* which is due at Tel-Aviv this evening for unloading will be reloaded with Palestinian goods for export.

It is said on good authority that the Arab strike committee warned the Arabs not to travel by train last Thursday. On that day there were several attacks on trains.

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## Profiteering and Peace

THE Labour newspaper *Davar* declares that the Arab masses are being exploited by Arab profiteers. It says :

“The foremost among these are the feudal and semi-feudal Arab elements among the effendis and their henchmen. As on previous occasions, the present disturbances are exploited by these people to strengthen their political and economic hold over their countrymen. Under a cloak of patriotism, they are tightening their grip over the masses by lowering wages, mortgaging their lands, and generally by encroaching upon their economic independence ; and all the while the Jews are being indicated as the scape-goat. Thus is the attention of the masses diverted from their own subjugation.

“There is nothing new in these methods, claims the writer ; they have been employed formerly in Russia, Poland and in other countries where land-owners consistently encouraged Jew-baiting as a means of strengthening their hold over the masses.”

The *Ha' Ulam* says :

“Nor should we despair of the Arab people here and elsewhere. It includes responsible and honest people, possibly they are the majority, although their voice is not heard through fear of terrorists, and to some extent through lack of encouragement from the Government. We are not chauvinists unable to appreciate the vital interests of others and their just rights. We declare even to-day that we are for peace with the Arabs, that there is room in this country for two peaceful and happy peoples. It is an impudent lie to say that we aim to despoil, drive out or cramp others, or to dominate them. Not to dominate others, and not to be dominated by them, is our declared policy.”

## The 1935 Report

THE Report by His Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the year 1935 is a 384-page survey of all aspects of the government of those two countries. The method pursued is common to that of previous reports, so that it is easy to see what developments have occurred under the headings of, say, Immigration and Emigration, Labour, Railways, etc. The section on Transjordan covers 79 pages, as against 31 last year. A number of chapters, including those on land and labour, have also been extended.

The reader will find it difficult to gather from this Report that most of the drive, the initiative, the capital and the new industries are the result of the Jewish determination to establish the Jewish National Home. Thus the actual achievements of the Government in improving farming are summarised under the following heads :

- (a) Provision of seed of good quality from agricultural stations for distribution to farmers.
- (b) Production of fodder for live stock.
- (c) Improvement of live stock.
- (d) Reduction of ticks and tick fever.
- (e) Development of poultry-farming and bee-keeping.
- (f) Citrus research and demonstration.
- (g) Encouragement of fruit growing.
- (h) Expansion of the work of the forest service.
- (i) Increase in number of school gardens.
- (j) Kadoorie agricultural schools.

This ignores how much of the work was actually done by Jews. It ignores the fact that the Government's contribution to that work was rendered possible only by the increased revenues arising from the Jewish development of the country. It pays no attention to the work of the Rehovoth Agricultural and Research Institutes, or to the afforestation work of the Jewish National Fund.

Information relating to the all-important matter of public finance, to revenue and expenditure, ends with March 31st, 1935. Surely it would have been more satisfactory to have included the figures up to March 1936. A time lag of fourteen months is all the more difficult to justify since the later information is now available. Many parts of the Report suffer from this belatedness.

Some interesting facts emerge. The total number of immigrants in the calendar year 1935 was 64,147, as compared with 44,143 in the previous year. If we add to these the illegal Arab and Jewish immigrants, it is clear that the country absorbed into its economy in one year 80,000 persons.

The local production of goods, presumably industrial products, is stated to have risen in value from £P6½ million to £P7 million.

The Report bears little evidence of the work of the Government Statistical Department in the two spheres where information is most lacking or is actually misleading—in wage rates and in the cost of living index.

In spite of these criticisms, the Report is indispensable. It provides a comprehensive account of the remarkable growth of the country during the twelve months under review.

## Vital Statistics

THE doubling of the population of England and Wales during the first half of the nineteenth century, and its further doubling during the second half, accompanied as it was by a rising standard of living, has long been regarded as the clearest evidence of the prosperity produced by the industrial revolution.

The doubling of the population of Palestine, due in part, it is true, to the immigration of Arabs as well as Jews, has occurred in less than two decades. The vital statistics of the country provide a valuable commentary on prevailing social conditions and the general state of health in Palestine.

The birth-rate for the country as a whole is abnormally high, and shows only a slight tendency to decline. In 1923 it was 47·4 per 1,000 of the population, and in 1935 it was 45·2. The Moslem rate was substantially higher than the Jewish, and actually rose from 51 in 1923 to 52·5 in 1935. The Jewish birth-rate declined from 36·6 to 30·8 in the same period.

The death-rate per 1,000 of the population as a whole fell from 25·7 in 1923 to 18·6 in 1935. For the Moslems the decline was from 29·3 to 23·5, and for the Jews from 14·6 to 8·6 per 1,000. The excess of births over deaths was 21·7 in 1923 and has increased to 26·6 in 1935. The corresponding survival-rate figure for England and Wales is 3, for British India 13·1, and for Egypt 15. No statistics are available for Syria.

The natural fertility of the Arab population, aided by improved sanitation, the higher standard of living, and the greater prosperity of the country, all of which have substantially reduced the mortality rates, explains the high survival rate for the country as a whole.

Infantile mortality rates are an even more sensitive index of general welfare, especially as reflected in the condition of mothers and children. The infantile death-rate among Moslems during 1923-35 declined from 199·3 per 1,000 births to 148·1, i.e. 26 per cent., whilst for the Jews it fell from 125·8 to 64·2, i.e. 49 per cent. For the population as a whole the infantile mortality rate declined by 29 per cent., from 184·8 to 131·5.

Compared with an infantile mortality rate of 59 for England and Wales, the Palestine authorities have a hard task in front of them. The position there, however, compares favourably with that in Egypt, where the rate is over 150 per 1,000, and with 170 for Hungary and 230 for Chili. In Kenya, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, the rates vary between 200 and 400.

It is clear that there has been a very considerable improvement in conditions of health under the British Civil Administration, and that whilst the Jews are comparable with the leading European peoples, the Moslems are better off than their neighbours and than the more backward European countries.



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## The Commons Debate

ON the surface at any rate the House of Commons was as near to unanimity in its debate on Palestine last week as it has ever been about anything. But could it have been anything else on the issues as presented to it? The Government's policy is in two halves, of which the first governs the second and must be satisfied before it can proceed to the second half. The first half is that the Palestinian Government must make itself master in its own house. When all disorder has ceased, then, but not before, the Government is to proceed to the second half of its policy, which is to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into grievances. We have expressed our view about that offer of the Royal Commission and see no reason to modify it. The offer was a great mistake, at any rate made when it was, and in fact the disorders have grown much worse since it was made. But undoubtedly it had the effect in last Friday's debate of concentrating attention on the immediate need of Palestine, namely, order and reasonable security for life and property. Members of all parties were agreed that the Arabs were asking for what we could not possibly give without deep dishonour and without confessing that we were incapable of carrying out the mandate. That would be tantamount to an admission that we have no moral right to be in Palestine at all. Under that feeling was a deeper uneasiness. When you get so unmistakable an issue as this of defending the integrity of a mandate against such attacks as the Arabs are now making on it, we must either show that we can rule and win a complete and decisive victory or else surrender our whole position in the Mediterranean. Palestine is the touchstone of our future in the Mediterranean and the Near East.

Later, no doubt, it will be necessary to discuss the second half of the Government's policy in some detail, but some general considerations in regard to it may be advanced now. The idea is widespread in this country that Englishmen are greatly beloved by the Arab, and that if the Arab shoots our soldiers, blows up our railway bridges and obstructs what as Mr. Amery so well argued are vital British interests, it is with an aching heart and solely on account of our friendship with the Jews. Underneath all the high compliments paid to the Jews for the magnificent work that they have done in Palestine there is still latent a certain sense of grievance, because it is thought that our friendship with the Jews has made all this trouble with the Arabs. If only the Jews were not there (some people think) all would be tranquillity; and there is a type of official that wants nothing so much as to be able to go to sleep while the routine of administration does itself. Has there been perfect tranquillity in Syria where Jews make no claim to a home? Are

the English so popular in Mesopotamia where we have given the Arabs independence and everything else that they wanted? The truth is that the Jews in Palestine are not so much the cause as the excuse for Arab discontent. Two real causes are to be distinguished. One is the conflict between the centuries, between a backward and progressive order and a newly arrived radical and advanced civilisation in its midst. That has nothing whatever to do with Jews as such; you could parallel it in the history of every country, and differences of race and creed are quite irrelevant. The other and quite inconsistent motive is sheer political ambition. Thanks to the Jews, Palestine, which has slept for centuries of decay, has become the most alive country in the East, the key of strategy and of empire, and an avenue of wealth and power far too valuable to share with anyone. The Jews are willing to share; but the ambition of some leading Arabs is influenced with visions of a great pan-Arab empire from Egypt and Beyrout to the Persian Gulf, which it refuses to share with anyone. And yet the Jew, if they were wise enough to work with him, might help them to realise his ambition in the only sense in which it is capable of realisation.

The issue in Palestine is not really between Jew and Arab. It is between prosperity and poverty, fame and decay, co-operation and a harsh imperialist racial monopoly condemned in advance to certain failure without the Jew. How greatly the Jew has benefited the Arab in an economic sense is an old story, illustrated by the contrast between Transjordan where there are no Jews and the Palestine which Jews have made relatively to the past the most prosperous country in the world. What is not realised is that the Jew is equally necessary to the Arab politically—necessary alike to what is legitimate and practical in the ambitions of Arab leaders and as a guarantee to the Arab villager against his economic oppression by his intolerant masters.

It is not, therefore, true that the cause of trouble is in the Jew or his race, or that success or failure depends on our holding the balance exactly even between Arab and Jew. On the issues as they have been stated, common sense can only take one side, which is not that of the Jew or the Arab as such, but of economic progress as against poverty, of social co-operation against intolerance. For that reason, it is to be regretted that Mr. Amery, in a speech so full of good matter, should have followed *The Times* in advocating a system of Arab preserves of land. It would not touch the real causes of the present trouble; and it would injure the supreme interest of a single Palestine nationality, which only the Jew can create but which demands the fullest co-operation between the two races.

It is an essential fact of the case for Zionist work in Palestine that the Jew is necessary to the Arab. The whole idea that it is the Government's duty to protect the Arab against the energy of the Jew is fundamentally false and ought to be given no countenance by the Government. That is one reason amongst others why the project of a Royal Commission was a mistake, and why if it is taken up it must not be conceived in the Arab interest as against the Jew, but must also include an inquiry into the grievances of the Jew too, and into the efficiency of the present Civil Service in Palestine and the need for a drastic reform that will

make it a worthy rival to the Indian Civil Service. In his admirable speech, Mr. Lloyd George brought out more clearly than has ever been done before the immense service that the British alliance with Zionism did to the Allied victory in the war—a subject on which no one can speak with such authority as he. The Jewish sympathy with the Allies was given at the very darkest hour in the war, and it was invaluable, especially in America. But it has not exhausted its usefulness. On the contrary, it is not too much to say that on the soil of Palestine that only Jews can make depends our whole future in the Mediterranean and the Near East. A Palestinian nation is an indispensable adjunct to the efficiency of our fleet and the development of our power in the air; and without the Jews, an Arab Palestine is not a nation but only an appendage of Syria.

## A Square Deal

A MEMBER of Parliament writing recently to the Press stated that he had never met a British official in Palestine who believed that the Arabs had had a square deal. Such a statement is exceedingly interesting not so much as a contribution to knowledge of the facts, but for the light it throws on the psychology of government in Palestine. What is the nature of these "grievances" of which there is much talk and which presumably constitute the "raw deal"?

When the Shaw Commission was taking evidence, the burden of economic complaint was that the Arabs were being dispossessed *en masse* of their lands and replaced by Jews. There has since been detailed inquiry which has proved that the total number was a few hundred, that most of these had found economic satisfaction elsewhere and that only a minority could be persuaded to be resettled on the land at Government expense. Let it be added that in all cases a handsome price had been paid for the land and compensation granted to the dispossessed tenants. The record of British colonisation in America, Africa or Australia could hardly be compared in these respects with Jewish colonisation in Palestine.

Apply other tests. The population of Palestine is mainly agricultural. Has it declined in numbers since the Mandate came into operation, has its standard of living fallen, has its cultural level declined, has its religious freedom been impaired, have its opportunities for individual advancement been cramped, has its power to control its own affairs been diminished? In 1922 the Arab population of Palestine numbered 488,000; in 1936 it is estimated to be 850,000. The Moslem birth-rate was 51 per thousand in 1923 and in 1925 it was 52.5. In the same period the death-rate dropped from 29.3 to 23.5 and the infantile mortality rate from 199.3 to 148.1. It is this great natural increase which chiefly accounts for the growth of the Arab population, but there has also been a quite appreciable immigration from neighbouring countries. Nothing comparable has been witnessed in the Arab countries where the Mandate does not operate. The population of Transjordan has

remained stationary, that of Egypt has increased only at one-quarter the rate of the Moslem population of Palestine.

It is precisely Jewish development which has rendered possible this Arab expansion. Before the war the chief source of revenue was the tithe levied most oppressively upon the peasant. To-day tithe constitutes only a fraction of the Budget; it has declined absolutely as well as relatively, and the Government has been able to afford the peasant relief in good times and bad because of the vast revenues derived from the Jews. The Government now spends £250,000 yearly on health services, of which nine-tenths go to Arabs. But for the Jews the Palestine Arabs would be in the same perilous plight as their brethren of Transjordan.

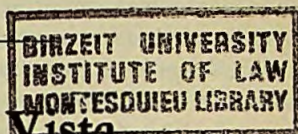
The rate of wages for Arab labour in Palestine is for unskilled in industry from 3 to 5 shillings a day, and for skilled from 6 to 10 shillings—very much higher than in any other Arab country. It is often said that Jews do not employ Arabs. In fact they give the Arab much employment at relatively high rates, both directly and indirectly. The Palestine Electric Corporation, the Neshor Cement Works, Palestine Potash, for example, have very large numbers of Arabs on their staffs, and in the Jewish Orange Groves there are thousands of Arab workers while Jews constitute the market for Arab vegetable growers. The overwhelming majority of men in the ports, the police, the railways, the Post Office, the Customs and public works, are Arabs, and in all these cases the money or the enterprise which supports them is Jewish.

Before the war there were practically no schools in Palestine, just as there are very few to-day in Transjordan and Irak. In Palestine to-day 50,000 Arab children are in Government schools, costing £180,000 a year. Here again, but for Jewish immigration there would be neither schools nor money. In religion and communal affairs the Palestine Arabs enjoy a freedom from State interference unknown under the Turks or in neighbouring Arab States; they have opportunities of public causes and employment multiplied owing to Jewish immigration; they have a measure of local government greater than in Arab States.

Over all this vast field of economic and social life it is impossible to assert that the Palestine Arabs have not had a square deal; and in respect of most of it they enjoy advantages which would have been denied to them but for the Jewish National Home. What remains as representing the "raw deal"? Apparently the lack of a "national government." One must not disparage national sentiment, just as one must not unquestioningly prostrate before it. But three things should be borne in mind. First, the war gave the Arabs what they could not give themselves—independent Arab States covering vast territories. Second, it is hardly thinkable, Jewish National Home or no Jewish National Home, that Palestine with its special characteristics would be suffered to become an independent Arab Moslem State. Third, in the Near East a "national government" is not government of the people, by the people, for the people. It is just the exploitation of the mass by groups of cliques.

Why, in all these circumstances, do British officials in Palestine say to

visitors, and presumably also to Arabs, that the Arabs have not had a square deal? Apart from a sentimental preference for Arabs or a sentimental dislike for Jews, they are living in a world of illusion. They imagine that without the Jews, Palestine would proceed much as it does, but with the Arabs gratefully submissive to their firm and wise direction. In fact, there would not be the revenue to pay the salaries of most British officials, and the Arabs would concentrate their hostility upon them. The Arab politicians hate British rule and have no respect for British officials. It is really time that British officials began to ask themselves what are British interests in Palestine and what is the relation between them and the Jewish National Home. After all, the Jewish National Home and the British Empire are both entitled to a square deal from British officials.



## A Palestine Vista

**A**MID the outrages and tumult in Palestine it may seem premature to consider what should be the aims of the Government of Palestine and those who are building up the Jewish National Home, with a view to avoiding these Sabbatical years of unrest which mar the progress. The first thing is to restore order. But it is none the less essential without delay to consider a policy which should be immediately pursued when order is restored. For unless there is a clear vision of the Palestine we want to build in this and the next generation, there is a chance that the dire stress of events may lead astray those who have to guide, and deflect them in a wrong direction.

The determination of the Jewish people not to be turned from their work by strike and violence and murder has been shown even during the critical weeks, by the holding of the Levant Fair in Tel-Aviv, and by the building of the jetty at the mouth of the Auja so that boats may be loaded and unloaded directly off the Jewish town. This last enterprise is a striking gesture of resolution at a moment of emergency; but it is to be hoped that it will not be regarded as the starting-point of a new policy by which Jewish and Arab economic life will be more self-contained and independent. That would be a reactionary step. Palestine has been, is, and will be a bi-national country; it has throughout history been the place where Eastern and Western peoples meet. Phœnicians and Amorites, Philistines and Hebrews, Greeks and Jews, Arabs and Franks, and now in our own day Arabs and Jews, have shared "the least of all lands" in different periods of history. Bi-national it must remain. The Jew recognises that he cannot drive the Palestine Arab into other lands or the desert. And the Arab will come to recognise in time that he can neither drive the Jew into the sea nor stop him from building up Palestine. But Palestine must not become the home of two separate nations struggling against each other and looking askance at each other. That way there can be no tranquillity. The aim is to combine them into one commonwealth, sharing

a common love for the fatherland and working together in every aspect of public and economic life.

There are many examples of two nationalities, originally hostile, living side by side in a territory and passing from feud and strife to the recognition of a common patriotism and mutual helpfulness. That change has come about between the peoples of different race and language in the Cantons of Switzerland, between the English and the French settlers in Canada, between the English and the Dutch colonists in South Africa, between the Flemings and Walloons in Belgium. The differences of language, culture and religion do not stand in the way once the will to understanding and co-operation is present. The aim must be to foster that will in Palestine. And a beginning must be made without delay. The cultural life of Jews and Arabs would continue to be distinct, anyhow, at the bottom. The Jews and Arabs would have separate schools in the towns and villages for their children: Hebrew would be the language of one system, Arabic of the other.

There would be little intermarriage, and the two peoples would not mix racially—to use that word in its popular and not in its ethnological sense. But economically, politically and intellectually their life would more and more be shared. They would combine in agriculture and in industrial enterprises; they would take part together in self-governing institutions; they would exchange studies and students in the higher branches of learning; they would write and speak each other's language; they would develop common economic and social ideals.

If that is the aim, how should it be immediately pursued? In the first place, the Government and the Jewish leaders should avoid any step which would tend to segregate the communities at a moment when they feel sore and bitter. It is illusory to think that the Jews could pursue a policy of security through separation until they are equal or nearly equal in number, and then seek to come together with the Arabs on equal terms. The time in which to strive for understanding and co-operation is always now. Then it is clear that the Jews must continue to make the advance for participation of the two peoples in the life of the country. They bring enterprise and science, higher standards of living and of thinking. It is for them to make a sustained effort to bridge the gulf. Generosity is not only the best and the wise policy, but also the only ethically right policy. It is not enough that the development of the Jewish National Home brings benefit to the Arab population. The Jews must be concerned directly with the well-being of all the inhabitants of the country, and must see that as far as possible no Arab is unemployed and no Arab displaced from the land. They should accept willingly that the Government should use part of its surplus revenue for spreading schools so that the intellectual level of the Arabs may be raised, and that the Government should develop the agricultural and social services primarily for the Arab so that the Arab may approach equality of opportunity with the Jew. They must set the example of learning the language of the other people; and support Arab cultural institutions. The Government on its side should encourage in Arab schools the study of Jewish history, ancient and modern, see to it that the exchange of visits of the school-pupils, which

took place in the early years of the Civil Administration, is regularly renewed, and promote in various ways the study of Hebrew amongst the Arab population.

Broadcasting gives an opportunity of making known to each community the life and conditions of the other. It should be possible to spread some more enlightened ideas of national life than now are current in the high schools. Common trade unions already exist; they should be multiplied. Even if they should mean common action against the Government, it would be ultimately for the good of the whole polity that the Jewish and Arab workmen should be organised together.

To-day politics dominate economics; it should be the Jewish policy and the Government policy to bring it about that cultural and economic motives dominate politics. There will no doubt be determined attempts on the part of Arab leaders to prevent reconciliation and co-operation; and it will need a most determined resolution of the Jewish parties and of the Government to prevail over those attempts. Understanding can be founded best by multiplying small and local contacts. The idea which has been mooted several times of constituting local mixed committees of persons of goodwill, as well in the country as in the towns, should be pursued; and whether or not that succeeds at once, the Jews should avoid any step which would tend to widen the gap between the communities in the name of the specious but dangerous principle of "safety first."

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## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, JUNE 16TH.

**I**NTENSIFIED action is being taken against well-to-do Arabs in Jaffa who refuse to contribute sufficiently to the Strike Funds, and several Arabs have been attacked by mobs of strikers in the streets of Jaffa to-day.

The jetty at Tel-Aviv which is being built for the unloading of ships has now reached a length of 93 metres, and will eventually be extended to 150 metres.

It is estimated that direct damage to Jewish property since April 19th amounts to £150,000; direct damage to Arab property is negligible.

Of the three Arab bus routes in Haifa two are now operating and all the Arab taxis are plying normally.

In view of the statement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Mufti is not paid by the Government, it is pointed out that the Mufti was appointed by the Government in 1922 to Grade IV of the Civil Service list at an annual salary of £600.

Scores of rifles and much ammunition have been seized by the police on the Transjordan frontier. They were being smuggled across by Bedouins for the Palestinian armed bands.

This evening Arabs desecrated twenty graves in the ancient Jewish cemetery near Safed, a particularly sacred spot to all Jews.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 17TH.

The authorities to-day closed the meeting-place of the Strike Committee in Jerusalem, and there is a certain grim humour in the fact that the Arab Supreme Council is demanding protection against the military authorities engaged in the search for arms.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 18TH.

Early this morning the demolition by the Royal Engineers of a number of houses in the old city of Jaffa was begun in accordance with the plan for the building of new quarters. The labyrinth of alleys in the old city has made the work of the police patrols extremely difficult. The inhabitants who are being evicted have been assured of full compensation, and Arab resentment at the demolition is subsiding. A large number of Jewish labourers have been engaged to work with the military.

It is understood that the Arab Supreme Council has been advised telegraphically by sympathisers in London to discontinue at least temporarily all acts of violence, as they are seriously affecting the success of the pro-Arab propaganda in Europe.

Outrages continue. Every day there are reports of casual shootings and the destruction of Jewish property.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 20TH.

Full work was resumed at the Karaman Dick-Salti factory in Haifa, the largest Arab cigarette factory, where work was previously irregular. The employees are all Arabs.

Arabs attempted last night to set fire to the Wizo Children's Home at Talpioth in Jerusalem. A watchman, assisted by the military from a camp near by, extinguished the fire. The home shelters over one hundred children from the ages of six months to two years.

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## America's Resentment

Mr. Emanuel Celler, a member of the United States Congress, in a letter to the *New York Times*, criticises the Palestine Government for its laxity in providing adequate defence and in punishing the agitators. He emphasises that the present events concern not only the American Jews, but all those sympathising with the progress of the Jews in re-establishing their homeland. He emphasises the fact that the policy of the Jewish National Home was unanimously endorsed by the American Congress, and also points out that a substantial amount of American capital has been invested by thousands of Jews in the hope that those persecuted Jews would find safety in Palestine, under the protection of Great Britain.



# Palestine

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## Why?

THE signs of improvement in Palestine are not as yet very distinct, but the Government is infusing much more energy into its repressive measures and there are hopes that another fortnight will see the back of the rebellion broken. For rebellion it is though its methods are those of sabotage and dacoity. It would not be surprising if the rebellion ended as rapidly and unexpectedly as it began; the wonder is rather that it has lasted so long and gone on extending long after it was perfectly clear to everyone here that no concession could or would be made to violence. The Arab fellaheen may be ignorant dupes, but they are not the men to continue a rising when they are convinced that it has no chance of success. After all, they are not driven by economic grievances; they have benefited greatly by Jewish immigration; their country is going ahead fast; the rate of increase in their own numbers is much greater than it was before the war. The Arabs are not a united people, nor is it to be supposed that they are burning with any real zeal for union with Syria or Mesopotamia; even in Palestine itself there is a majority of Arabs which is opposed not only to the methods but to the professed objects of the rising. Nor is there any religious issue between the two races; nor is it pretended that Arab civil and religious rights have been invaded. None of the ordinary causes of rebellion is present. There must be therefore some special reason which has induced the Arabs to continue the struggle, and there can be no other reason except that somehow they have persuaded themselves that they have a chance of success.

How comes it that they have got such an idea in their heads? If we could once disabuse them of it, the rising would collapse immediately; for the numbers of the terrorists are still small and they could not prevail against a general conviction that there was no chance of success. Obviously nothing that has been said here at home can have encouraged any such hope. We have made it clear that the restoration of peace is the condition precedent even to the consideration of political or economic grievances, if any can be discovered. The promise of a Royal Commission was clearly a mistake, but it was not in itself so bad a mistake as to encourage the rebels in a hopeless struggle unless there were other causes at work. That the rising must be put down, and that there must be no defection in the discharge of our duty under the Mandate, is common ground with men of all parties here. It has become a point of national honour with all but a few political eccentrics. One is forced to the conclusion that if some special encouragement has caused the Arabs to continue their rising in face of this unanimity at home, it must have been given in Palestine.

There has been in the past a deplorable lack of firmness in the official policy towards the Palestinian Arabs. The obvious anxiety to conciliate them has been misinterpreted as a sign that the Administration would yield much more if only it were pressed hard enough. Allowance, too, should be made for the effect on the minds of the Arabs of the defeat of British policy in Abyssinia and for foreign intrigue if not actual assistance. But these general explanations hardly seem sufficient to override even in the most ignorant minds the plain recent evidence of determination at home.

We have also given from time to time in the course of the present troubles evidence of miscalculation and errors of judgment so gross that it needs the exercise of great charity to call them mere mistakes; but the recent vigour of Government action in the field ought by now to have corrected any false inferences that might have been drawn from such mistakes early in the rising. The question remains whether anyone in authority in Palestine has said anything which has been taken by the Arabs as an encouragement, not of course in the methods of terrorism but in the political ends that they profess?

No one suspects the High Commissioner. Even those who have disagreed most strongly with him on specific points of policy have not questioned his loyalty to the Mandate or his general friendliness to the Zionists who have worked so hard for the country's welfare. But it is generally believed by Jews in Palestine that the same thing cannot be said of all officials, and that there has been from the first a taint of anti-Semitism, or at best of lack of sympathy with Zionism in certain official quarters. If the Arabs too believe that, it might well cause them to discount the sincerity of official declarations made at home. An official has a perfect right to have his own private opinions, but if they differ from the accepted policy of the Government he should be at special pains to keep them strictly to himself, for without actual wrongful intention gossip may make even an accidental revelation of bias or an indiscreet observation counter the strongest expressions of official policy. Remember that the Arabs know as well as we do that our honour is publicly commented; but for that very reason they are all the readier to magnify the evidence that we are secretly not in love with our duty. Again, was it not, to say the least, a mistake to have official conferences with the Committee of Ten? As things have developed, are they not inconsistent with the policy of refusing even to consider any concessions until peace has been restored? It is being said, and is believed by responsible people in Palestine, that from one of these conferences the Arabs gained the impression that, if only they stood united and maintained their pressure, the Government would eventually give in, or at least yield something. We do not believe that that is an accurate report of anything said by anyone in the Secretariat; but the Arabs are in the mood to clutch at straws for encouragement, and the question is not so much what was actually said as what impression it left on excited and prejudiced minds.

Again, is it true, as is also being said, that they were asked whether they would call off the strike if Jewish immigration were suspended?

We ask these questions for two reasons. One is that if these impressions are

being conveyed to the Arab mind, even though they were not intended, it would explain much of the history of these troubles that is difficult to understand. The bare possibility of doubt on such matters is dangerous at such a time and it should be dissipated at once no less in the Arab interest than in that of the Jews and of the British Government. A second reason is that if mistakes of this kind have been made, it is a sign that all the civil service in Palestine cannot be on the same high level of efficiency, and some better system of recruitment may have to be among the subjects to be discussed when peace is restored.

## Arab Gains

HOW have the Arabs fared since the advent of the British Administration in Palestine? What share have they taken in the material development of the country? Has their standard of living improved or declined since the British were entrusted with the Mandate and assumed the government of the country? What has been the effect of the establishment of stable administration and of the immigration of Jewish labour and capital? We propose to answer these questions in a series of articles of which this is the first. The economic test of material well-being, if not basic, is at least of supreme importance, and should therefore be considered first. Health, earnings and general economic conditions are the three angles from which the problem will be approached.

The most vivid commentary on the improved state of general health is afforded by the vital statistics.

		Birth rate per 1,000 of the Moslem population	Death rate	Infant mortality rate under one year
1923	...	51.0	29.3	199.3
1928	...	53.4	30.7	203.6
1931	...	53.4	26.2	187.5
1935	...	52.5	23.5	148.1

The only neighbouring country for which comparable figures are available is Egypt, where the death rate is 28.8 and the infant mortality rate over 150.

A decline in the death rate, and especially in the death rate of infants up to one year, is the result either of a higher standard of living, or of better medical attention and improved hygiene, or of all these factors operating together.

The Government now spends about £250,000 annually on public health services. Of this sum about nine-tenths goes for services to Arabs.

The large-scale draining operations carried out by the Jews in the Valley of Esdraelon, at Kabareh and in other parts of the country has resulted in a great diminution of malaria in those districts. The River Kishon in the Valley of Jezreel is no longer allowed to sweep into malaria-breeding marshes. In 1922 20,000 patients were treated for malaria. Although the population has doubled since that time, there is a steady tendency for the number of malaria

cases to decrease. Instead of being up on the list of Palestine's diseases it is now almost at the bottom.

In addition to this indirect gain the Arabs receive direct benefit from the health organisations established by Jewish bodies. The Sick Fund of the General Federation of Jewish Labour extends its services, in "mixed labour" districts, to Arab workers on payment of a small fee. Its dispensaries in the settlements are also at the service of the Arabs in the district.

The Report of the Department of Health for 1934 recognises the advantages to health resulting from the work of the Jewish research institutes and the Sick Fund. "The laboratories conducted throughout Palestine by the Hadassah Medical Organisation and by the Jewish Workers' Sick Fund have continued to render invaluable assistance."

### *Population*

The growth of the Arab population is one obvious index of their prosperity. From 488,000 in 1922 the Arab population reached 850,000 (estimated) in 1936. This is due both to natural increase, 29.0 per thousand in 1935, as compared with 15 per thousand in Egypt, and to immigration from neighbouring Arab countries, the people of which are attracted by the higher standards and wider opportunities prevailing in Palestine. Previous to the war there was a considerable emigration of Arabs from Palestine and Syria. In 1929 emigration from Syria totalled 18,000. Between 1920 and 1932 total emigration from Syria and the Lebanon amounted to 105,812. This was six times as large as the corresponding emigration from Palestine, 16,435. Since 1932 Palestine has become a country for Arab immigration. Many thousands of Syrian and Transjordan Arabs are now settled in Palestine.

The increase in the Arab population of the western part of Palestine is in marked contrast to that of the eastern area, where it would seem to have remained stationary. It is also in marked contrast to the past of Western Palestine, which saw no growth during the whole of the nineteenth century. From 1920 to 1932 the population of Egypt increased by 13 per cent. The number of Arabs in Palestine has increased more rapidly than the population of any other country in the post-war period.

Clearly a high survival rate, a practical cessation of emigration, and an increase in immigration from neighbouring countries are phenomena characteristic of greater all-round prosperity. There is no warrant at all for the view that prosperity amongst the Jews and amongst many Arabs might still be accompanied by greater poverty amongst certain sections of the Arab population.

Although it is not intended here to draw any conclusions from the fact, it is significant that an analysis of the 1931 census of population showed that the increase of population among both urban and rural Arabs was greatest in the neighbourhoods where Jews are settled. Between 1922 and 1931 the Moslem urban population increased in Haifa by 117 per cent., in Jaffa by 69 per cent., in Jerusalem by 47 per cent., while in such non-Jewish areas as Nazareth, Nablus and Hebron it increased by 29 per cent., 8 per cent. and

7.5 per cent. respectively, and in Gaza there has been no increase at all, indeed a slight decline.

The same phenomenon is to be observed in the agricultural areas. In the Jewish districts of the Vale of Esdraelon and the Vale of Sharon the Arab population increased by 98 per cent. and 80 per cent. respectively, in Zarnouga (near Rehovoth) it has increased by 150 per cent., whereas around Gaza it has been 48 per cent., round Nablus 28 per cent. and round Hebron 26 per cent.

Another important fact is revealed by a comparison of the censuses of 1922 and 1931. The growth of population amongst Arabs has been distributed proportionately to their numbers in town and country. There has therefore been no increase in urbanisation. This contrasts with the census figures for Egypt, which show that between 1917 and 1927 the population of the three largest towns increased by 35 per cent., whereas the rural population increased by only 8.4 per cent.

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## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, JUNE 23RD.

THE celebration of the King's birthday, previously held in Jaffa for both Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, took place to-day for the first time in Tel-Aviv. The ceremony at the Town Hall was attended by the foreign consuls, British judges, Government officials and representatives of Jewish institutions, and congratulations were cabled to the King by the Municipality.

Dr. Fritz Bodenheimer, Professor of Entomology at the Hebrew University, has enlisted in the Special Constabulary. He is the second member of the University Faculty to enlist, the first being Dr. Reichenberg, Lecturer on Biochemistry.

An arrangement has been made between the Government and the Jewish Agency for a considerable increase in the number of Jewish special constables. The full force is expected to reach 1,300 men.

The Palestine Potash Company is beginning the expansion of its works to the southern shore of the Dead Sea as far as Sodom and Gomorrah, where a new factory, larger than the present works on the north shore, will be built. A number of Jewish labourers are already employed in Sodom; the only communication with the rest of the country being a boat service twice a week.

Arab watchmen have left their work in many Jewish orange groves from fear of the terrorists. They are necessarily being replaced by Jews.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 24TH.

The High Commissioner arrived by plane at Afuleh this morning. A petition was presented to him asking for an increase of Jewish policemen and watchmen for the protection of the settlers, for an increase in the number of

licences for rifles, and for compensation for the great losses which the settlements have suffered. In reply, the High Commissioner said that, taking into consideration the restraint and self-control shown by the Jewish community in these most difficult days, the Government approves an increase in the number of armed Jewish special constables. Sir Arthur Wauchope said that although he appreciated that serious losses had been sustained, he considered that the time was not ripe for the discussion of compensation.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 25TH.

During the past days there has been an important change of tactics in the Government fight against terrorism and for the preservation of the means of communication between the Jewish colonies. Hitherto the military patrols have been content to return the fire of the terrorist gangs and to beat off their attacks on convoys and settlements. This week the military have been engaged for the first time in pursuing the gangs and have, with the help of aeroplanes, assumed the offensive. Their attacks have been accompanied by heavy losses to the terrorists in killed and wounded, and, although these losses are minimised in the Arab press, they are having a very considerable effect.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 26TH.

The Arab press to-day publishes the Mufti's reply on behalf of the Supreme Moslem Council to Mr. Ormsby-Gore's statement in Parliament. In this reply the Mufti points out that the present policy of the Government is endangering the Moslem religion and the holy places, since the principal aim of the Jews in Palestine is the realisation of their religious hope to rebuild the Temple in the place of the Mosque of Omar. The Mufti reiterates the Arab demands, and emphasises that the Jewish National Home must not be built in Palestine, which is a Moslem country, and in which all the Moslem peoples have an interest. Mr. Ormsby-Gore's statement that the Supreme Council is not striking is not contradicted by the Mufti.

JERUSALEM, JUNE 27TH.

The report that 60,000 armed Transjordanians are ready to invade Palestine is utterly untrue, and there are no indications of any such rising. Transjordan is well controlled by the Air Force, and the passes of the Jordan are being watched. The Transjordan Government has published a categorical denial of the rumours that Crown Prince Talal is ready to march into Palestine with an army of armed men.

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## Warnings Disregarded

**I**N the report for the year 1935 recently presented by the Palestine Administration to the Council of the League of Nations, there is the definite admission that the Administration had full warning of the possibility of

the outbreak that began in April. In the section headed "Public Security," the report says :

"To the usual internal causes of political disquiet were added during the autumn certain external causes ; so that, although public security has been well maintained, the latter part of the year has not been free from tension. The discontent among the Arabs arising from Jewish immigration and purchase of land has been constantly manifested in vehement speeches and strongly worded press articles. . . .

"Rumours of the formation of terrorist bands, inspired by political and religious motives, have been rife for some time, and on the 7th November a police sergeant, following up a case of theft in the hills of Nazareth sub-district, was shot dead by an unknown person. This event led to the discovery of the existence in that neighbourhood of an armed band under the leadership of Sheikh Izzed din al Qassam, a political refugee from Syria."

The death of the Sheikh was the occasion for a vehement outburst of Arab indignation, and was immediately followed by the union of the five organised Arab political parties. It is clear that the events of November were the prelude to the trouble that began five months later, and official inactivity in the intervening period was, to say the least of it, remarkable.

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## Immigrant Development

**T**HE *Midland Bank Monthly Review* (May-June 1936) discusses "the terms of International Investment" and suggests that official regulation of the new capital market by the Foreign Transactions Advisory Committee is to be maintained, perhaps even more strictly than before. The experience of Australia, Malaya, and Palestine is surveyed as a guide to future policy. The externally owned capital in Australia, aggregating well over £800 million, consists of public debt raised in a form which involves fixed debt charges. British investments in Malaya, amounting roughly to £100 million, are practically all of the "equity" type. The City's investment in Palestine is about £10 million.

The *Review* says of the position in Palestine :

"For the purpose of developing Palestine's natural resources and for the settlement there of an increased population it has been necessary to introduce a large amount of capital from external sources. Some of this has been provided by Government borrowing, on fixed interest terms, in London, and to this limited extent the risk has been accepted of an experience similar to Australia's—a grave enlargement, at a time of adversity, of the real burden of external debt. Some has been provided by private enterprise, partly on 'equity' terms, and to this extent an element of elasticity is present, similar

to that operative in Malaya. But another and far larger part has been provided without placing any burden whatsoever on the balance of payments in years to come. This part of the capital has been brought in by the settlers themselves, and no liability is involved to remit any part of the yield on this capital, whether the yield be large or small, beyond the country's borders. For this reason there is, at least as far as the development has gone, a minimum of risk of difficulty in maintaining the service of capital externally owned.

"The bearing of all this upon current policy and project, more especially in imperial affairs, is evident. The characteristic of development in Palestine is traceable largely to special non-economic circumstances; yet it is not altogether irrelevant to the possibilities of a resumption of new settlement, for example, in Australia. In considering plans to this end it is clearly desirable that the men should go with their own capital, in a direct and fruitful partnership. This is perhaps the ultimate desideratum in immigrant development. Unhappily, it is attainable only to a relatively small extent, for generally speaking the man with capital prefers to remain at home, and the inducement to migrate is far stronger to the man whose resources, apart from muscle and brain, are small or non-existent. The lesson of Palestine's experience, then, does not carry the discussion far."

## The Apparent Adverse Trade Balance

SIR HERBERT LAWRENCE'S address at the General Meeting of the Ottoman Bank on June 16th, 1936, contained the following reference to Palestine:

"In Palestine during the first seven months of 1935 prosperity continued in all branches of trade. This was followed by a period of uneasiness provoked by fear of complications arising out of the war in Abyssinia; but subsequently the situation improved, and towards the end of the year gradually became more normal. The value of imports increased from 15,500,000 Palestine pounds in 1934 to 17,900,000 Palestine pounds in 1935, and that of exports from 4,350,000 Palestine pounds to approximately 4,700,000 Palestine pounds. The very large adverse trade balance shown by these figures is only apparent, as it is compensated by the funds brought into the country by the Jewish immigrants.

"During the year two hundred and ninety-eight new companies were registered, with a total capital of 3,120,000 Palestine pounds. Our branches have participated fully in the commercial activity of Palestine, and the results have been satisfactory.

"Unfortunately the steady progress in the country has since been interrupted by the present disturbances, and the prosperity of Palestine will largely depend on a speedy settlement of the dispute."



# Palestine

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No. 20

## Short Views and Long

MR. ORMSBY-GORE, backed by emphatic declarations in Parliament, has stated that the first duty of Government in Palestine is to restore order, and that the Royal Commission and the consideration of "grievances" will come only after the campaign of murder, arson, and destruction has been ended. Nobody doubts the Colonial Secretary's excellent intentions, wide knowledge and broad understanding; but there is not equal confidence in all his advisers and in the judgment of some who by virtue of related responsibilities have access to him. In theory a permanent official has knowledge, but not personality. He serves indifferently whatever chief may be put over him, and he is wedded to no policy but the one which that chief adopts. He may have opinions, but has no emotions if they fail to find acceptance; he may tender advice, but neither rejoices if that advice is accepted nor is chagrined if it is rejected. He has done his duty; the rest is with the Minister. Such is the theory, but it hardly corresponds very closely with the facts. The individual official is, like the rest of us, a man of flesh and blood, with convictions, prejudices and passions. The body of the officials in any Department is a corporation with a very strong spirit of its own, its own sense of dignity, its own delight in power, its own determination to carry through the policy which it believes to be right or with which its prestige has become associated. We should be wrong to discount the weight of such factors, whether we think of the body of officials in Palestine or their brethren in Downing Street.

Now one characteristic of officialdom in regard to Palestine which is not a matter of divination or speculation but of plain historical record, is that it has always sought to reward violence by concession. That was so in 1921, when immigration was suspended for a time and a Legislative Council tendered in response to murder. It was so in 1929 when wholesale murder was blessed by the notorious White Paper. There are clear signs of a like tendency during the present crisis. There has been a movement to stop Jewish immigration even while the fields were burning, the bombs were exploding, and the tide of innocent blood was flowing. Now all this may merely express the human anxiety of officials to be rid of their immediate troubles at whatever cost to others and by whatever mortgage of the future; or it may be the outcrop of a deep-lying seam of policy. Whichever the explanation, here is one source of pressure which a Minister needs good nerves and clear philosophy to counter.

From another direction he is likely to be assailed. Palestine is not an island insulated from the world; it is at the heart of what happens to be a troubled part of a very troubled world. Administrators in neighbouring territories

concerned with their own difficulties may naturally ask to be spared an increase from outside, and may not be too scrupulous in asking whether, on a larger view, what they are urging may not be bought at heavy cost not only to Palestine but to the lands for which they themselves are directly responsible.

One of the commoner political illusions is that the man on the spot or the man next to the spot necessarily sees further or has a wider philosophy than those who are less entangled than he in the jungle of daily routine or beset by the cares of the hour. The distinction in statesmanship is not geography but vision, and, other things being equal, some measure of distance is helpful to vision. Ordinary humanity, whether on the frontier or in Downing Street, is principally interested to get through its immediate tasks and dispose of its immediate troubles. And that is a grave danger in precisely such a situation as now confronts Palestine.

Quite possibly one might bring the disorders in Palestine to a speedier end by granting the anarchists what they demand—suspension of Jewish immigration, veto on land transfers, a “national government” or some of all these things. It is not necessary to point out that this would be as gross a breach of faith as modern history offers. That fact is so plain that it obviously can have no appeal to those who urge such a policy. But the man who cannot recognise a political crime may be able to recognise a political blunder; and such conduct would be a political blunder of magnitude. We are all sorrowfully conscious that, for a variety of reasons, British prestige has of recent months declined. Surrender, whatever be the label or the envelope, to a few hundred dacoits would be such an exhibition of weakness as would imperil the influence and the moral authority of this country precisely at a time when such a loss could be least afforded. Some officials in the Near East or Downing Street might be spared a few sleepless nights or, at least, troubled days, but at what a cost to the British Empire! There may be a case in politics (though we should not care to argue it) for never making a stand; there is a case for resolute consistency; there is no case for strong words and feeble acts. Empires are not built, still less are they sustained in that fashion.

The brutal truth about the position in Palestine is that the restoration of order is not simply the duty of the Government, it is in its command. The resistance is cracking; it will break if the requisite resolution is invoked and applied. Nothing is better calculated to delay the return to the normal than the suspicion that violence may get its reward. Nor ought there be any thought of rewarding it after a brief interval. Between the suppression of disorder and the reporting of the Royal Commission, which Mr. Ormsby-Gore's predecessor was induced to wish on Palestine, there will be an interim. If during that interim any change is made, so far as policy and administration are concerned, in the *status quo*, that will be interpreted as once again a concession to violence; and it will of course be, by implication, a prejudging of the whole issue. In its effect upon British prestige and British authority in the Near East and much wider regions it will be a disaster.

The stamp of statesmanship, one cannot repeat the commonplace too often,

is not to lose grasp on the large purpose amid the difficulties and distractions of the moment. There are two twin major purposes involved in the National Home—a great humanitarian and civilising enterprise so far as the Jews are concerned, and an essential fortifying of the British Empire so far as this country is concerned. Are these things worth striving for? If the answer be “Yes,” and for British statesmanship there can be no other answer, then the doubters and their timid counsels must be brushed aside. To will the end is to will the means.

## Arab Gains

### Agricultural Developments

**T**HE vast majority of Arabs live on the land as self-employers. The prosperity of the Arab population is therefore largely bound up with the state of agricultural occupations.

From the very beginning of the British Administration agriculture has been one of the chief concerns of the Government. The first High Commissioner gave the cultivators of Government land in the fertile Beisan district a large area of state land on most liberal conditions, initiated the land-tax reform, promulgated land settlement legislation and extended widely village schools. Sir Arthur Wauchope has displayed great personal interest in the problems of the agricultural classes and deep concern for agricultural education, research and experiment stations and stud farms.

The tithe, which under the Turkish regime was one of the two main sources of state income, has in recent years declined to 1-2 per cent. of the public revenue of Palestine, which now totals some five and a half million pounds annually. Tithe collection fell from £287,000 in 1921 to £109,000 in 1934, in spite of the doubling of the population. In 1933 and 1934, £345,000 of tithe dues were remitted. The almost complete exemption of the peasants from taxation, and the remission of old debts, cannot be paralleled in any of the surrounding countries such as Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The change was possible only because the Government found other and more lucrative sources of income. The new revenues are, moreover, largely used for the benefit of the agricultural population. It has been claimed that, under the present High Commissioner, the indebtedness of the Arab cultivator has been reduced by 60 per cent., and the tax burden on small farmers by as much as 70 per cent. Tithes are altogether remitted during periods of bad harvests.

The Government has rendered further assistance by helping the villages to find fresh sources of water supply. The achievements and discoveries of all the laboratories, experiment stations and training colleges, both Governmental and Jewish, have been made available to the Arabs. An Arab Agricultural Training School has been founded with Jewish money. Arab school teachers are being trained in the elements of farming, and practical instruction is given to children in the gardens attached to the schools.

The programme of Government activities for improving Arab agriculture includes practical encouragement in forming co-operatives for the purchase

of seed and the sale of produce. The farmers are able to obtain credit on reasonable terms through the Palestine Agricultural Mortgage Company and the co-operative credit societies. Both the company and the co-operative credit societies were initiated and supported by the Government, and their operations will gradually displace the usurious Arab moneylenders, who frequently charge as much as 30 per cent. for their loans to distressed cultivators.

The Government has also constructed a network of excellent roads, connecting the remote villages in hitherto inaccessible mountain districts with the main arterial roads. The roads have conferred a further indirect benefit, since a great deal of the work was undertaken during periods of agricultural distress, thus providing the fellah with alternative employment.

Recent activities of the Government designed to improve farming have been summarised under the following heads :

1. Provision of seed of good quality from agricultural stations for distribution to farmers ;
2. Production of fodder for livestock ;
3. Improvements of livestock ;
4. Development of poultry farming and bee-keeping ;
5. Citrus research and demonstration ;
6. Encouragement of fruit growing ;
7. Expansion of the work of the forest service ;
8. Increase in number of school gardens ;
9. Kadoorie agricultural schools.

All these measures are beginning to take effect, and their results will be increasingly in evidence in the future.

The outstanding achievement in Palestinian agriculture has been the development of the citrus industry. In 1922 the Arabs had 20,000 dunams (1 dunam =  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre) planted with citrus. By 1935 the total citrus area in the hands of the Arabs was 130,000 dunams, and their citrus exports for the previous year were valued at £1,350,000. Previous to the war, the small area planted with citrus was owned by wealthy Arab landholders. In recent years Arabs with limited means have also been able to plant groves. By selling part of his land, the fellah has obtained sufficient capital to develop the rest on sound modern lines, whilst by working part of the time for others he can subsist until the trees begin to bear fruit. This is a common practice around Rishon le Zion, Petach Tikvah and Rehovoth. At Zernouga, near Rehovoth, two-fifths of the owners of the new citrus groves earn their living by working in the colony.

The growing urban population and the requirements of the settlements and citrus plantations provide a good market for the olives, almonds, table grapes, bananas, melons and tobacco grown by the Arabs. Again in response to urban demand, the Arabs like the Jew, have developed other kinds of farming in addition to the traditional cereals and olives, which at the moment barely repay the costs of cultivation. They are devoting more and more attention to fruit and vegetables, dairy products, poultry and cattle farming.

The expansion in citrus cultivation and the growth of urban areas have doubled and quadrupled the value of land, of which the Arab is the monopolist. Sales at inflated prices have enabled the Arabs to turn to intensive irrigated farming, recommended by the Governmental agricultural bodies and practised by the Jews.

Many of the young Arab farmers have learnt a great deal from observing Jewish farmers. Some of them have visited and even worked on the Jewish experimental farm at Rehovoth. Many Arabs are now running their farms on advanced scientific lines. They welcome Government assistance in replacing the old system of land tenure in common by individual ownership after redistribution. The immediate tangible results are improved cultivation and higher yields.

It must not be assumed, however, that the condition of the fellah is altogether desirable. The fellaheen in the south and other parts far from the densely populated areas profit only in so far as they migrate to the wealthier districts. During periods of drought and bad harvests the fellah's lot is not happy. He borrows in order to meet current expenses and must then pay the Arab moneylender exorbitant rates of interest. Tenants are still dominated by their landlords and moneylenders. In the days of Turkish rule they had in addition to meet very heavy imposts.

Even where the Arab cultivators have not prospered in recent years, they are much better off than they were in the Turkish Empire. Many of their principal products, it is true, have suffered from the world fall in prices. Insufficient rainfall in 1933 and 1934 made matters worse, but some recovery in world prices and good rains for two or three years would bring the fellaheen to a modest standard of prosperity.

It may be desirable to refer here to the question of the landless Arab. The small pieces of land of which the peasants dispose are not suitable for Jewish settlements. These must be large enough to accommodate enough settlers to constitute a village or communal group. Most of the land that has been acquired by the Jews was the property of wealthy absentee landlords; perhaps 10 per cent. belonged to small peasant proprietors. The average price of such land in the years 1910-14 was 12s. to 18s. per dunam. Its present value is anywhere from £5 to £30 per dunam and even more. Land which yielded a thin crop of poor quality barley or wheat has been converted into valuable fruit groves. Villagers from districts where no Jewish settlements exist will sometimes approach Jewish agencies, asking them to buy their land and establish colonies in order that they, the fellaheen, may "become as wealthy as the fellaheen of the villages in the neighbourhood of the present Jewish colonies."

An inquiry made quite recently showed that over a period of twelve years the number of heads of Arab families displaced by Jewish settlement was 656, and by the end of 1934 the Government had acquired 17,868 dunams (about 4,500 acres) of land at a cost of £72,240, for their resettlement on new holdings. By that date all registered Arabs who had signified their willingness to take up holdings upon Government estates had been accommodated, according to the Government report, the reason why only a small number of

Arabs had come forward to take up land was that there was "at present plenty of employment to be found in the towns and neighbouring orange groves."

As the statistics given above show, there is no general tendency towards urbanisation. Certain Arab peasants have improved themselves economically by taking up well-paid employment in the town, and this is a movement which is general throughout the world, is natural and cannot and should not be prevented by legislative measures aimed at riveting them to the soil, when they consider that they have better prospects in the town.

## Zionist Manifesto

**T**HE Palestine members of the Zionist General Council, which assembled in Jerusalem on June 22nd, addressed an important message to the Jewish people. The following are its more important statements :

The Arab strike, which was inspired by racial hatred and which aims at the suppression of the Jews and started with murderous attacks on innocent people, has been imposed by dint of violence and terrorism on the Arab workers and traders who desired peace and the continuance of work and trade. The true character of the strike has been revealed by the misdeeds accompanying it ; the dislocation of communications, the destruction of water supplies, the burning of fields and of buildings, the uprooting of trees, the throwing of bombs in crowded thoroughfares, and finally ambushes and attacks on the forces of law and order and on the Jewish settlements. The strike has let loose on the country terrorists who spread death and arson throughout the land.

In face of the war and destruction directed against the Jewish community and Jewish national aspirations, and of the racial and religious incitement of the Arab masses, the Government failed to adopt prompt and adequate measures which would have stamped out the evil in its initial stage. Its weakness and vacillation and its lack of any resolute policy have reduced the country to a state of anarchy. Of the murderers in Jaffa who committed brutal deeds in open daylight, only one has so far been convicted, most of the assassins and destroyers of property not having been apprehended, nor have their traces been followed up. The demand of the attacked Jews for necessary defence was met in an insufficient measure, and only belatedly.

Resolute declarations made by the Government were of little avail since they were not followed up by corresponding action. Such official weakness encouraged the ringleaders and enabled them to induce their followers to arm themselves for a prolonged struggle. It aroused the belief among the elements of destruction that triumph awaited them in the end. The Government also failed to avail itself of the publicity at its disposal, such as radio, proclamations and the press, for enlightening the Arab population and preventing the spread of incitement and lawlessness.

As a result of the disproportionate and limited employment of Jews in

Government works and public services, in the ports, the law courts, the civil service, the police force, and the Transjordan Frontier Force, the machinery of the Government was unable to function effectively. That section of the population which is the object of the attack not being adequately represented in the defence and vital services, the Administration could not hold its own during the troubles. To the small extent where Jews were represented in the public services and the port of Haifa, they prevented a paralysis of these services.

The Government must duly be credited for the assistance it rendered in the opening of the Levant Fair at the fixed time, for the setting up of Government offices in Tel-Aviv, for granting permission for the unloading of goods at the Tel-Aviv shore, for the enlistment of additional Jewish police, and particularly for the granting of the labour immigration schedule. The Government manifested its determination not to yield to violence. These measures, just and necessary in themselves, also had a moral effect in that they encouraged the Jews to bear their trials and tribulations with fortitude and restraint and to abstain from ventilating its resentment by acts of despair.

But these beneficial acts initiated by the Government must be continued and extended. Jews must be given adequate representation in the security and defence forces, the jetty of Tel-Aviv must be developed into a real port, and administrative offices must be established by the Government in the Jewish rural areas. Among the vital needs for which provision has still to be made, particular stress must be laid on the construction of roads, indispensable for security purposes, and the granting of compensation to those who have suffered from the disturbances.

Numerous are our victims, heavy are our losses, but our spirit remains unbroken. In the midst of war we do not forget that our aim is peace; in the midst of destruction we do not cease to build. Facing the cruel attacks on us and the malevolent designs, we remain confident in the justice of our cause, in our creative power, and in the eternal Israel, who will surmount all obstacles in the way of his redemption.

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## The Situation

JERUSALEM, JULY 1ST.

**N**O one here has the smallest doubt that the continuance of the Arab strike is only made possible by regular subsidies from abroad. Arab contributions, including money collected in Syria and Egypt, only amounts to £P.4,000, and there is a daily expenditure of £P.2,000.

Vital statistics for the first quarter of 1936 just published here show that Palestine has one of the highest birth-rates in the world. The birth-rate of the Moslem community is 63·2 and of the Jews 31·9; the Arab death-rate is declining. These Government statistics contradict the allegation of Arab distress. Jewish immigration has considerably decreased.

The intimidation of law-abiding Arabs by the terrorists is increasing, but none the less there is evidence that the movement is weakening. Villages are working unless, as in the Jordan Valley, there is no harvest to gather.

The largest Arab factory in Haifa continues to employ 300 Arab workmen and Arab shops are reopening in Jaffa.

A leaflet entitled *Popular Front*, encouraging the Arab terrorists in the struggle against what is denounced as Anglo-Zionist Imperialism, has been issued by the Palestine Communist Party.

The Hebrew *Davar*, referring to the Government figures published on the Jews and Arabs killed and arrested since the beginning of the disturbances, points out that the form in which they are presented gives a false picture of the rioting in the country. The report does not take into consideration that the Jews who have been killed were victims of the attacks by the Arabs, while the Arabs met their death from the defence forces who were protecting peaceful citizens. Nor does the Government report make it clear that the majority of the arrested Jews are only guilty of breaking the curfew or are Jewish communists who are assisting in the agitation against their fellow Jews.

## Palestine as a Maritime Power

WE quote the following from an article in *Palestine Review* :

“Palestine’s hinterland is discovering more and more clearly that the sea borders of Palestine form the gateway to international traffic. The land border of Palestine does not possess drawing powers for world traffic to any commensurate degree. It is therefore made plain why the *per capita* rate of tonnage for shipping is very great. The 1935 figures for Palestine’s incoming and outgoing shipping combined amounted to an average of 5·6 tons per head, whereas Italy, which also boasts of an exceptionally long coast line, can show no more than 2 tons per head for the same period. The British Isles, which hold the premier position in world shipping, show 3·07 tons; Germany 0·5 tons, while Denmark, which is an old-established and highly developed maritime land, does not claim a higher average than that of Palestine. It is necessary to study matters from this aspect too, in order to comprehend the importance to-day of Jewish shipping for Palestine.

“But in developing Jewish shipping there is yet another aim: one of the most important problems to be faced in the upbuilding of the country is the question of the nation’s occupational distribution. The greatest danger which can befall the Jews is a one-sided segregation into a small number of trades or professions, such as we feel to be the fundamental tragedy of Jewish social existence in the Diaspora. In the prevention of such a development in Palestine Jewish shipping is facing heavy responsibilities. A nucleus of Jewish seamen of all ranks must be trained. Their significance lies not only in the fact that they will work as Jews on Jewish ships; they will also serve to normalise the social structure of the Jewish Settlement.”



# Palestine

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## Poltroonery

IF the Jews were to refuse to go to a country where their lives and property were in danger, one could at least understand their motives. But that a great country like ours, which has twice carried on its own shoulders the major burden of maintaining the liberty of the whole world, should shiver and shake before a few hundred Arab terrorists, and should actually be suggesting to the Jews that they should relax their efforts for Palestine because otherwise it cannot discharge its part of the bargain—which is to maintain law and order—this is sheer poltroonery. We are not concerned for the moment with the Jewish aspect of the case, but with the British. What future is there for Great Britain in the East if a mere handful of terrorists can frighten it away from its plain duty? The recent debate in the House of Commons made it quite clear that the Government would have the unanimous support of men of all shades of politics in its efforts to restore law and order, and that until rebellion ceased there could be no thought of compromise. We have suggested that there were some men in the service of the Palestinian Government who did not agree with what we and everyone else understood to be the policy of the Home Government, that somehow the Arabs had got it into their heads that the views of these men would prevail, and were in consequence continuing what otherwise they would have been convinced by now was a hopeless rebellion. The dreadful suspicion is now being forced upon us that the Arabs may have formed a more correct appreciation of the forces at work behind or in the Government than the House of Commons or British public opinion.

The Government may, if it likes, put on the Jews the blame for a state of things which is mainly due to its own mistakes in the past, but it cannot alter the issue as it presents itself to the eyes of the world. On the one hand you have a people who have done a wonderful work in Palestine, whose lives and property have become insecure, who in some parts have seen the labour of years destroyed overnight, and who have behaved with the most exemplary patience and restraint. On the other hand there is a handful of terrorists who prefer that Palestine shall go to rack and ruin rather than it shall prosper by Jewish help, and to gratify their own ambitions are coercing or duping the majority of their compatriots who left alone would be quite content to go on benefiting by Jewish enterprise. Between them there is a British Government which owes its position in the country to an international mandate, and itself owes a great deal and might owe much more to the privileged position which it conferred upon her. The immediate issue is whether those shall benefit who have worked with her or those who have worked against her, whether it pays to help in the development of a country

or to sabotage its progress, and whether murder and arson shall be the conclusive argument, or patience and self-restraint. And it looks as though the Government were hesitating. Nothing is so certain that the least appearance of doubt on such an issue will deal a far greater blow to British prestige than anything that has happened in the Near East, including Abyssinia, in the last hundred years. The *Observer* has pleaded in excuse for running away that the Moslems of India will take offence if we deal with violence in Palestine as we should deal with it at home. As though it could possibly be a good thing to let it be known anywhere but especially in the East that we should concede to violence what we would not concede to reason, and as though the greatest of all the assets of British rule were not belief in its integrity and its courage.

Whatever the Government be disposed to do in the future, it must do nothing now that would advertise a doctrine that if understood and acted upon would make our position impossible everywhere in the East. This is no question of Jew and Arab in Palestine; but of our ability to rule. Either we think the Jew has a right to make a home in Palestine, or we do not. If we do not, we have no business to be administering the Mandate; if we do, the mere temporary suspension of Jewish immigration would have no more effect in conciliating the Arabs now than it had in 1922 and 1929; it must rather have the opposite effect of discouraging the appeal to reason and encouraging rebellion and violence as the only argument (it would be said) that the Government understands. Concede to violence the right to stop half a dozen Jewish immigrants coming into the country who are otherwise qualified by their character and by their ability to develop its resources and make a living for themselves, and you concede the right to stop any and every Jew and to turn out the Jews that are already there. And, indeed, it is said that behind the Government's intention to suspend Jewish immigration during the sitting of the Royal Commission there is a project for recasting the old rules. Hitherto the amount of immigration has depended on the "economic capacity of the country" to absorb it. Governments may not be the best judges of economic capacity of a country; but at any rate, under the rule Palestine has made wonderful progress and it has been possible to do something to relieve oppressed Jewry in Europe. But in future it is now suggested that a wholly different standard should be adopted. Not what a backward and long-neglected country needs and can absorb is to be the standard, but a wholly artificial test of what Government may see fit to prescribe in view of general conditions, among which the views of men who are now terrorising the Arab villagers, holding up transport, killing British soldiers and policemen as well as Jews, and sabotaging the works of scientific progress, would presumably become increasingly important. As though any work worth doing could be done on such lines. If we want the whole world to think that either our claim to be Empire-builders is fraudulent, or that we have sadly degenerated, we shall certainly adopt this plan, or that other plan of making a piebald Palestine of Jewish and Arab communities kept carefully separate from contact. But surely the pride of the country will shrink back in horror when it realises that such a solution would be a

miserable confession of failure to carry out what we acknowledged to be our duty under the Mandate. Those who look forward to an even greater future than its past for the British Empire must hope for braver, wiser, and in the long run infinitely safer counsels than these.

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## Moral Courage

SIR MICHAEL McDONNELL is not a distinguished judge, but his censure of "the lack of moral courage" of the Palestine Administration in handling the Jaffa demolitions is warranted. One of the old congested quarters of Jaffa harboured in its rabbit-warren of streets and alleys a lawless element active in outrage and disorder. The Government decided to drive two broad streets into this area so as to enable the forces of the law to penetrate easily. Instead of candidly avowing their purpose they announced that they were simply carrying out a long-projected sanitary and public health reform. This disingenuous presentation landed them in legal difficulties. A police measure could be justified by the Defence of the Realm Ordinance; a sanitary measure could not be justified by the ordinary law or by the Defence of the Realm Ordinance. When the matter came before the Courts the Government after shifting from one leg to another finally settled down on the leg of defence, incurring in the process a stinging rebuke from the Chief Justice who is no artist in words.

The incident is important for the light it throws on the mentality of the Government throughout the troubles. It took strong action but weakened its effect by soft words and a denial of resolute purpose. Its more common error is to use strong words which are not backed up by firm conduct. Both methods are mistaken and damaging to the authority and respect of the Government. The Arabs are a simple enough people in their political conceptions. They must understand their Government if they are to bow to it; and they do not understand a Government when its voice is the voice of Jacob and its hand the hand of Esau.

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## Arab Gains

### INDUSTRIAL BEGINNINGS

Progress in the Jewish sector has begun to affect Arab economy in the fields of industry and banking.

One highly significant fact is that the Arabs have about £4,000,000 deposited in the banks. One essential for development, capital, is thus available. This is almost entirely the result of the sale of land to Jews at a handsome price. During the last eighteen years the proceeds of such sales have, it is estimated, amounted to roughly £10,000,000, of which some four millions have been spent on irrigation, modern agricultural machinery, the development of intensive agriculture and housing. Machinery is coming into more general use, and there are already in existence several workshops for maintenance and repairs.

Modernisation has gone farthest in transport. Arab companies and partnerships have in recent years established many garages and run bus and motor services, using hundreds of vehicles. Amongst the largest are the Haifa-Acre Bus Service Company, which links up the two towns and the neighbouring villages, and the Beit Sala Bus Company, providing a service between Beit Sala and Jerusalem; "Arab" taxis are to be found in every town.

The manufacture of oils and soaps has long been an Arab industry, and machine methods of production are gradually being introduced. A modern factory is now being built at Jaffa, which will eliminate the waste involved in the old methods of work. Building materials are manufactured by Arab concerns, silk and cotton textiles are to be made on modern lines at Nablus, and a modern tobacco-making plant with a capital of £15,000 has been established. Arabs also run a number of small printing presses and publish some twenty-two periodicals.

Industrial development is encouraged by the Government's educational activities. A large number of the public schools for Arabs have properly equipped workshops attached, where manual instruction is given; and a new Trade School for Arabs is shortly to be opened at Haifa. Even more important, perhaps, is the organisation of Arab co-operatives under the supervision of the Government, which also gives assistance to co-operatives for well-boring and is taking an active interest in the proposed establishment of industrial co-operative societies in Nablus and Migdal Jad. Government support is also to be given to the private company which, it was reported, intends to put up hotels at Akaba, Petra and Kir Moeb.

Some idea of the extent to which industrialisation has proceeded can be obtained from the figures of company registration. In 1932 the new Arab companies and co-operatives registered had a total nominal capital of £20,000, whereas during the first eight months of 1935 such registrations showed a total nominal capital of £123,000.

In commerce the Arabs have good connections with the neighbouring countries and a growing volume of internal trade. Sales organisations have been established for their citrus products, and in the Northern District a co-operative oil-storing and marketing society is being formed.

In finance the largest undertaking is the Arab Agricultural Bank, with a paid-up capital of £95,000. The Arab Bank has also been growing steadily, and has in the last few years increased its capital from £15,000 to £45,000. Perhaps the healthiest development has taken place in the field of co-operative credit institutions, under Government supervision.

It is true that a number of undertakings are shortlived, and numerous attempts to establish hotels and factories prove abortive. But this is to be expected in Palestine as elsewhere. What emerges from an examination of recent Arab economic development is that it is following an evolutionary process common to all countries that have responded to the influences of world industrial and commercial organisation and progress. Arab industrial economy is growing along parallel lines to the Jewish. The Jerusalem Exhibition is the Arab complement of the Tel-Aviv Fair. The Arabs have

capital. They can obtain the help of the Government. They are eager to imitate the Jews. They are learning to co-operate. They are not averse to the advantages of industrialism. They have reached the stage where the partnership is beginning to make way for the larger aggregations of capital, obtainable through the limited liability company, which are essential for any widespread industrial expansion.

### BUILDING ACTIVITY

The most obvious change in the outward appearance of Palestine is the growth of modern housing accommodation. This form of investment is popular amongst the Arabs, partly because they are anxious to enjoy modern amenities, and partly as a means of obtaining a profitable source of income.

Investments in building, which have grown considerably during the last ten years, may be divided between the Arab towns, Nablus, Ramleh, Acre, Nazareth, Bethlehem, etc., and the towns with a mixed Arab and Jewish population, Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberias, Safed. In these towns both Arabs and Jews have built houses of all kinds, some of them of good architectural quality.

#### *Building Activity 1924-34*

	1924		1934	
	£	per cent.	£	per cent.
Arab towns .. ..	51,160	100	128,000	252
Mixed towns .. ..	430,560	100	3,740,000	868

The building industries afford a wide field of employment for Arabs. Quarrying, the production of building materials, limestone works and transport are almost exclusively in their hands, and they also carry out a large proportion of the actual building operations.

## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, JULY 8TH, 1936.

**A**T a meeting of the Arab Higher Committee to-day, a resolution was passed protesting, firstly, against the broadcast speech by the High Commissioner; secondly, against the intervention of the British Ambassador in Iraq, which had prevented the Iraqi delegation coming to Palestine; thirdly, against the "brutalities" employed by the military.

The building of a new road with the object of shortening the distance between Herzlia and Tel-Aviv has been undertaken by the Bitzur Company, which was founded by the Unemployment Fund of the Jewish Labour Confederation, together with the Jewish Agency and the Anglo-Palestine Bank. Instead of the distance hitherto of 30 kilometres, the new road will be 15 kilometres. The road is being built at a cost of £20,000, of which the

sum of £13,000 is provided by the Bitzur Company, the balance being defrayed by the settlements benefiting through the new road.

Arab omnibuses in the Arab quarters of Haifa have now resumed their routes.

The Hebrew newspapers *Haeretx* and *Haboker* have been suspended for five days on the charge of publishing inaccurate reports. The Hebrew paper *Davar* strongly criticises the suspension, pointing out that the Hebrew press had adopted a most moderate tone in these most difficult days. *Hadasbot Abnanot* asks whether the guilt of the Hebrew press lies in refuting libels against the Jewish community, and in crying out in bitterness against the spilling of innocent blood.

The Tel-Aviv municipality has been forbidden by the Government to continue to compensate and take care of the refugees, and the Government has also discontinued its contributions, insisting that the charge must be transferred to the Social Service Department.

Two Communists were deported to Russia last week, and the notorious Communist, Zvi Koltun, will be deported to-morrow.

The construction of a revetment at the Sea of Galilee at Semakh has been resumed, Jewish labour being protected by the Transjordan Frontier Force. The work, at which Jews and Arabs had previously been employed, was interrupted by the strike. Another public works undertaking—a road connecting Raselain with Majdalyaba—has been begun.

JERUSALEM, JULY 10TH, 1936.

In dismissing a case and acquitting the accused Jew, Frankenthal, who was arrested on a charge made by Arabs that it was he who was responsible for the killing of the Jew, Klopoltz, in the old city of Jerusalem, the British magistrate, Mr. Bourke, said, "I never saw such clumsy and obvious perjury in the witness-box as that given by the two Arab witnesses for the prosecution as that heard to-day during this trial."

JERUSALEM, JULY 12TH, 1936.

Commenting on the official denial of the report of the stoppage of Jewish immigration, the *Palestine Post* declares that the recurring rumours about an imminent stoppage of immigration come from the Arab delegation in London with the object of raising false hopes among the Arabs and causing confusion among the Jews. The paper points out that any false hopes to revive the courage of the bands and to inject new life into the dying insurrection are productive of continued bloodshed. The paper recalls the firm declarations of the Governments in London and Jerusalem to the effect that any such course is unthinkable. These trial balloons might be made to understand that the question of immigration is bound to figure prominently before the Royal Commission and therefore cannot, without involving the Government in an inconceivable retreat, be acted upon in any way prejudging the findings and recommendations of the Commission.

## Civil Servants in Palestine

SOME 137 Arab senior Government officials, including judges and administrative officers, have signed a joint memorandum in which they in effect condemn the policy of the Government in respect of the Jewish National Home, condemn the attempt to dispose of the present disorders by force, justify the conduct of the Arab leaders, and urge the suspension of Jewish immigration. Nobody will be surprised by evidence that Arab officials have nationalist sentiments, and this memorandum is doubtless a compromise with the demand to join in the strike. But such a document and such action must surely be without precedent in British administration. Civil Servants may not approve the policy followed by their chiefs, but they must either carry it out or resign. That is elementary. If this fundamental rule is broken it is evidence of a grave lack of control and of authority and discipline in the Government. To-day this manifesto itself is an attack on Zionism; to-morrow it will manifest itself in attack on this country. Why has this administrative anarchy broken out in Palestine? It is not enough to say—because all Arabs dislike strongly the policy of the Jewish National Home. It is partly because they hear so many of their British colleagues in the Service expressing the same views and partly because they do not feel that the Government will protect them against the terrorists who have been bringing great pressure to bear for weeks. They may also anticipate that no action will be taken against them, that indeed their manœuvre will be not unwelcome to some high in authority. What will the Government do? Here is anarchy transplanted into the very heart of administration. Will they bow to it or will they grapple with it? More than the fortune of the Jewish National Home is involved in their answer.

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## The Balance of Payments

THE outstanding economic fact about Palestine in recent years is the large import of capital resulting from the settlement in the country of Jews with means. Whilst this continues, there can be no question of exports balancing imports. An adverse trade balance is both inevitable and desirable. No one has explained or can explain how imported capital can be invested in a new country without producing an unfavourable balance of trade. It is no more a sign of weakness in Palestine than it was in the case of the United States, the South American Republics and the Dominions which, in the early stages of their development, borrowed capital abroad and naturally showed an adverse trade balance.

Nor is it only new countries which display an adverse visible balance of trade. The United Kingdom has had one for more than a hundred years, and yet she has been regarded—and rightly—as prosperous compared with every country that has a favourable trade balance.

It may be asked, does not the import of capital involve borrowing money which will have to be repaid, with interest, later on? Even if desirable in the

short run, is it not a burden in the long run? Have not Australia and the Argentine, to mention only two borrowing countries, found this a great strain? This might be conceded, provided that it is not used as an argument against all borrowing. It does emphasise the necessity of borrowing the right amount at the right time, and of investing the proceeds wisely. But even the potential difficulties of paying interest and repaying capital do not apply in the case of Palestine, since most of the imported capital is brought over by individuals who become residents of the country. Payments abroad are in large measure eliminated, and the profits made from the imported capital remain in the country.

Although Palestine's imports need not, therefore, be based upon or restricted to the volume of her export trade, it is desirable to inquire into the best means of increasing her exports. This is, however, by no means the most urgent problem confronting her, and that for two main reasons. First, the export trade is in fact growing very healthily, and secondly, it is a sound balance of payments which is essential to the steady development of a country, not the visible trade balance.

Within the last four years the value of exports has risen from £2,049,000 (in 1931) to £4,697,000 (in 1935), an increase of 125 per cent., constituting a world record. The outlook for the future is also satisfactory. The expansion of the citrus trade, the increased production of chemicals, the opening up of Near Eastern markets for Palestine's industrial products, and of the European market for her early vegetables, together with the application of science to the utilisation of local materials, will continue the upward trend.

Secondly, as to the balance of payments. The figures are only estimates, but these are better than uninstructed guesses, and seem *prima facie* reasonable.

PALESTINE'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS FOR 1935

£000's

<i>Credit</i>		<i>Debit</i>	
	£		£
Exports .. .. .	4,697	Imports .. .. .	18,375
Import of capital by immigrants	12,600	Export of capital ..	500
Import of capital .. ..	2,500	Interest and amortisa-	
Government claims from in-		tion charges .. ..	400
vestments abroad .. ..	325	Foreign travel, freight,	
Foreign issues and loans ..	1,500	insurance, etc. ..	250
Zionist funds .. .. .	750	Remittances, miscellane-	
Tourist trade .. .. .	1,000	ous .. .. .	500
Miscellaneous .. .. .	1,000		
	£24,372		£20,025
		<i>Balance</i>	£4,347

Despite the gap between exports and imports, the credit position with respect to payments is very satisfactory, and was even better last year.



# Palestine

Vol. XI

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No. 22

## Waiting Italy

IT is now certain that much of the financial assistance that has reached the rebels in Palestine from outside the country has come from Italy. We need not suppose that it is official in its origins, but that the contributions would not have been made against the known will of the Italian Government and probably without its connivance may almost be taken for granted. We must, of course, distinguish between official and recognised policy of the Italian Government and the action of agents who, though they may think that they are carrying out the wishes of their Government, and probably are, can be disowned at any time. It is not to be supposed that it is the policy of the Italian Government to interfere openly in Palestine, or to make difficulties for its Government; still less that it is actuated by any sort of sentimental sympathy with the Arabs. On the contrary Signor Mussolini has shown that he understands what Zionism stands for and how much it may mean for the future of the East. He is a student of Roman history, and he knows what were the motives behind the markedly pro-Jewish policy of Julius Cæsar and his immediate successors. Rome at that time thought of the Jews as a useful counterpoise to the Greeks in the East and as an instrument that might some day be useful in the extension of her influence to the Tigris Valley and to Persia. Signor Mussolini is always more or less consciously modelling his policy on that of ancient Rome, and he has shown considerable sympathy with Zionism, especially on its cultural side. But as Italy has only a small Jewish population it seems reasonable to suppose that the motives of this cultural sympathy are to be found in her foreign not her home policy, in her ambitions rather than her convictions.

If that be the way in which Signor Mussolini's mind is working it may well be asked why the interests of Italy, real or supposed, should take the form of helping the Arabs in the present crisis. Probably we are wrong in attributing to either Hitler or Mussolini far-reaching or exactly defined plans. Dictators, like constitutional governments, live very largely from hand to mouth, and the desire to fish in troubled waters, if it can be done discreetly, is probably a sufficient motive. Italy's avowed Mediterranean policy is one of restoring friendly relations with England. But there can be no doubt that the real springs of Italian action are in a very advanced Imperial sentiment, and Italy's recent support of Germany's new friendship with Austria would seem to indicate that her ambitions are turning away from the land to the sea and looking to Asia rather than Europe for their gratification. The obstacles to Italian Imperialism in the Eastern Mediterranean are very formidable. Italy's relations with Turkey are bad and England is rearming, and probably even as it holds Italian overseas colonies at her mercy. If Italy is ever to be a

dominant Power in the Eastern Mediterranean she must get a footing in Syria. Perhaps she hopes to sell her alliance with France so dearly that France may be willing to yield her mandate in Syria as the price. However that may be, so long as the alliance between the Jews and England holds in Palestine her only chance of keeping her Mediterranean Imperialism warm is in gently stirring the pan-Arab movement and in making trouble with the Arabs. "Gently stirring," because Italy does not want the pot to boil over now, but prefers to wait on events which may conceivably develop in her favour.

One can imagine circumstances in which her policy might be very different. If this country, for example, were to be so foolish as to engage itself in a war to settle the future of south-eastern Europe, the first serious reverse might see Italy in a very different and more aggressive mood. Or, again, if the settlement of the Palestinian troubles is such as to give the Jews any ground for the charge that we were violating our mandatory trust, or at any rate not executing it with sufficient energy, Italy's diplomacy might then take a very different turn. As now the alliance under the Mandate inclines Italy's power of mischief to the side of the Arabs, Italy might then pose as the true friend of Zionism ready to give with both hands what England gives grudgingly with one. We do not mean to say that England is likely to default on the Mandate, or that there is any prospect of a serious rift in Anglo-Jewish friendship under the Mandate. Speculation in that sense is confined to a very minute and extremist section of Jewish opinion. Nor do we regard a collision between Italian Imperialism and England as inevitable by any means. We are merely trying to analyse the motives that may influence the action of Italian intriguers who, even as it is, have been foolish enough to give financial assistance to the Arab rebels. Behind such action is the certainty that in different conditions the policy of Italian diplomacy, official or unofficial, might swing virtually round to the cause of Zionism.

The immediate moral is the old one which we are never tired of preaching, namely, that the alliance between England's interests in the East and her Zionism is a natural one, and that it is sufficiently valuable to make the possession of the Mandate an object of envy to at least one Power, and that in a very real sense Palestine has now become the key to the East and its future. An increasing number of our people are beginning to realise that; but far too many still think of our Zionism as an accidental accretion of British war policy and of the Mandate as an inconvenience. No greater or more perilous mistake could be made. In these pages we are concerned mainly if not entirely with Zionism as it affects British interests. We want more Jews in Palestine not because they are Jews—though in view of their suppression in Europe that is a motive that may well appeal to generous minds—but because they are necessary to make Palestine strong and prosperous alike in the material and the moral sense, because there can be no patriotic nationality of Palestine without them, and because a strong and a patriotic nation in Palestine will be the strongest bulwark of British influence in the East. We shall never attain to a live appreciation of the situation until we disabuse our minds of the idea of Zionism as a new god of Lord Balfour's and of Zionists

as merely troublesome and inconvenient beneficiaries of British bounty. They are in fact strong allies and can be made stronger still. Trouble in the Mediterranean, if it should come, may well prove how potent; and we are anxious not merely to preserve its potency intact, but even to strengthen it.

## Haj Amin Effendi El Husseini

**S**PEAKING in the debate on June 19th, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, correcting his critics, made some statements which would seem to call for correction and qualification :

1. He called Haj Amin el Husseini "the Grand Mufti." There was a Grand Mufti of Turkey, there is (we believe) a Grand Mufti of Egypt. There is no Grand Mufti of Palestine. Haj Amin is Mufti of Jerusalem. Why, it may be asked, make a bother about a title? For two reasons, apart from a prejudice in favour of accuracy. The title "Grand Mufti" suggests that the bearer exercises jurisdiction over mere Muftis. Haj Amin, as Mufti of Jerusalem, enjoys no such authority. He is one Mufti among several Palestinian Muftis, at best *primus inter pares*, because Jerusalem is a more important city than Haifa or Jaffa or Gaza. Again, and this is the second reason, this is not precisely the time to lend, even by inadvertence, a fictitious dignity to Haj Amin. He has not earned it by his conduct in the past; he is not earning it by his conduct in the present. Why should the Government enhance the importance of its principal opponent in Palestine?

2. "It is absurd to regard the Grand Mufti as a Civil Servant. Is the Archbishop of Canterbury a Civil Court?" Haj Amin combines two distinct offices, which might be held by two distinct persons. He is Mufti of Jerusalem, and in that capacity is not a civil servant. But he is also the President of the Supreme Moslem Sharia Council or Rais el Ulema, and in that capacity he is a civil servant and receives a salary from the Government. Article 7 of the Ordinance constituting the Supreme Moslem Sharia Council runs as follows :

"The Rais el Ulema and members of the Council shall receive salaries from the Government in consideration of their services in connection with the affairs of the Sharia Courts; and they shall also receive allowances from Wakf Funds for their work in other Moslem affairs."

That is why Haj Amin is recorded in the Palestine Civil Service List as of Grade IV Junior Service with a salary of £600 a year.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore's analogy between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Mufti of Jerusalem is wholly misleading, and for three major reasons. The Archbishop does exercise lawful jurisdiction over other bishops and clergy: the Mufti exercises no similar jurisdiction. There is not in Islam that distinction between ecclesiastic and layman which rules in the Church of England as in other churches. The Archbishop is not recorded in the official list as a civil servant, and does not draw a salary from Government; the Mufti does so appear and does draw such a salary.

3. " True the Mufti is appointed by the Crown, but I do not think he has any legal powers or is recognised by the Government as the head of the Courts. He is paid a salary out of the fees of the Sharia Courts, which are collected and paid into the Palestine Government Fund, and then paid out, and that may be the explanation why this misunderstanding has arisen."

With all respect to Mr. Ormsby-Gore this is a jungle of confusion. The Mufti under present law is not appointed by the Crown. Article 8 of the Ordinance cited above prescribes among the duties of the Supreme Moslem Sharia Council :

" To appoint Muftis from among the three candidates to be elected by the Special Electoral College in accordance with a special regulation to be passed by the Council."

Haj Amin was appointed under the old Turkish regulations. The Ulema, or learned men, chose three candidates by vote, of whom one was to be appointed by the Government. Haj Amin came fourth, and was therefore not eligible. The Government induced one of the three to retire and make room for Haj Amin and then appointed Haj Amin. The legal position is then this—that Haj Amin was foisted on the Moslems by the Government, which will have no share in the appointment of future Muftis. Haj Amin was some months later elected President of the Supreme Moslem Religious Council, but ever since there has been a dispute as to his tenure. He chose to interpret an Arab word which means for a long term as meaning for life, and the point has never been settled.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore is in error in saying that the Mufti receives a salary out of the fees of the Sharia Court. As Mufti Haj Amin receives a nominal salary paid out of Wakf or Moslem Charitable Funds ; as President he receives from Government Funds a salary of £600 a year and another £600 a year from Wakf funds. The suggestion that the Government salary is merely a matter of book-keeping is quite mistaken. The Government receives all the fees of the Sharia Courts and covers all their expenses ; and there is an annual deficit running into thousands of pounds, which the Government has to meet under this head out of general taxation. It is, therefore, literally true that all Palestinians, Jew and Christian, as well as Arab, are taxed to pay Haj Amin's salary.

Although the fees of the Sharia Courts are paid into Government Funds, the salary of Haj Amin as President of the Council is not paid out of those fees or dependent on them. Those fees might fail altogether but he would still be entitled to his salary and would receive it. The two things are connected neither in law nor in fact. The revenues of the Civil Courts in Palestine and of the Courts in this country are paid into Government Funds. Are the Civil Judges in Palestine or here any the less civil servants ?

One of the duties of the Council laid down by the Ordinance is :

" to nominate for the approval of the Government and after such approval to appoint Kadis of the Sharia Courts, the President and Members of the Sharia Court of Appeal, and the Inspectors of Sharia Courts."

As Mufti Haj Amin has no jurisdiction over the Religious Courts ; as President of the Supreme Moslem Sharia Council he is the head and the most powerful member of a body of five which appoints, and dismisses at will, every judge and official in those courts. It is a matter of common complaint that this power is exercised ruthlessly to further the cause of Haj Amin's political group, and that judges and officials have been dismissed for purely party reasons. These actions have resulted in litigation before the Civil Courts, have displeased the Government and excited much discontent among Moslems.

4. "It is a point which makes trouble not only among the Arabs but among the whole Moslem world, when a religious leader is misrepresented as being in a position in which the Government can turn him out because he has freely expressed his views on political matters."

Haj Amin as Mufti is irremovable by the Government. The difficulty about his election as Rais el Ulema is as to the term and the Government has never settled that. In any case the Government could deal with his salary. Nor is the allegation now made against him that of merely expressing his political views freely. It may be wise or unwise to take proceedings against Haj Amin, and such proceedings need not have relation to any of his public offices. He is a citizen on the same footing as any other citizen. Upon such a practical issue Mr. Ormsby-Gore is certainly entitled to his own view ; but, at any rate, let us keep our law and our facts as clear as we can.

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## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, JULY 16TH.

WITHOUT question there is an increasing desire on the part of the more considerable Arab merchants to bring the ruinous strike to an end. Hawkers and small shopkeepers are permitted to carry on their trade. It is the larger businesses that are suffering. But for the continued terrorism exercised by the young Arabs, normal business would certainly be resumed.

The Hebrew Labour newspaper says to-day that the disturbances have taken on a new form. The attacks are no longer on the Jewish colonies. The uprooting of trees and the burning of fields have diminished. This is due to the increase in the number of the Jewish special constables and the strengthened watch in the colonies. On the other hand, the throwing of bombs and shooting from ambushes have increased recently. The paper says that the disturbances have proved the great amount of arms and ammunition the Arabs have in their possession, adding that the chapter of bloodshed will not be closed before there is a confiscation of all arms.

Two hundred Communists, almost all the active members of the Communist party in Palestine, are now imprisoned.

Owing to the increase of work at the Tel-Aviv jetty, Jewish labourers, of their own will, are working seventeen hours a day to expedite the unloading

of goods from the three ships now anchored at the jetty. Attempts are now being made to add facilities at the port in order to cope with the additional work. To-day, for the first time, a Tel-Aviv freighter flying the British flag, was anchored at the jetty.

The High Commissioner spent an hour on the Tel-Aviv jetty this morning. Plans for the extension of the port were submitted to His Excellency, who said that what had already been achieved was a fine example of energy and determination.

Proposals for an urgent revision of the Government programme for public works, based on the experience obtained from the present disturbances, have been submitted to the Government by the Jewish Agency. The proposals include immediate acceleration of road building.

## No Real Precedents

**S**UPPORTERS of the proposal to suspend Jewish immigration into Palestine during the sittings of the Royal Commission claim that this would only be following the precedents of 1921 and 1929. But the facts are as follows.

There were disturbances in Jaffa on May 1st and 2nd and 3rd, 1921. Immigration was suspended on May 4th, 1921 (Report of the Palestine Administration, 1920-1, p. 127), and was resumed on June 3rd, 1921, when the old immigration categories were cancelled and new categories substituted. The Haycraft Committee was appointed by Order on May 7th, 1921. Its report is dated August 10th, 1921, and was presented to Parliament in October 1921.

The fact of the suspension was reported in Parliament on behalf of the Government on June 1st, 1921, when it was said that the whole question of future immigration had received the most careful consideration of His Majesty's Government in consultation with the High Commissioner for Palestine. On June 15th, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Sutherland, on behalf of the Government, stated :

“ As regards the temporary suspension of immigration, this had been unavoidable, partly because of the feeling of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, and partly because, owing to the delay in the granting of the Mandate, it had so far been impossible for the Palestine Government to raise the necessary funds for capital expenditure on the very necessary public works which it had in contemplation. The large fields for employment which it had hoped to open out to prospective immigrants into Palestine had not yet come into existence.”

The Shaw Commission was appointed on September 13th, 1929. The Commission arrived in Palestine on October 24th, 1929, and left on December 29th, 1929. The Report of the Commission was presented to Parliament in March 1930.

On May 12th, 1930, the Palestine Government Immigration Department informed the Jewish Agency that it had been decided to authorise a schedule

of 3,300 for the current half-year. On May 14th the Jewish Agency was informed that, acting on the instructions of the Secretary of State, the High Commissioner had suspended these certificates pending the investigations of Sir John Hope Simpson, and an official letter from the Chief Immigration Officer was received on May 18th in which it was stated that "the schedule will not be published in the Official Gazette, and in consequence I am not entitled to grant the number of immigration certificates under Regulation 8 (iii) of the Immigration Ordinance of 1925," with the exception of 950 certificates which had been sanctioned as an advance instalment. Of these 950 certificates, 258 had at that time not been utilised, and were being retained as a reserve by the Government for travellers and others. The Immigration Officer concluded by saying that "it may, however, be possible to place some of these at your disposal later on."

In the House of Commons on May 21st, in reply to a question, Dr. Drummond Shiels stated:

"There has been no general stoppage or prohibition of immigration. The Secretary of State is aware that, owing to a misunderstanding, a schedule of 3,300 persons was approved early in May by the High Commissioner for the half-yearly period ending September 30th next. This figure included 950 persons whose admission had been sanctioned in advance. His Majesty's Government have taken the view that, having regard to the criticisms made in the Shaw Commission Report and the consequent mission of Sir John Hope Simpson to Palestine for the special purpose of examining questions relating to land and immigration, it is desirable, pending the receipt of Sir J. Hope Simpson's report, that further arrivals should in the meantime be restricted. It has accordingly been decided to confine the issue of certificates for the present to the 950 persons whom I have mentioned. No certificates have been cancelled, nor has a final decision been reached as to the Labour Schedule covering the whole period to September 30th next."

In the case of the disturbances in 1921, the suspension of immigration, which lasted from May 4th to June 3rd, was unconnected with the investigations of the Haycraft Committee, which did not report until August, and in the case of the Shaw Commission there was no general suspension of immigration at all, though there was subsequently a suspension of Labour Schedule immigration only, at the time of the Hope Simpson investigation. Even this, however, affected only the undistributed certificates of the current Labour Schedule.

## Arab Gains

### WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT

THE average wage rate in Palestine for unskilled labour is 10 to 15 piastres (2s. to 3s.) a day, as compared with 4 to 5 piastres in Iraq and Egypt. Skilled Arab labourers earn the same rate as Jews, i.e. 40 to 60 piastres (8s. to 12s.) a day, and have a standard of living comparable with that of well-paid workers in Europe.

The Government index of wages shows a rise from 100 in 1913 to 190 in 1919 and to 390 in 1932. Since that date there has been a further rise in wages both in town and country. The official retail price index fell from 100 in 1922 to 55.1 in 1934. Both these Government indices leave much to be desired, but they are exact enough to indicate the substantial increase in real wages.

But wage rates are misleading if there is no employment. In Eastern countries the absence of strong trade unions makes it impossible to maintain artificially high rates in periods of unemployment. The rise in wage rates is in itself sufficient to indicate the absence of any widespread unemployment. But theoretical considerations apart, objective evidence is available of an increase in the area of employment.

The impulse to the development of the country given by Jewish capital and enterprise has greatly increased the demand for labour. Large numbers of Arabs are employed by Jewish and British concerns. The Palestine and the Jerusalem Electric Corporations, Palestine Potash, Nesher Cement, the Iraq Petroleum Company, Imperial Chemical Industries, etc., all employ a high percentage of Arabs.

Some indication of the employment of Arab labour in Jewish citrus cultivation is given by the following table :

*Employment in Jewish Orange Groves in Four Principal Village Areas*

	February 1935		August 1935	
	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs
Petach Tikvah .. ..	988	3,220	402	894
Rehovoith .. ..	848	1,296	444	541
Ness Ziona .. ..	343	1,080	308	404
Hedera .. ..	703	618	330	487
Total .. ..	2,882	6,214	1,484	2,326

Thus more than two-thirds of the workers in these flourishing plantation colonies belonging to the Jews were Arabs.

Large numbers are employed at the ports as stevedores, lightermen, labourers, etc., handling and transporting "Jewish" goods. There is a greatly increased demand for Arab labour in the Government services and public undertakings. Arabs form about 90 per cent. of the total numbers engaged in the police, on the railways, in the post office and customs services, and in the construction of public buildings. A fair amount of cheap Arab labour is imported by Government contractors from Egypt and the Hauran.

Since the richer Arabs have begun to develop their estates and to take a share in the growing industry, commerce and transport of the country, they have increased their demand for Arab labour. Nine-tenths of the Arab working population are employed by Arabs or are self-employed.

Arab unemployment has been negligible. There is an unsatisfied demand for all grades of labour in the towns and in many of the villages.



# Palestine

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No. 23

## A Dangerous Travesty

THERE is in circulation a memorandum on the *Rebellion in Palestine* signed by the Bishop of Rochester and Professor Garstang. If the opinions in it prevailed and were acted upon, not only would the reputation of our country for scrupulous observance of its pledged word, vindicated at so great a cost when Belgium was invaded, suffer grievous injury, but our whole position in the East would as we believe become almost untenable. And therefore, although the Government itself would repudiate these opinions most strongly, it is not safe to allow this propaganda to continue without challenge. It is perhaps most effective to deal with the fallacies and states of mind which make it possible for obviously honest men to produce such a document.

The first of the fallacies is that Palestine is an Arab country which is being changed into a Jewish country. Take away the Mandate and the Jews and Palestine is not, and has not been since the days of Rome, a country at all, but a province of Syria. It might be a religious or archæological antique or a geographical expression, but in a political sense as a country or a nation it could not exist. Now whatever else the war settlement did, it did separate Palestine from the rest of Syria and bade Great Britain to make a nation of it. It did not say make an Arab state or a Jewish state, but make a Palestinian State or nationality capable of standing alone. Were the Jews twenty times more numerous in Palestine they could not be said to be taking away from Palestine what it never had, and never could have, except with the help of Jews. Therewith disappears the whole basis of the appeal in the memorandum to the Liberal sentiment and to the natural prejudice of our people in favour of a people or race struggling for what is their own. Apart from the Jews, the Arabs had politically speaking nothing of their own in Palestine; what there is is the creation of the Mandate and of the Jews. One of the strangest statements in the memorandum is that Lord Balfour did not know that there were Arabs in the country, and thought that when the Turks were expelled it would be depopulated. This is incorrect. Lord Balfour, on July 12th, 1920, expressly opposed to the principle of the Mandate for which he was contending the principle of "self-determination," namely that the majority of the existing population of Palestine must determine its future. Our trust in Palestine was not merely for those already there, but for the world, including all Jewry. It may or may not be true, as the memorandum says, that prayers are being offered in the mosques for a restoration of Turkish rule, but if they are, they are not prayers for Palestine or for Arab rights, for neither had any existence under the Turks.

The Jew, in fact, so far from taking away Arab rights, has created them, and so far from appropriating Palestine is making a Palestinian nation which would not otherwise exist. It is quite true that the Jews are opposed to a Legislative Council as were the Arabs when Sir Herbert offered it them, and as the majority of Arabs still are. But the motives of the two are diametrically opposed. The Jews object to it because it would make the execution of the Mandate more difficult, the Arabs because it will not make it impossible. The Arabs have shown no gifts of statesmanship, but if an Arab leader of great ability arose he would be a pro-Jew. He would remember the days of the Moors in Spain, when the Arab genius reached its pinnacle through co-operation with Jews; he would see that their co-operation which is to be had in Palestine on the basis of the Mandate is necessary alike to the vigour of the country and to its hopes of independence and self-government later, and he would even see in the co-operation of the Jews the instrument by which his dreams of a great pan-Arabia might become possible. In the failure of the Arabs to grasp the condition of their own future success is to be seen an illustration of the incompetence which kept them in their long and ignominious subjection under the Turk.

The economic argument against the immigration of the Jews into Palestine is even weaker, and is supported in the memorandum by loose and often demonstrably false generalities. What is happening in Palestine is not the economic oppression of Arabs by Jews, but the evolution of a medieval and backward century into the twentieth century. How the Arabs have benefited under the new order has been repeatedly shown in well-documented articles in these pages and with abundance of official statistics. It is precisely in the neighbourhood of the Jewish settlements, as the memorandum incautiously admits in one place, that Arab prosperity is greatest. There may be some valid arguments against progress and modernity, but at any rate they are none of them economic. Whatever else it does not do, modernity can and does raise the standard of prosperity and of all the creature comforts.

The memorandum so perverts the sense of the Mandatory Clause that it ends by almost standing it on its head. The Mandate, after reciting the historical connection of the Jews with Palestine, instructs the mandatory to create a Jewish National Home in Palestine, but so as not to injure the civil and religious rights of other populations. But the memorandum speaks of the "Jewish clauses" of the Mandate as though they were subsidiary and incidental; and the Mandate becomes an "obligation and opportunity of helping forward the people who had sunk under somnolence under the Sultans' rule." An opportunity it certainly was; but one of which fullest use could be made by the development of the country through the immigration of Jewish brains and capital, not by the detriment of the main provision of the trusts to make a Jewish home. A managing trustee who should interpret a private trust as the memorandum would have us interpret the Mandate would surely run grave risk of prosecution for breach of trust. It must be remembered that our country has a reputation to maintain for strict and literal fulfilment of its promises and that in Palestine the eyes of the whole world are upon us.

No less mischievous is the impression conveyed by the memorandum of wishing to excuse the methods of violence. It says that as there were "no visible means of redress, violence in some form became inevitable," and promising that force when employed by us is no remedy against what is called a "movement," but is in fact arson, sabotage and murder, it outlines a plan of settlement which would advertise all over the East that force is the only argument that can induce Great Britain to pay attention. It outlines a plan which makes very large concessions to violence of a particularly dangerous character, and says that they must be made before the Commission can begin its labours, at the same time rather oddly protesting that it is not in any sense "seeking to dictate or anticipate the findings of the Commission." The one thing that is clear in these suggestions is that if we wish to destroy the whole basis of our rule over Eastern peoples and make rioting and assassination the normal methods of opposition, this is the way to go about that task. The memorandum advocates conciliation as though it had never yet been tried. In fact the Palestine Government has tried it so persistently and carried it to such lengths as to encourage Arab leaders to think that it is only half in earnest with the Mandate. This advocacy seems the more perverse because the memorandum admits that strategically Palestine is a key position to possible air, land and sea communications with the East and its importance is increased by any prospect of difficulty as regards the Suez Canal or Red Sea." "The land communications" (it adds significantly) "with a possible short cut by the Gulf of Akaba, pass entirely through Arab areas." If what is meant by that is that we should interpret the Mandate less favourably to the Jews than our promise because of our own interest, real or suffered, the argument is inconsistent with the honest discharge of our Trust. And if what is meant is that the Jews in Palestine have no contribution of value to make to the security of our position in the East, it is contradicted by military history. The military value of a country as an obstacle to aggression depends on the strength of its nationality, on its passionate devotion to the soil, and in its resources of industry and ability. But it is the very centre of the argument for the Mandate that Jews are necessary to a strong Palestinian nationality and that their valour in defence of the soil of Palestine has never been surpassed by any race and is beyond the hope of any Palestinian Arab until the races continue to make of Palestine a country that can regenerate the East.

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## Suspension ?

**T**HERE can be no doubt that great pressure is being brought to bear on the Colonial Secretary to agree to the suspension of immigration during the inquiry which is to be conducted by the Royal Commission. Those who are pressing for this policy are actuated by a variety of motives, but foremost among them are those who are moved by simple hostility to the Jewish National Home. It is important that the Government should understand fully the implications of suspension, for it is certain that it would be hailed as a victory for violence by the Arab insurgents, and it is equally certain that it would inflict grave damage on the economic structure of the

National Home. No casuistry, however subtle, can conceal or minimise these facts.

To make an announcement of suspension before order is restored would be so gross and conspicuous a violation of the pledge not to yield to violence that we hesitate to believe it can be contemplated. But would postponement till the Commission goes out make any substantial difference? Already suspension is being confidently predicted by subversive Arab politicians who, in the strange conditions which prevail in Palestine, are still allowed to maintain official contacts; and no doubt, whether authorised or not, their deluded followers will in due course be told that these predictions justify the ending of the strike when the funds for its maintenance give out. Suspension is clearly so indefensible and so manifestly at variance with the spirit of the brave words uttered by the Government's spokesman in the House of Commons, that the Government will have no one but itself to blame if the simple Arab peasant, unversed in the subtleties of the Colonial Office's high politics, sees in suspension a concession extorted from a feeble Government by bandits and gangsters. The Arab politicians were offered an official delegation to London; they preferred the argument of murder and arson. Are they to be justified in their choice? Let there be no mistake about it: suspension means a concession to violence. The argument gathers force with every successful repetition. Let the Government yield to force now and it will undermine the foundations of ordered society in Palestine. The argument will be repeated with added support at the next favourable opportunity.

The effect of suspension on the Jewish population in Palestine would be disastrous. For over three months they have maintained a superb self-discipline in the face of intolerable provocation. They have witnessed cold-blooded murders committed in circumstances of the utmost brutality and treachery; they have seen the results of the devoted labour of years destroyed in a night; they have had to defend their schools and hospitals against murderous assaults. But they have resisted every temptation to retaliate, and they have, when allowed to do so, risked life and limb in loyal support of the administration. If there is no civil war in Palestine to-day, it is due almost entirely to the restraint of the Jewish population. Is the loyal population now to be penalised and the murderers rewarded by the suspension of immigration? Shall we be entitled to count on a continuation of self-restraint on the part of the Jews if their loyalty is so cruelly betrayed?

It is proposed to pass sentence first and thereafter to invite the jury to examine the evidence. That is what suspension first and an inquiry afterwards means. It is almost incredible that any British department of state should be considering such a procedure. We hope it is not too late to secure a reversal of a policy which will be gravely damaging to the interests of Palestine and dishonouring to Britain.

## Jewish and Arab Labour

**T**HE suggestion now being frequently made that Arab labour in Palestine is suffering from Jewish competition is grotesquely untrue. The immigration of Jews has added vastly to the demand for Arab

labour and has caused a considerable rise in wages. It has too always been the policy of the Jewish Labour Confederation to secure for the Arab worker complementary advantages to those which the Confederation exists to secure for Jewish workers.

In 1928 the Confederation of Jewish Labour submitted a statement to the British Commonwealth Labour Conference, from which the following are extracts :

“ The Jewish labour movement considers the Arab population as an integral element of this country. It is not to be thought of that Jewish settlers should displace this population, nor establish themselves at its expense. This would not only be impossible both from the political and the economic standpoint, but it would run counter to the moral conception lying at the root of the Zionist movement. Jewish immigrants who come to this country to live by their own labour regard the Arab working man as their compatriot and fellow worker, whose needs are their needs and whose future, their future. The realisation of Zionism is therefore envisaged as the creation of a new economy, not to replace the existing Arab economy, but to complement it. . . .

“ If we wish to secure the peaceful existence of different races inhabiting the same country, we must regard as a preliminary condition the necessity of ensuring absolute equality not merely between individuals of different races, but also between the different races themselves. . . . The Labour movement can assist to that end by organising the labour elements of all nations and races for a combined effort to raise the cultural and social status of these workers and for introducing adequate social and agrarian legislation. Such an organisation must pay due regard to the rights and culture of each of the races involved, and assist the autonomous development of each section of the population on the basis of absolute equality.”

There have been several attempts to organise Arab and Jewish workers in the same trade unions, and a number of Arab railway workers belong to an Arab-Jewish union. There are, however, many difficulties in the way, since the Jewish Confederation is much more than a trade union, and its funds are partly spent outside Palestine in the training of prospective immigrants. But the Confederation leaders have never ceased the attempt to organise the Arab workers and with their help, on several occasions, notably in Haifa, the industrial conditions of the Arab worker has been improved.

These efforts have been and are bitterly opposed by the Arab political leaders, who have themselves started so-called trade unions entirely dominated by landowners and employers, which have no real intention except the persistence of nationalistic passion.

The general condition of the Arabs in Palestine is summed up in an article by Mr. J. Hodess in the admirably illustrated *Manchester Guardian* Palestine Supplement, an invaluable survey of the situation, which was published last Friday. Mr. Hodess says :

“ The standard of living of the Arabs has gone up, more Arabs have

employment, and their scales of wages are higher. Schools, hospitals, social welfare service, considerable relief from land taxation, active agricultural assistance, and many other things undreamed of before by them are at their disposal. Without Jewish immigration and the development resulting from it these improvements could not have been effected. It is through Jewish efforts and Jewish money that the condition of Arabs in Palestine has become the envy of the Arabs in neighbouring countries. Palestine Arabs no longer emigrate as they did in former times. To-day thousands of Arabs from Syria, Transjordan, Egypt, and elsewhere come, legally or otherwise, to prosperous Palestine."

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## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, JULY 23RD, 1936.

IN connection with the accidental shooting of Adam Lipkin by a private of the Cheshire Regiment, the Colonel of the regiment sent a letter of condolence to the family of Lipkin. In his reply acknowledging the condolence, the father says that should the investigations prove that the shooting was accidental, the family expresses the wish that the soldier should not be punished at all, or that only a light sentence should be imposed. The letter goes on: "Our people, who have suffered scores of sacrifices and have lost innocent victims who have been murdered from ambushes, know how to restrain themselves. Our stricken family will find no consolation for our lost son through punishing a British soldier who accidentally killed him."

A letter by Prof. Flinders Petrie, the famous archæologist, published in the *Palestine Post*, has created a very great impression here. Prof. Petrie points out that the occupation by the Arabs for 1,300 years of the country had only led to destruction. Their ancestral preference for the desert had tended to influence them to destroy trees on Arab land as well as on other land. The population was increasing owing to improvement of health. If British protection is removed from Palestine, Italians or others would take over the country, utilising the land and pushing out the Arabs. Professor Petrie thinks that it is essential for the Arabs to co-operate with and learn from the Jews. He finally appeals to the Arabs to save themselves and make the best of the land, so that they can be treated as a people and not as a horde.

*Adifaa* has published a telegram from London in connection with the arrival of the Royal Commission. This Arab paper declares that it is sure that 85 per cent. of the Arab demands will be met. The Arab Higher Committee has sent a protest to the Government against the arming of Jews, which, it says, is contrary to the procedure of the Government during the riots of 1929.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency have issued an emphatic denial of the report that appeared in the *Haboker* from an Arab source that Dr. Weizmann has agreed to the suspension of Jewish immigration pending

the inquiry by the Royal Commission. The Executive emphatically declare that their representatives in Jerusalem and London, headed by Dr. Weizmann, have informed the Government orally and in writing that they are categorically opposed to any form of stoppage of immigration. The Executive is determined to oppose any suspension. The Executive warns the Jewish public not to be led astray through these false rumours, which are only calculated to strengthen the hands of their enemies.

The Palestine Land Development Company, the central Zionist organisation for land purchase, has increased its share capital by £145,035 for the six months ending July 1st, 1936, and, according to the report for the last six months, the total capital has now reached £284,435. A 6 per cent. dividend has been declared. During the last six months the Palestine Land Development Company purchased 11,200 dunams, most in the Emek, while it sold land to Jews to the value of £44,000.

*Falastin* declares that the Arabs will not accept any solution of the Palestine problem which is dependent on the agreement of the Jews. It states that the Arabs are opposed to the Royal Commission, knowing that it will not bring them independence, nor will it nullify the Palestine Mandate, so as to do away with the foundations of the Jewish National Home.

Outrages continue daily in various parts of the country.

It is rumoured here that Lord Willingdon will be the chairman of the Royal Commission.

The courage with which cultural Jewish achievement continues, despite the Arab outrages, is expressed by the recent publication in Tel-Aviv of a Hebrew translation of the first fifth of the Koran. The translator is Dr. Joseph Revlin.

Signor Toscanini will conduct the Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra in the season 1936-7. Ten concerts will be given in Tel-Aviv, eight in Jerusalem and eight in Haifa.

It has now been disclosed that large quantities of ammunition are being smuggled across the Syrian and Transjordan frontiers.

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## Arab Gains

### EDUCATION

THE general improvement in the position of the Arab is to a great extent the result of education. The number of Arab children educated in the newly-built Government schools at public expense has increased steadily from year to year, and the total cost of building, salaries and upkeep now amounts to about £180,000 a year. The percentage of literates amongst Palestine Moslems is 23.4, as compared with 20.3 in Egypt and 11.3 in Turkey. A few hundred Palestinian Arabs are now studying in colleges in Palestine, the neighbouring countries, and in Europe. The Arab population has its own doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers and nurses.

A clear idea of the progress made in education can be obtained from a comparison of a few relevant statistics for the years 1925-26 and 1934-35, as given in the table below :

	1925-26	1934-35	% increase
Budget of Department of Education	£121,000	£201,000	66
No. of Government (Arab) Schools ...	314	350	11
No. of pupils in Government (Arab) Schools ... ..	19,737	36,005	82
No. of teachers in Government (Arab) Schools ... ..	687	1,036	51
No. of Moslem non-Govt. Schools ...	45	190	322
No. of pupils in Moslem non-Government Schools ... ..	3,445	11,788	242
No. of teachers in Moslem non-Government Schools ... ..	140	—	—

Early in the present year arrangements were made for opening a further twenty-six schools in Arab villages. When the Civil Administration took over the Government there were 30 rural schools with an attendance of about 9,000 children. The twenty-six new schools to be opened will bring the total number of Government rural schools for Arabs up to 309, with an attendance of about 23,000.

The general education received at the schools is reinforced by special training at agricultural institutes, Government secondary schools and training colleges, and at the Government Arab College, the work being supervised by carefully trained and selected Government inspectors. The introduction of new social methods, particularly economic co-operation, is also having its effect in raising the general educational level.

#### MUNICIPAL

Some details of municipal finance will help to show the steady improvement in recent years in the position of the Arabs. Municipal affairs affect the life of the people even more closely than do the activities of the Central Government, and it is obvious that the first condition for satisfactory work in local matters is a rising revenue. The figures below refer to a representative selection of towns where the population is exclusively or very largely Arab.

#### Municipal Revenue

	1932	1934-35	1935-36 (estimates)
	£P	£P	£P
Jaffa .. .. .	37,121	66,509	100,350
Gaza .. .. .	6,915	10,200	14,358
Migdal .. .. .	1,627	1,738	2,300
Beersheeba .. .. .	1,519	1,627	2,500

It is interesting to compare the expansion of municipal budgets in Arab towns remote from Jewish influence, such as Jenin, Nablus, Bethlehem, Hebron, etc., in Arab towns close to the Jewish areas, such as Acre, Beisan, Tulkar, Lydda and Ramleh, and in towns possessing a mixed Arab and Jewish population—Haifa, Tiberias, Jaffa, Jerusalem.



# Palestine

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## The Palestine Commission

**W**E now have the personnel and the terms of reference of the Palestine Commission. The members are:

Lord Peel (Chairman)  
Sir Horace Rumbold (Vice-Chairman)  
Sir Laurie Hammond  
Sir Morris Carter  
Sir Harold Morris  
Professor Coupland

It is "to ascertain the underlying causes of the disturbance which broke out in Palestine in the middle of April, to inquire into the manner in which the Mandate for Palestine is being implemented in relation towards the Arabs and the Jews respectively, and to ascertain whether upon a proper construction of the terms of the Mandate either the Arabs or the Jews have any legitimate grievances on account of the way in which the Mandate has been or is being implemented, and if the Commission is satisfied that any such grievances are well founded to make recommendations for their removal and for the prevention of their recurrence."

The Commission, it would appear, is not to inquire into the events, the course and the handling of the present disorders. The Jews, therefore, who have been the victims of wholesale assassination, arson and destruction of property, may be debarred from testifying to their sufferings, and will certainly not be entitled to expect from the Commission any proposals for their protection in the event of a recurrence of the troubles. Perhaps we are to assume that the Commission's recommendations will avert any such recurrence. But it is easier to be an optimist in London than in Palestine, where life and livelihood are in the balance. Nor are the terms of reference calculated to generate optimism, for they seem to pass a sponge over all the crimes and villainies and errors of these months and transform the authors of them just into men with possibly or probably legitimate grievances.

The problems involved in Palestine are threefold—Jewish, Arab and Imperial. The third is neither mentioned nor hinted at in the terms of reference, and none of the Commissioners appears to have been selected for any special competence in this field. It may be said that the Mandate makes no mention of Imperial interests and it would, therefore, be improper to introduce them into the inquiry. That is formally correct, but in substance grotesque. Imperial interests of the first order are involved in the fortunes

of Palestine, and to lay down the lines along which Palestine is to develop in disregard of them would be to commit a major error of statesmanship. Nevertheless, on the face of it, that is precisely what the Commission is asked to do; and the Government is to do the like. This is unjust to both bodies. It fixes upon them the dilemma: either determine policy upon an incomplete survey from which a vital element is excluded, or lay down policy apparently upon inquiries which are public but in reality also upon considerations which are not openly avowed. This serious difficulty existed as soon as the idea of a Commission of Inquiry was adopted, but it could have been mitigated if the terms of reference had been drawn more prudently and more skilfully.

The Jewish aspect of the problem is two-fold: the relation of Palestine to the whole world travail of Jewry, and special needs, desires and complaints in regard to the progress of the Jewish National Home. The first of these (so far as the Mandate is concerned) has its title-deed in the preamble: "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." The second embraces questions of immigration, land, education, public health, public services, public works, public finance and the like. If they were simply technical matters the task of the Committee would be fairly straightforward, but everybody knows that behind them are large issues of policy the responsibility for which cannot be passed by the Government on to others. This is still more plainly the case with the other face of the Jewish claim.

The Arab case is partly economic and partly political. The economic is rapidly fading because of its complete lack of substance; and the political acquires corresponding prominence. The Arab politician says to the Jews "we do not want the benefits you confer on us; we do not want you in our country." Therefore he repudiates the Mandate, or, if compelled to demand the Government a policy not involving formal repudiation of the Mandate, he says that the Mandate consecrates Arab dominance in Palestine and subordinates all else to that dominance. Here we are brought to what is obviously the central task of the Commission—to ascertain what is "a proper construction of the terms of the Mandate."

For lawyers the "construction" of a document is a legal matter, and one naturally turns to see what qualifications the Commission has to act as a legal tribunal. In point of fact only one member, Sir Harold Morris, is a lawyer, and his practice has lain remote from the sphere of international law. This is odd and it is all the stranger because there happen to be two tribunals which have special competence in regard to the legal problems of the Mandate—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the Hague Court. Obviously any finding of the Commission which claims legal authority can have no particular weight. Its "construction" will be a matter not of legal interpretation but of political interpretation. That is a task which the Government has no right to thrust upon others. Policy is its responsibility and its alone. It cannot delegate to others the choice of what that policy shall be.

## The Judiciary

IN a leading article *The Times* has stated that some members of the Palestine Judiciary have been unhelpful to the Administration in the present troubles, and it suggests that the Government may be driven to martial law in order to overcome the difficulty thus created. To those in close touch with Palestine affairs it was well known that strained relations had developed between the High Commissioner and the Chief Justice, and the friction must be very serious and embarrassing if a journal with so highly developed a sense of official responsibility makes it the subject of editorial comment. If the whole issue were limited to the judgment of the High Court in the case of the Jaffa demolitions we should have to repeat that in substance the Chief Justice was right, even if the terms in which he expressed himself lacked measure. But there is more to it than that. Some court decisions have been really strange. One may recall the paltry fine of £25 imposed upon a leading Arab agitator who was trying to get the Civil Servants to strike; or the ruling that the minimum terms of imprisonment under the emergency legislation are not binding on the Courts. Nor is this all. There have since these troubles started been scores of murders, but only one murderer has so far been convicted and he was not sentenced to death. It is complained that land cases or ordinary routine affairs are allowed by some of the Courts to take precedence over swift and summary action against terrorists, even when the case is crystal clear, and briefly that with some judges there is a considerable lack of zeal in collaborating with the Government to put down disorder.

We in England are accustomed to speak of the judges as completely detached from politics, priests of an abstract justice. Even with us that is something of a fiction, for there is a considerable field subjected to the Courts where the social or political philosophy of the judges may determine the decision. We recognise that quickly when we hear that the American Supreme Court has declared President Roosevelt's measures unconstitutional, but one need refer only to the judgments in the Taff Vale case for a classic example of the same thing operating here. But we do not conceive English judges as making active efforts to influence administrative or political action. In Palestine, however, some of the judges have very definite political views and a very high opinion of their own statesmanship; and the mere fact that nothing in their past or present warrants these pretensions does not hamper them in pressing them. It might be thought that the Government have a simple remedy, and need only tell the cobbler to stick to his last. But unfortunately an Administration, which allows 138 of its senior officials—including all the Arab judges—to publish a manifesto condemning its own policy, is handicapped in recalling its servants to discipline. The Government here and in Palestine appear to think that if only they say nothing about that portentous episode it will be sterilised of its effects. The friction with certain of the judges, however, shows that unless resolute action is taken the consequences will be what they must be.

Palestine has not been altogether fortunate in its judiciary, and the chief

blame rests with the Colonial Office. Sir Thomas Haycraft, whose recent death we regret, was the first Chief Justice, and Sir Michael Macdonnel, the present incumbent, succeeded him. Neither was equal to the task. Palestine offers a magnificent opportunity for a great legislator. She inherited from the Turks a bad judicial tradition, an impenetrable jungle of laws, and an Oriental bar. One may gain some notion of the confused state of the law from the fact that in one case involving a modest promissory note reference was made to the following systems of law: English, French, Spanish, Turkish, and Rabbinic. A Chief Justice of vision would have welcomed the opportunity of purifying the Courts, raising the standard of the Bar, and welding the chaos of the Law into a coherent system apt for a country emerging from medievalism into modern life. Sir Thomas Haycraft had dignity and was painstaking; but he was old and exhausted when appointed and most of his energy went to vindicating, properly enough, the authority of the Chief Justice as against the Legal Secretary or Attorney-General. His successor would seem never to have grasped the potentialities of his office. In the result the legal progress of Palestine along the three lines indicated has been far from satisfactory.

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## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, JULY 30TH, 1936.

IN accordance with the policy of the Executive of the Jewish Agency to speed up works of reconstruction necessary for the security of the Jewish community before the rainy season, the Government has agreed to the immediate construction of three out of the four roads demanded. The first is the continuation of the northern road from Tel-Mond towards Chedera, connecting the northern Sharon and Emek Hefer with Tel-Aviv and Chedera railway station, thus opening up a purely Jewish road from Tel-Aviv to Haifa. The appropriation for this purpose has been increased from £60,000 to £100,000. The second road is from Ginegar to Nahalal, diverting north and south traffic through the Jewish area and avoiding Nazareth. The third road is from Afule towards Shutta, connecting the Ein-Harod district with the highway to Haifa, with which it was previously connected only by railway. The Emek roads will cost £75,000. The work will be carried out by Jewish labour.

Eighty-four Arabs who are now interned in the Sarafend concentration camp, including several party leaders, have sent a protest to the Arab Higher Committee against Mr. Jamal Husseini's statement in London denouncing the outrages as the acts of bandits and declaring this to the Palestine disorders are not directed against Great Britain. The protest includes a demand for a denial of this statement by the Arab Higher Committee, declaring that the terrorists represent the Arab aspirations which are indeed directed mainly against British Imperialism.

The inhabitants of the Arab village of Ain-Talma, near Motza, have been

terrorised by a gang of brigands who demanded money. When they refused, the terrorists mutilated three villagers. The police surrounded the village and arrested many of the terrorists.

At the meeting of members of the Arab Higher Committee with Emir Abdullah at Amman on July 26th, the latter demanded the cessation of acts of violence in order to facilitate the early arrival of the Royal Commission. The Emir pointed out the enormous economic losses that have been sustained by the Arabs as well as the profound suffering of the Arab masses. In reply, some members denied that the Committee was in control of the terrorists and stated that they had no power to stop the acts of violence. Other members demanded a stoppage of Jewish immigration during the Commission's visit to Palestine, as well as the release of prisoners arrested in connection with the disorders, and the cancellation of collective fines as primary conditions for the cessation of violence. The Mufti of Jerusalem finally intimated that he would convene a meeting of the Arab leaders after the return of the Arab delegation from London in order to come to a final decision.

The famous doctor, Professor S. Voronoff of Paris, has sent the Palestine Foundation Fund a donation of 5,000 francs, stating that this gift is a result of the impression made upon him by the disorders in Palestine.

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## Striking Musical Progress

THE opening performance in December of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, organised and directed by Mr. Bronislaw Huberman, its first concerts to be conducted by M. Toscanini, will mark the coming of age of music in Palestine. Its youth and adolescence have been none too easy, for in a pioneer country first consideration must be paid to urgent material needs. But material development has been accompanied by a marked enrichment of cultural life, and a particularly strong impulse in this direction has been given by the immigration since 1933 of the German Jews, with their age-long cultural traditions and their profound love of music.

In the early days of the British Administration, the local population regarded themselves as fortunate if they had the opportunity of listening to a military band. One or two courageous and persistent pioneers organised concerts, and on rare occasions artists of international reputation such as Heifetz and Godowsky visited the country. In the 1933-4 season the visiting artists included MM. Huberman, Rubinstein, Thibaud and Schnabel.

The performances of the excellent Jerusalem String Quartet, which includes Emil Hauser, formerly first violin in the Budapest Quartet, of the "Chamber Opera" group and the Palestine Philharmonic Society, all of which have had to overcome serious financial difficulties, are attended by growing and appreciative audiences. The two schools of music in Jerusalem provide the young generation with an opportunity of receiving a first-class musical education without the necessity to seek training abroad.

The difficulties have not, however, entirely disappeared. Mr. Huberman has, it is true, raised £10,000 privately to launch his orchestra, but although the concert-going population of Palestine is exceptionally enthusiastic, it is still limited, and there is a danger that developments will outrun the ability of the local residents to support the costs. The audience must be enlarged, both at home and in the neighbouring countries. At the present time Egypt offers the best possibility of providing a wider basis for the activities of the Palestine orchestras and quartets. In March of this year the Jerusalem String Quartet made a successful tour in Egypt, and arrangements were concluded for a further series of concerts at the end of the year. If this practice could be extended a more solid basis would be assured for sound development. Most orchestras and opera companies have to be subsidised, either privately or by the state, but the best guarantee for their maintenance is a wide and devoted audience.

The existence of Palestine's broadcasting service may also be of service in this matter. The task of the musical director is a delicate one, for he has to consider the tastes of an extraordinarily mixed population. Even among the Jews musical tradition is anything but homogeneous, while the Arabs have had little training in listening to European composers. Still, the rival claims are probably not more difficult to settle than those between the "classicists" and "jazzists" here in England, and the Ramallah Station can be used to consolidate the position of the various orchestras and musical associations. The co-operation of the Government along these lines would do much to encourage the efforts of music lovers in Palestine to-day, and to justify the optimism of the pioneers.

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## "The Oppressed Hawkers"

**A**n illuminating sidelight is thrown on the character of the Arab strike and on the "impartiality" of the Palestine Police Force by the memorandum submitted to the Chief Government Secretary by the Arab hawkers of Jaffa on July 14th. In it they appeal to the Government to bring the strike to an end to save them from ruin and starvation. The memorandum is unsigned, as the petitioners fear the vengeance of the strike organisers should their names became known. "The Oppressed Hawkers" write:

"How could peace return and life be again normal if the Government itself acts as if it wanted the strike to continue, and supports its initiators. . . . Whenever we come into the city with our goods, we are attacked, cursed and our goods destroyed. . . . The police believe that they are not required to interfere in such matters and do not take any action when any complaint is brought. . . . We have been longing with all the shopkeepers for the promulgation of the law enforcing us to open our shops. But the Government, it seems, will not use this means—which would surely end the strike—to restore life to normal. Our experts tell us that Government has found that the High Commissioner has no authority to issue such a law."

The petitioners conclude with an appeal to the High Commissioner, at least to take measures to prevent the attacks being made on them, and to protect them from unlawful interference. "If you do not want to save us from starvation and death when you have the means of saving us . . . we leave this to your conscience and to the conscience of Great Britain."

## PALESTINE and Sir Arnold Wilson

The following correspondence has appeared in *The Times* :

SIR,—Most Members of Parliament and many others who are, in the Duke of Wellington's phrase, "much exposed to authors," have received the fortnightly issue of a journal named PALESTINE, dated July 15th, containing a leading article which, under the caption "Poltroonery," begins as follows :

If the Jews were to refuse to go to a country where their lives and property were in danger, one could at least understand their motives. But that a great country like ours, which has twice carried on its own shoulders the major burden of maintaining the liberty of the whole world, should shiver and shake before a few hundred Arab terrorists, and should actually be suggesting to the Jews that they should relax their efforts for Palestine because otherwise it cannot discharge its part of the bargain—which is to maintain law and order—this is sheer poltroonery.

I crave your indulgence to remind the anonymous authors who claim to be our fellow-countrymen that they do the Zionist cause an ill-service by referring to their opponents as terrorists, and to those in this country and elsewhere who seek to do justice to the Arab inhabitants as poltroons. I would say to them, in the words of Horace :

incedis per ignes  
suppositos cineri doloso.

You tread as one on fire should tread  
Scarce hid by treacherous ashen crust.

There is a great body of opinion in this country which is profoundly disturbed by the position into which we seem to be drifting, which is aware of the strength of Moslem opinion in Arabia and elsewhere, and of the strength of the Arab cause. We desire to do justice to both sides : references to terrorism in Palestine and poltroonery in England will arouse in both countries deep-seated prejudices, making old wounds throb and bleed again, and will make the task of statesmen far more difficult.

Your obedient Servant,  
ARNOLD WILSON.

House of Commons, July 16th.

SIR,—Sir Arnold Wilson, in his letter to you, falls foul of the weekly journal PALESTINE, and describes those who write for it as “anonymous authors who claim to be our fellow-countrymen.” I am one of them, and as some innuendo seems to be intended, I crave the hospitality of your columns to rebut it.

The charge of anonymity calls for no reply, least of all when it is made in the columns of your paper, which has made what Sir Arnold Wilson apparently intends as a reproach into an honourable distinction of the best British journalism. Anonymity is a self-denying ordinance of the individual in favour of his craft. As for our claim to be fellow-countrymen with Sir Arnold Wilson, I would not say that it is any better than his claim to be a fellow-countryman of ours, but it is quite as good. I am not even a Jew, though I doubt whether Herr Hitler himself would regard that as a disqualification for writing about Palestine. I am here writing for myself alone, but what I say is equally true of my Editor. Anyhow, this is not Germany, and whether an Englishman is a Jew or an Anglican or a Particular Baptist has no relevance to the propriety or Englishry of his political views or of their expression.

But like other anonymous journalists, I am more sensitive about an innuendo against my paper than against any individuals on it. I have been connected with the weekly journal PALESTINE ever since its foundation in the war before the Balfour Promise was thought of; indeed, except in a financial sense, I was one of its founders. It was founded for one reason, and only one. I had come to the conclusion that the possession of Palestine was necessary to our position in the East and had begun to advocate an alliance between Zionism and Great Britain as a means to that end. I was fortunate in finding others who shared that view, which, indeed, was later confirmed by the course of events. After the peace PALESTINE was discontinued because it seemed that the policy advocated by it had been carried to a successful conclusion. It has been revived recently precisely because the *cinis dolosus* and the *suppositi ignes* of Sir Arnold Wilson's Horatian tag seemed to be threatening the alliance between Zionism and a Liberal British Imperialism for which we had so long, and as we hoped successfully, worked. At no time during the history of the paper has there been any non-British influence at work on it; at no time has it had any other interest but to promote this alliance, and through it the greater and more beneficent influence of our country in the East; and at no time has there been any outside or even Jewish attempt to impose a policy on the paper or on the form of its expression.

I am, yours obediently,

THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE.



# Palestine

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No. 25

## Jewish Immigration

IT is taken for granted in many quarters that when the Palestine Commission begins its sittings the immigration of Jews is to be suspended until it reports, and probably that has been and may still be in the intention of the Government. But the Commission is not to begin its sittings until order is restored, and as the disorders still continue there is still time to modify a decision which can only have been provisional if there is reason to think that it will have a bad effect. Let us then assume an attitude of as complete detachment as is possible and ask ourselves what the effects of such a decision are likely to be if it is confirmed. The assumption in the mind of the Government must be that Arab opposition can be overcome by concessions that are quite consistent with the faithful execution of the Mandate. If there were good grounds for that assumption, one would have expected the mere announcement of the Commission automatically to end the disorders. That the Mandate requires some Jewish immigration for its fulfilment is obvious, and if the Arabs were disposed to a settlement on terms, they would surely have put some upward limit on the amount of immigration that would overcome their opposition. But they have made no such offer; the disorders still continue; and the opposition is still not to the amount of Jewish immigration but to the Mandate, that is, to any immigration however small. That Jews and Arabs should work together for the good of Palestine is common ground between Jews and the Government. The whole point of our criticism of the Commission and its attendant conditions is that until Arabs, too, stand on this common ground, there is no basis of argument at all. The fact that they have risen in rebellion seems to indicate that the Arabs take the same view. Between a Government which wants to discharge its trust and Arabs who are against that Mandate being discharged at all, there is no hope for negotiation, nor can there be until the Arabs have given some indication how in their opinion the Mandate should be discharged, and what is their view of the amount of immigration that would make a home for Jews. Until that point is reached, the parties are not *ad idem*.

To the Jews Arab co-operation is not merely desirable but necessary. We have criticised the Government's policy precisely because in our opinion it is going the wrong way to secure the results that Jews desire equally with the Government. The root of the whole trouble is that the Arabs are convinced that the Government is not really in earnest about the National

Home, and that if only they make trouble enough the whole policy of the Mandate will wither. But if the Arabs are wrong, as we must assume that they are, and the Government is really in earnest about the Home, then it seems to us that they have ground for complaint against the Government for encouraging hopes which it does not intend to fulfil. Attempts at conciliation which do not touch the real points at issue either deceive or lower the dignity of the Government. From the beginning of these troubles our view has been that they are political, not economic, in their origin. We have demonstrated by facts and figures that the Arabs have benefited in a material sense by the Jewish immigration. Transjordan is witness of what Palestine would be without the Jews. The picture that is drawn for English sympathisers of Arabs dispossessed of their lands and their livelihood by the inrush of Jewish immigrants is purely fanciful; in Palestine it would be too manifestly contradicted by the facts to be noticed at all; and the Arabs, to do them justice, make little or no pretence that they have economic grievances. Their whole case, such as it is, is: "This is our country; it will not be ours if Jewish immigration continues." That is a decided challenge to the policy of the Mandate, and for the Government to evade it and pretend that the grievance is other than what it is is unfair to the Arabs themselves. It encourages the irreconcilables to persist in a policy which would only succeed by our manifest failure in the execution of the Mandate; it discourages the majority of Arabs—we say majority advisedly—who would otherwise co-operate with the Jews in building a new Palestine and a new East. Except in co-operation with Jews there is no hope of a great future for the Arab race.

And now look at the issues through Jewish eyes. In the first enthusiasm of the Balfour promise, there were those who dreamt of a Jewish State of Palestine. No one has those dreams now. Zionists have ceased to worry about political *formule*; if they are allowed to work for Palestine they are content that its politics should be the natural growth of its soil, not manufactured artificiality; nor do they claim any monopoly of work for Palestine. Two sole tests are valid—the test of work and of results, and the test of what is within the economic capacity of the country to absorb. That being his frame of mind, think of what it means to the Jew when his efforts have made Palestine, relatively to its pre-war state, the most prosperous and progressive country in the world, when his fortunes and liberties outside are at their lowest ebb and his hopes in Palestine are at the flood, that a British Government of all governments, which has so much to gain by Palestinian prosperity, should say: "*Pas trop de zèle*; your immigration must stop, until we have inquired on what conditions, if any, it may continue."

Can it be that any part of the remedy is to stop even temporarily the import of past benefits and future hope into the country? That would be to penalise Jewish love of Palestine, Jewish gratitude and loyalty to Great Britain, and such enthusiasm of energy and hard work as the East has not known for countless generations. If that were indeed part of the remedy, the rest of the world would say we had failed, and British prestige would suffer a terrible injury.

## England and the Crisis

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

**P**ALESTINE is in the news again. It always gets there when Arabs start murdering Jews. In this way, in all innocence, we journalists conspire to distort the picture humanity forms of the world in which it lives. Crime is always news, but the quiet building of a great civilisation where yesterday was marsh and desert—that is not news. But it is history.

Like everyone else, I, too, am writing about these murders, but I shall have something to say, as we go along, about the constructive work of the Jews. I can think of only two other regions on the surface of our planet that offer an equally cheerful prospect. One is Soviet Russia and the other the Tennessee Valley.

This is not the first occasion on which the Arabs have started a violent movement of protest against the creation of the Jewish National Home: it is, indeed, the fifth of these outbreaks.

On former occasions the British authorities handled these affairs badly. This time the police has done its work well: reinforcements were brought in good time from the army in Egypt, and thanks to these prompt measures there has been no massacre. In lonely rural areas the Jews are very properly allowed to defend themselves.

Whether the political management of the crisis has been equally happy is more debatable. Arthur Balfour's policy of the Jewish Home was popular when he launched it during the war, but few seem to have realised the difficulties it would entail. Liberals and the Labour party still favour it, but Tories are divided. They have an odd sympathy, partly natural, partly tactical, with all Mohammedan movements. At times Whitehall has seemed to be rather half-hearted about the Mandate, a state of mind that the Arabs were quick to notice.

When this violent agitation began, Mr. Thomas promised a Royal Commission. He said, to be sure, that its terms of reference will not allow it to call the Mandate in question, but the suspicion prevails that it may look for some way of dodging or minimising it. All the facts are known, and it is only a few years since a Royal Commission reported.

Again, the Administration is handling the Arab leaders very tenderly. It is now restricting the movements of some minor agitators, but the chief of them, the most unscrupulous and the most unbending, the Mufti of Jerusalem, goes scot-free in his work of incitement. Not only does he lead the movement of "civil disobedience" (to use the Indian term), but he uses his sacred office to incite the ignorant Arab masses to fanatical fury. He repeated the other day in a public speech the absurd legend that the Jews are planning to destroy the holy places of Islam in order to rebuild the Temple on their ruins. Why was Mr. Gandhi imprisoned, while this person goes free? One must apologise for the comparison: for the Mufti is certainly no saint. This looks like weakness.

On the other hand, General Wauchope, the High Commissioner (of whom

one hears only good opinions) has answered the demand for the cessation of immigration flatly enough. He has fixed the quota for the present half-year at 4,500—a figure that does not include persons possessed of capital of £1,000 and upward. This is a substantial number, though the Jewish Agency had asked for twice as many. Palestine is the one country in the world that enjoys a boom. There is no unemployment, and building is going on at a fabulous rate. Indeed, the demand for labour is so great that large numbers of Arabs from Syria and Palestine are entering the Jewish Home, while the infiltration of the Jews is severely limited. Of this quota only 1,200 persons will come from Germany.

Politically, I believe it would be wise to build the National Home as rapidly as possible, even by shock tactics. So long as the Jewish minority grows slowly, year by year, the Arabs will fight against destiny. But when instead of the present 28 per cent. the Jewish population amounts to a clear 50 or 40 per cent., they will bow to accomplished facts. When the Jews are strong enough to defend themselves there will be no more talk about driving them into the sea. The German problem strengthens this argument for haste.

Why do the Arabs resist? They certainly have no economic case. Theirs was the most backward and poverty-stricken country of the Near East. To-day, thanks to the Jews, it hums with enterprise and hope. Thanks chiefly to their contribution to the tax revenues, good harbours, modern roads, schools and hospitals have been provided. Almost alone in the world this budget shows, year by year, a handsome surplus. The Jews are rapidly ridding Palestine of the curse of malaria. They have installed electric power, and at the Dead Sea and elsewhere created more than one great industry. That the Arabs share in the general prosperity is obvious from the fact that their population has almost doubled since 1919.

The Arab labourers have seen their standard of life rising far above those of the East, for wages stand now at three and occasionally five times the figures prevailing in Egypt and Syria. The Jews, moreover, have brought to the wage-earners the eight-hour day. The Arab landowners have profited by Jewish land-hunger to raise the value of their estates to speculative heights. The bigger farmers have also learned from the Jews the technique of irrigation, while their research has given to all the new breeds of wheat, barley, citrus fruits and live stock adapted to this difficult climate.

Why then, do the Arabs strike against prosperity? The usual answer is that they are nationalists, who intend that Palestine shall remain an Arab land. This is true of the small upper class, which boasts some education; it had a national movement even under the Turks before the war.

The illiterate masses, however, are not yet ripe for nationalism, and have to be roused by a fanatical religious appeal. This movement is led and financed by the feudal gentry. The land system is one of the worst in the world. The Arab landlords are mere exploiters, who justify their exaction of crushing rents in kind neither by the outlay of capital nor by scientific management. Most of them are, moreover, usurers, who keep the tenants in perpetual debt-slavery.

While the Arab workmen and landless labourers share in the rapidly rising standard of life, the peasants live in abject misery and have suffered like the rest of rural mankind from the slump in prices. The feudal gentry are anti-Semitic partly because the Jews have introduced higher wages and the eight-hour day. But chiefly what they feel is that economic power is passing from their caste to these newcomers who understand science and machines.

Arab propaganda alleges another reason for this hostility. It is said that the Jews are elbowing the native Arabs off the land. This charge is untrue.

In the first place the immense majority of the incoming Jews has not gone on to the land at all; it has gone into industry. In the second place, much, indeed most, of the land that the Jews have acquired was waste and uninhabited. I have seen the orange groves along the coast. A few years ago they were bare sand dunes on which there grew only some tufts of rank seagrass. The Jews sank their electric pumps and led fertility over their desert in pipes. On the steep hillsides you may see their orchards, where first the barren rock had to be blasted with dynamite before any tree could be planted. Some of their proudest achievements, their big communal farms—the greatest creations outside Russia of Socialist faith and courage—were developed on waste land and even on marshes. The fact is that, thanks to science, a Jew can thrive where no Arab could live. Thirdly, when the Jews have bought land that was formerly cultivated, the Arab owner has often used the capital so obtained to irrigate the remainder, which now employs a larger number of Arabs than before.

Finally, when the Jews have bought cultivated land, they have never evicted the tenants; on the contrary, these have profited by the Jewish improvements. There is room even in this little country—one can fly across it in half an hour—for a much greater rural population, if irrigation is used to the full. The Arab peasants are pitifully poor because they try to till without science or water, but also because their own upper class robs and misleads them.

The way out of this painful tangle depends, I believe, on the adoption by the British Government of a bolder creative policy, and also of a wiser strategy toward this Arab feudal caste.

Coercion may be unavoidable when rioting breaks out, but it is no remedy. The true remedy is to lift these Arab peasants out of their misery and discontent by helping them to cultivate their land with water and science. That demands capital, but the credit of this little country is good. Much has been done by the Administration to help the Arabs with schools, better breeds of cattle, hospitals and the like. But as yet it has not dared to face the central issue. These peasants must be freed from the oppressive landlords who exploit them.

If they have to be bought out, it should be at no extravagant price. That at last would end the leadership which the landed class now misuses. The Jewish National Home can enjoy neither safety nor happiness so long as an abyss separates the culture and well-being of the newcomers from the illiterate misery of the natives.

*(This article is reprinted, by permission, from the Baltimore Sun.)*

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, AUGUST 6TH, 1936.

THE Councils of the Jewish Settlements in Galilee, the Vale of Sharon and the Emek have sent a memorandum to the District Commissioners expressing their lack of confidence in the Arab officials of the District Commissioners' offices, who signed the Arab memorandum to the High Commissioner, and their unwillingness to have any relations with them. The Jewish Agency has also sent a memorandum to the Government asking that these officials and clerks be replaced by Jewish clerks or by Arabs who have not signed the memorandum.

An Extraordinary Gazette has been issued by the Government, August 2nd, containing a new Collective Fines Ordinance, as a result of the High Court's decision in the case of Gaza. According to the new laws, fines may be imposed by the District Commissioner on any person authorised by him, and all the fines imposed up to now are rendered legally valid.

A meeting of the Arab Higher Committee on Monday, August 3rd, broke up without arriving at any agreement regarding the attitude to be adopted towards the Royal Commission and the termination of the strike. One faction proposed to declare an armistice by stopping terrorism in order to enable the Royal Commission to arrive in a peaceful country, while the strike should be continued until the demand for a stoppage of Jewish immigration was met. The Mufti and others, however, opposed this proposal, and demanded that the strike should be stopped, as otherwise terrorism would still continue. The supporters of the original motion left the meeting, after a heated exchange of words. In the earlier stages of the meeting it was decided to establish an office for the purpose of collecting the Arab grievances to be submitted to the Royal Commission. Endeavours will probably be made to convene the Arab Higher Committee again on Tuesday and to reach definite resolutions as a basis for the forthcoming further discussion with Emir Abdullah in Amman.

The High Commissioner stayed at Athlit on Saturday for a short holiday, and visited the Jewish settlements in Samaria, including the Children's Settlement Shefa, where he saw the hothouse for vegetable-growing built with the donation that he had given. He also visited Zichron Jacob, Karkur, Pardess Hanna and Givat Ada. He talked with the workers and watchmen, and said to the latter: "I hope that the situation will soon become quiet and enable you to return to your normal labours."

The *Palestine Post* has published a letter that was addressed by Mr. Daniel Auster, the Vice-Mayor of Jerusalem, to Dr. Khalidi, the Mayor, on July 24th, in which he says that a committee of the Jerusalem municipality officials, with the assistance of the municipal lawyer, have drafted a memorandum to be signed by Arab officials of the Jerusalem and other municipalities in the country. The letter went on to say: "I consider this a very serious offence. It is unbelievable that officials of the Municipal Corporation should participate in a political controversy and sign a memorandum to the Government directed against the interests of the majority of the city's population, whose interests they are paid to serve."

According to the figures published by the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency, 18,000 Jewish immigrants, including 4,000 of the capitalist category, entered Palestine during the seven months ending July 31st.

It is understood that the conference of the Arab leaders with the Emir Abdullah at Amman concluded without arriving at a decision. The Emir Abdullah warned the Arabs that harsher measures on the part of the Government were to be expected in the event of the acts of violence not ceasing. Replying to expressions of dissatisfaction at his statement, he said: "You are sated, but the nation is starving." He added that concessions could be expected only through the Royal Commission and not from any other quarter. The extremist Mayor of Nablus led the discussion, saying that they had heard the same admonitions before in the Government leaflets distributed by airplanes, and he asserted that the Arab leaders were unable to order a cessation of the strike and the terrorism, unless their principal national demands were satisfied. It was obvious that many of the speakers were influenced by personal fear of the terrorists.

The Palestine Council of the Union of General Zionists has decided to propose to the forthcoming meeting of the General Council (Actions Committee) that the Jewish Agency should not co-operate in the work of the Royal Commission in the event of the suspension of Jewish immigration.

JERUSALEM, AUGUST 9TH, 1936.

It is rumoured that King Ibn Saud of Arabia, King Ghazi of Iraq, and Imam Yahie of Yemen, are ready to co-operate in the liquidation of the Palestine situation by an appeal for the cessation of the terror and the strike, and, if their appeal is successful, by mediating between the Arabs and the Government. Negotiations are now reported to be proceeding between the Kings and the Arab Higher Committee.

Owing to the intensified pressure exerted by the terrorists, a section of the Arab port workers in Haifa did not go to work to-day. Negotiations are now proceeding for the employment of additional Jewish workers. A number of Arab engine-drivers in Haifa also abstained from work to-day, but the train service is not interrupted.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency to-day received 140 immigration certificates from the Government reserve, including 100 for the German youth and 40 for members of Mr. Huberman's orchestra. The youth certificates were hitherto granted outside the schedule as for students, but the Jewish Agency's request for 450 certificates outside the schedule has been refused by the Government.

The motor-bus service between Palestine and Transjordan has been resumed.

The Government has officially denied the report published in the Arabic paper *Adifaa* that the Colonial Secretary had transferred his powers to the High Commissioner for the suspension of immigration when necessary. In the denial, which was also broadcast, it was pointed out that the position remains the same as explained by the Colonial Secretary in his statement in Parliament on July 22nd.

## Sir Arnold Wilson

IN a further letter to *The Times* published on Tuesday of last week, Sir Arnold Wilson asserts that "Tel-Aviv is to-day the chosen focus and recognised ganglion of Communistic propaganda in the Near and Middle East." It would be interesting to know on what evidence this remarkable assertion is made.

If it were true, it should, as a matter of fact, be a matter for congratulation to the Arab apologists, since the handful of Communists in Palestine have taken an active part in encouraging the Arab revolt and denouncing what they call the alliance between Zionism and British Imperialism.

The Palestine Communist party consists of a few hundred Jews and Arabs, the majority of whom have either been in prison or deported since the beginning of the present troubles.

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## Mr. Amery's Suggestion

THE *TIMES* of August 8th contains a letter from Mr. L. S. Amery, formerly Colonial Secretary, who states that Great Britain cannot in honour recede from the fulfilment of her obligations under the Mandate. The Jews are already in Palestine in such numbers, and play so dominant a part in the economic life of the country, that they can no longer be regarded as merely an intrusive element in an Arab country. Palestine is now, and must remain, a country inhabited by two communities, each of which is entitled to equal consideration. The principle upon which British policy can only be based is that of equality of right which was affirmed by the White Paper of 1922. The Government must recognise that the Jew has as good a right to be in Palestine as the Arab, and to impose no check upon Jewish immigration that is not warranted by the general economic condition of the country and that is not imposed with equal strictness upon Arab immigration. The least it can do for the Arab is to recognise his present cultural and economic inferiority and to impose such safeguards on his behalf as will ensure his equal status in the national life of Palestine.

Mr. Amery proposes that the future of the Arabs in Palestine should be safeguarded by guaranteeing the inalienability as from Arab to non-Arab of an area, or areas large enough for all present requirements, and with improved cultivation, for a steady expansion of their numbers. With that secured it is up to the Arabs themselves, aided by the educational facilities which the Palestine Government is placing at their disposal—thanks largely to the revenues resulting from Jewish immigration—to make sure of their own economic and social future. In the political sphere Mr. Amery says that the Arabs could not be given majority control in self-government. He therefore urges that any future constitutional development should be based on equality of representation, or at least of voting power, as between Jews and Arabs, so that neither community can hope to pass legislation directly aimed at injuring the other; and that equality should be guaranteed to both communities for all time, irrespective of any changes in their numbers.



# Palestine

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No. 26

## Organised Destruction

THE extent of the damage which has been done since the beginning of the troubles in Palestine is not perhaps fully appreciated. The officially collected figures for agrarian crime between April 19th and July 16th are 141,491 trees damaged or destroyed, and 2,830 acres of growing crops destroyed. The *communiqués* have mentioned well over two hundred cases of bombing, and those of shooting have been innumerable. Thousands of telegraph and telephone wires have been cut; many attempts, often successful, have been made to damage railways, roads, bridges, and important water-supplies. Arson has been common, over sixty Jews have been murdered, and there have even been attacks on their children, a bomb lately thrown into a Tel-Aviv playground having injured seven children between 8 and 11 years old, and three others having been deliberately shot in their sleep at Safed only last Thursday.

Under this intense provocation the Jews have not retaliated, and no one with a true knowledge of events will grudge them the admiration which the Colonial Secretary has expressed for their restraint. Yet they are in a cleft stick. Because they refrain from retaliation they are accused of pursuing a Machiavellian policy which causes all blame to be thrown on the Arabs, but when they ask for arms to defend themselves and their property it is suggested that they would use those arms for attack. This allegation has now been disproved and the Government has found it advisable to issue arms to some three thousand Jews as regular police, auxiliary police, or watchmen, and none of these has abused the confidence placed in him.

As has been continually pointed out in these columns, the firm measures which are invariably necessary in such cases were not taken at the start. Emergency regulations were indeed promptly issued on April 19th, and on June 12th a number of crimes were made punishable by heavy penalties, including death in certain cases; but there has been a curious tardiness not only in the application of these very necessary penalties but even in the bringing to trial of Arabs to whom they might be applied. So far, the death penalty has not once been inflicted, and in general the punishments imposed have shown themselves ineffective as deterrents. Where fines are ordered, they are often paid by the committees; imprisonment is no great hardship, and it at least has the advantage of securing bodily safety. According to the Arab press the collective fines on towns and villages, though objected to, have not affected the determination of the strikers. British prestige has suffered a blow from which it will not readily recover. The authorities are openly flouted, and a saying is current that for every Arab who is shot by the troops, two die of laughing at the Government.

The strike is run by the Arab Higher Committee, but it has great support from the younger men or Shebab, many of whom are the sons of well-to-do parents and have been educated in the secondary schools. Most of them are members of nationalistic clubs or of the so-called Boy Scout Associations. The Committee has representatives in every village, and these receive pay. Their duty is to see that the strike is kept going in their villages, and in addition they are expected to collect funds, which they frequently do by means of threats. It is evident that their job can be lucrative, and in order that they shall not relax their efforts they are visited from time to time by Shebab from the towns, who keep them up to the mark.

The armed bands who attack the Jewish colonies, the troops and the convoys, are evidently well organised, and it is to be remembered that they have been made to believe that they are engaged in a holy war against the government and the Jews. They are thus not only national heroes in life, but if they are shot they become martyrs, and are assured of Paradise thereafter. It is for this reason that the hanging of a few, and their burial within prison walls, would be much more effective than the shooting of many in skirmishes.

The leaders are encouraged by the fact that they receive both moral and financial support from the Arab Government officials, and also by the belief that, because many of the British officials have little sympathy with the Jews, they must therefore be backers of the Arab cause.

Such a step as the temporary cessation of Jewish immigration during the sitting of the Royal Commission, while it might appear for the moment to make things easier, would inevitably render the situation more difficult in the future, for it would at once be taken by the Arabs as a sign of victory and would cause them later on to intensify their efforts to obtain complete satisfaction of their original demands, whatever the findings of the Royal Commission might be.

It has been clearly shown by the present events that the Jews will not be immune from attacks until their numbers approach those of the Arabs and they are given means of defending themselves. Then, and then only, can Arab respect succeed to hatred, and with respect may come the possibility of constructive co-operation. The country can bear such an increase in population, for while many Jews want to farm, many are likely to manufacture, and this means close settlement in such areas as Haifa Bay and Tel-Aviv. If the present Jewish population of 366,000 can be supported, as the strike has shown it can, on 307,000 acres, there is little doubt that if it were increased to a million it could be supported on one-sixth of the 6,000,000 acres which Palestine contains. Is one-sixth of the country more than was intended for the National Home; and are five-sixths less than the Arabs really need?

If no more Jews are allowed to immigrate, Great Britain must face the obligation of protecting indefinitely the Jews who are now there, and the Arabs have shown us that they can keep twelve battalions well occupied. With things as they now are, the British Government would do well for the safety of the routes to the East to consider favourably both the increase of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the formation there of a Jewish defence force sufficient to protect the Jewish settlements,

The obvious duty of the Government is to protect peaceable citizens and to suppress crime. The terrorists are growing bolder and more blood-thirsty. Is it reasonable to suppose that Jewish restraint will be indefinitely maintained? Such outrages as those at Safed and Tel-Aviv are proof that the Government cannot effectively protect the lives of the law-abiding. Who can blame the law-abiding if they now take the law in their own hands?

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## No Mean City

**H**AIFA is a port in the sense that Southampton, Marseilles and Alexandria are ports. It has a natural harbour, and the depth of the water, the normal current and wind conditions, as well as elaborate engineering works, enable the largest steamers to dock with convenience and safety. Jaffa is too open to be called a harbour in the technical sense. The small inlet at Jaffa might be compared with those at Acre and Gaza, except for the rocks which jut out of the water and provide some sort of shelter for small lighters, while at the same time they constitute a great danger for all shipping during stormy weather. There is no harbour for ocean-going steamers, which anchor in the open roadstead. Cargo is loaded and discharged by means of lighters passing through a passage in the reef into the port, and the port has no railway facilities.

In spite of these unfavourable conditions the merchants of Tel-Aviv and Jaffa found that, during the citrus export season, Haifa harbour was overcrowded, and they needed local facilities for their trade. Large store-houses were built by the Government at Jaffa, the entrance to the harbour was widened and a new sea wall was constructed. It was recently proposed to build a breakwater along the coast, using the rocks as foundation stones. These measures alleviated but did not solve the problem of transport capacity. During the busy season the same complaints against delay have been heard.

The facilities provided by both Haifa and Jaffa, taken together, were inadequate and were likely to prove even more so in future. During the height of the season as many as fifteen ships were to be seen outside Jaffa harbour waiting to be loaded, and at Haifa as many as thirty. The position was made worse when weather conditions were bad, for then work between ship and shore at Jaffa was stopped for several consecutive days. Owing to congestion or bad weather, cargo consigned to Jaffa has frequently to be transferred to Haifa.

Now whilst there is an overwhelming case for extending the harbour at Haifa because of its favourable situation, it is at least extremely doubtful whether it would be a sound investment to spend much more on the development of Jaffa harbour. The natural conditions at Tel-Aviv at the mouth of the Auja are no worse and in some respects better than at the Jaffa roadstead. The construction of a jetty some three hundred feet long and the dredging

of the mouth of the river now make it possible to land passengers and to handle the chief types of cargo.

That the harbour capacity of Palestine must be extended is not open to question, but it is by no means a matter of general agreement as to what form that extension should take. Since, however, the beginning of a harbour at Tel-Aviv is now a fact, it is all the more necessary to employ the best consulting engineers and to consult expert opinion so that the work actually in hand at Tel-Aviv shall be done in the most efficient manner. Nor should it be forgotten that the rail and road facilities connected with the harbour, as well as the storage and loading sheds, are as essential to the success of the port as the wharves and docks.

Where is the money to be found for a capital undertaking of this size? It might be provided by the Government, by the Municipality of Tel-Aviv, or by private initiative. A private company would be only too ready to undertake the work, but it is obvious that a public utility of this nature must be controlled by the Government and its fees and profits restricted. In the circumstances there is a strong case for it being in the hands of the Municipality. Whatever decision is come to on this question, the essential capital for adding to the material equipment of the country should be found and the work completed before the next citrus export and tourist season begins.

The harbour will add to the importance of one of the world's wonder cities. In rough statistics, what are the contents of Tel-Aviv? Striking answers to this question may be found in Dorothy Ruth Kahn's *Spring Up, O Well*. Five thousand trade enterprises. Two thousand industrial enterprises. Twelve thousand dwellings. Sixteen power-houses. Forty banks. One hundred hotels and *pensions*. Two hundred coffee-houses and restaurants.

The development of Tel-Aviv does not end here. The city is the home and practically the mainspring of the four Hebrew theatre groups. It publishes newspapers and a number of magazines out of all proportion to the size of the population. It is greatly responsible for the bringing to Palestine of world-famed musicians. It has created and loyally supports the first permanent Jewish philharmonic symphony orchestra in Palestine. It encourages artists and creates art galleries. It possesses a growing museum.

But despite all this frenzy of brick, mortar, violins, and bookbinders, there is not enough of anything in Tel-Aviv. There are not enough houses. Not enough rooms in the houses. Not enough restaurants. Not enough tables in the restaurants. Not enough buses. Not enough seats in the buses. Not enough cinemas. Or theatres. Or auditoriums. Or cafés. Or schools. Or hospitals. Families live placidly on one floor of an apartment-house while a new floor is being erected over their heads. "Room for Rent" signs swing blithely from a finished wall of an unfinished skeleton of a building.

To live in Tel-Aviv can be a royal adventure or a series of gruelling frustrations. To secure a place in a bus is supreme good fortune. To secure a meal in a restaurant in less than an hour is an art. To secure a room is an achievement. To secure an apartment is a triumph. To secure a house is a miracle.

When you want to sit on the beach there are no vacant chairs. When you want to rest in the park on Rothschild Boulevard there are no empty benches. When you want to attend a concert, the tickets were sold out two weeks ago. When you want the electric light repaired, there are not enough electricians. When you want a new shelf, there are not enough carpenters. When your wife wants meat to-day, she will probably receive it to-morrow, for there are not enough butchers and the butchers that there are do not have enough delivery boys. When she wants a maid, she will be driven to utter distraction, because there are not enough maids.

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## The Situation

JERUSALEM, AUGUST 14TH.

WITHIN the last few days there has been a serious increase in terrorist activity. The worst outrage was perpetrated to-night in Safed, which was under a hail of bullets from 9 o'clock. Whilst the shooting by the Arabs was taking place, one of them threw a bomb at the house of a Jew, Walter Unger, where the family were all asleep in one room. The father was decapitated by the bomb, which also killed a child, while another was killed by rifle bullets. A third child and Unger's wife were seriously injured, and his mother was slightly injured.

Bombs were thrown in Bethlehem this morning at Arab strike-breakers and at the house of the Mayor, who is known as being opposed to the strike.

It is reported that the Mufti of Jerusalem is disgruntled because of the growing importance of Emir Abdullah as mediator between the Arabs and the Government. The Mufti is now willing to declare a truce, provided that the Government undertake, first, that the Royal Commission shall not conduct any inquiry into the activities of the Supreme Moslem Council; secondly, that the Emir shall not interfere in Palestine affairs; and, thirdly, that it agrees to the appointment of Mr. Jamal Husseini as a member of the Supreme Moslem Council.

The unloading of five ships in Haifa harbour has been carried out entirely by Jewish labour under the direction of foremen supplied from the Tel-Aviv jetty. There is a reserve of workers ready for a sixth ship which is expected. The work of lighterage and stevedoring is again being carried out entirely by Jews, while seven hundred Arabs are continuing to work as porters. A number of Druses and Circassians from neighbouring villages, who are on friendly terms with the Jews, have been brought in by the Jewish Labour Federation as porters. The transport of cattle from quarantine, which had hitherto been in Arab hands, is now being carried out entirely by Jews.

In consequence of the Government's ultimatum, issued on August 10th, a number of Arab engine-drivers and stokers have returned to work.

The Arabic paper *Falastin*, which is in close touch with the Emir

Abdullah's circles, writes: "The Emir's mediation is progressing and will yield results before the week is over."

Pro-Arab Communist manifestoes were distributed to-day among the refugees in Tel-Aviv.

The Tel-Aviv jetty, the construction of which was completed to-day, is 210 metres long. It will be used in a few days' time.

At a meeting of the General Committee of the Jewish Community in Palestine, which took place to-day with the participation of members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, it was decided to convene an extraordinary meeting of the Asefath Hanivcharim (Elective Assembly) in Jerusalem in order to consider the political situation in connection with the threatened danger of a suspension of immigration.

The Arab paper *Al-Liba* reports that a meeting of Arab advocates to-day decided not to accept any cases resulting from the disturbances owing to the emergency regulations being in operation.

The Arab Higher Committee met at Ramallah on Monday to continue the discussion of Emir Abdullah's proposal for an immediate cessation of the terror as a preparation for the arrival of the Royal Commission. The majority was at first in favour of this proposal, and in addition suggested urging the Government to invite the Royal Commission to go to Palestine immediately. The Mufti and his supporters, however, objected to the proposal that the terror should be discontinued without a decision of the whole nation. They suggested a convention of all the local strike committees in Jerusalem to decide this question. This proposal was agreed to and it was decided to issue a manifesto to the people. The manifesto deals with Mr. Ormsby-Gore's statement announcing the composition of the Royal Commission and its terms of reference, and declares that the statement does not contain any evidence of a change of the policy on account of which the strike had been proclaimed.

Despite all the troubles and anxieties Jewish cultural progress continues. A new and ambitious new play has been produced in Tel-Aviv, and the publication of new books continues. A committee of writers and publishers has recently been appointed, and it is arranging for a Hebrew Book Month when great efforts are to be made to sell books to the value of £10,000.

The Mayor of Hebron, Naser Eldin, who was the leader of the local opposition against the Mufti, was killed this morning. He was the head of a rich family, who were opponents of the Husseinis, and had formerly been a member of the Arab Executive. He received threatening letters last week on account of his opposition to the terrorist campaign, and he was murdered as he was leaving his house by a young Arab who disappeared.

A Druse was arrested this morning on his way from Damascus to Haifa, and was found to be in possession of 4,200 rounds of ammunition.

The High Commissioner this morning received Mr. Shertok, with whom he had a lengthy discussion on the political situation and the problem of security. Sir Arthur Wauchope intimated his willingness that several hundred additional Jewish supernumerary constables shall be enrolled. The Jewish Agency hopes that the originally requested number of 2,500 will thus be attained.

## Following the Zionist Example

A writer in last week's *Church Times* says :

“Communities of mixed blood are generally in an unhappy position, and none perhaps is more in need of sympathy and assistance than the community of Anglo-Indians whose economic position is inevitably affected by the educational advance of the Indian population and the development of self-government. I have therefore been particularly interested to read of what is described as a very hopeful enterprise. A number of Anglo-Indian girls and boys have left an orphanage in Ceylon and have trekked two thousand miles northward to the foothills of the Himalayas, where they are established in an agricultural colony. They pathetically describe themselves as ‘speckled birds who have no home or country of our own.’ The experiment is only in its beginning, but apparently there is every chance of success, and it is interesting that there is cultural as well as material progress. In the Palestine agricultural colonies, the Jews have shown that they can work successfully on the land, and there is no reason why Anglo-Indians should not be equally successful.”

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## Hebrew and Arabic

To the Editor of PALESTINE

SIR,—During these days of suffering and unrest in Palestine I have frequently heard complaints against both Jews and Arabs that not enough has been done to increase their knowledge of one another. It is argued that suspicion and conflict are inevitable if they cannot understand one another, and that it is therefore essential that each should speak the other's language. And since the Jews are on a higher cultural level it is contended that they should begin by learning to speak Arabic.

You are no doubt familiar with this argument, especially if you have acquaintances among the Society of Friends.

May I then submit to you the facts as I observed them during my visit to Palestine. Every Jew who comes to Palestine feels it to be his first duty to learn the Jewish national language, Hebrew. Otherwise the Jew from England or South Africa will not understand his Polish brother, or the Jew from Germany his fellow Jew from Morocco. After all, the recognised Jewish national language is Hebrew, and it is part of the price the Jews pay that, scattered all over the world, they have no common language. Only in Palestine do they really acquire the right to use their historic language. Having laboriously mastered this, the Jewish immigrant has to ask himself whether he should next learn the language of the Mandatory Power, English, or the language of his co-nationals, the Arabs. This is not an easy question

to answer. It is no light matter to decide to cut himself off from the language of the Mandatory Power and of the leading officials, a language spoken by one quarter of the world's population, and understood by the educated classes in every country of the world, in favour of Arabic, the language spoken by two-thirds of the people of the country. Some decide to learn English, and some Arabic. A few whom I met speak all three languages. Little more can be expected from the adult immigrants.

It is argued, however, that the problem could be solved by turning to the school children. As a matter of fact, Arabic is taught in all Hebrew secondary schools, and in a number of the elementary schools of the Jewish Agency, and in all the schools of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. A considerable portion of the native Jewish population learn Arabic either at home or in the streets, but it should be noted that these children are as a rule expected to learn English as well, i.e. all three languages.

The School of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has established an Arabic Department, and the University Library has purchased the Goldzieher Library, one of the finest collections of Arabica and Islamica in the world.

I would not contend that the Jews have done all that they can or should do in this field, but they have certainly given evidence of a very serious interest in the Arabic language and culture.

On the other hand, no such interest has been shown by Arab circles in the Hebrew language and literature. The professional men, the effendis and the priests shun Hebrew on nationalist grounds, but they are not truly representative in this respect. I have myself been addressed by an Arab gharry driver in Hebrew, and heard the local Arab vegetable vendor address a Jewish housekeeper in Hebrew. Those whose livelihood is largely dependent on Jewish trade learn the language, and, I am told, with comparative ease.

It is essential to realise that we are dealing with two peoples distinct in language, history and religion, and that the problem of their relationship arises because each group wishes to maintain its national and cultural identity. The Jews would not accept Arabic as the common medium of instruction; needless to say the Arabs would not accept Hebrew, and neither Arabs nor Jews would accept English. The relationship must be worked out in terms of two distinct peoples, co-operating with one another.

To those familiar with the curriculum of the elementary school in this country a knowledge of three languages may seem too much to expect of children. But it is certainly worth considering whether, in Palestine, it would not be advisable to devote a greater part of the time spent at school to the study of languages, Arabic in the Hebrew schools and Hebrew in the Arabic schools, since there is little doubt that this would contribute to the establishment of friendly relations among the inhabitants.

A READER.



# Palestine

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## How Long ?

WHILE the Jews in Palestine were mourning for the two nurses brutally assassinated in Jaffa last week, a distinguished Jewish scholar was murdered while quietly working in his study in Jerusalem. This continuance of revolting and generally unpunished crime cannot go on. The terrorists have no scruples. The Administration is impotent. The prestige of Great Britain, already sufficiently affected by recent events, is being destroyed in Palestine.

The intention of the revival of violence is obviously to compel the Government to accede to demands which, as *The Times* has said, would be a repudiation of the terms of the Mandate. The campaign of terror is organised and directed; the lull followed by intensified outbreaks is a part of a policy by no means unintelligent, though entirely reckless. It is true that a certain number of the Arab leaders would now gladly see the strike, with its accompanying violence, brought to an end; it is not, however, to be believed that the armed bandits act on their own initiative.

It was pointed out in these columns last week that there are paid agitators in every Arab village and township. The peaceful Arab workers and peasants, who are unquestionably the majority, are terrorised into support of a movement which they fear and hate, while the more active and rebellious spirits are rewarded for their activity. It is an insistent duty to repeat that the weakness of the Government—its failure to disarm the Arab population, to prevent the continued smuggling of arms into the country, and to secure adequate punishment for the criminals caught redhanded in murder and arson, is mainly responsible for the assassination of Mr. Billig and the two Jewish nurses. Moreover, as *The Times* properly insists, the friction between the Judicature and the Administration has vastly encouraged the insurgent movement.

The Colonial Secretary has declared that the Royal Commission will not begin its work until order is restored in Palestine and the law obeyed. It would therefore seem that the insistent and long-overdue duty of the Administration is to take the most drastic measures to suppress an insurrectionary movement entirely political in its intention and ultimately aimed at the British Government. The curious gentleness of the Colonial Office to the malcontents is again suggested in the tone of the reply sent to the Government servants who recently signed a memorandum sympathising with the Arab campaign. These men were acting in defiance of all the rules of Government service and were actively disloyal to the Administration that employs them. The Colonial Office, however, if the report that has reached us is correct,

sympathises with the "difficulty" of the Arab officials and actually congratulates them on their "loyalty," which is nothing more than a wise refusal not to lose their incomes.

It is intensely satisfactory that *The Times* denounces the proposal that immigration should be temporarily suspended through the sittings of the Royal Commission. There seems every possibility that this may be the policy of the Colonial Secretary. As *The Times* says, such a course would prejudice the issue, would encourage the Arabs, and would destroy Jewish trust in the justice and goodwill of the Mandatory Power.

In view of the general attitude of the Administration, there is considerable speculation and indeed not a little apprehension concerning the negotiations that have been going on during the past days between the Government in Palestine and the Governments of Transjordan and Iraq. The Arab kings are eager to play the part of mediator and, although they will probably urge moderation and the cessation of terrorism, it is quite also certain that they will endeavour to persuade the Government to make concessions to the Arab demands which will be properly regarded by the Jews as inconsistent with the intentions of the Mandate. No concessions are defensible at least until after the findings of the Royal Commission.

In face of the daily fear of murder and sudden death, in face of official provocation and timidity, the industrial, agricultural and cultural life of the Jewish people in Palestine continues with a remarkable and almost unprecedented restraint. Tel-Aviv grows busier and busier. Music, literature and drama are flourishing. The Jewish leaders are to be congratulated on their wisdom and the Jewish population on its self-control. Reprisals have been challenged, the challenge has not been accepted. But, as we have said before, *there is a limit to human endurance*. And with the murder of gentle nurses and quiet scholars that limit has surely almost been reached.

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## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, AUGUST 20TH.

PALESTINE has been horrified to-day by the news of the murder of Mr. Louis Billig, an English Jew and a Cambridge man, now lecturer in Arabic at the Hebrew University. This crime, following the murder of the two Jewish nurses last week, shows the utter recklessness and brutality of the Arab banditry.

In an official *communiqué* the High Commissioner has expressed the deepest sorrow and abhorrence of the recent brutal murders and attacks on perfectly innocent people. He is confident that apart from a few murderous individuals, the whole of the Palestine people will share his detestation of these horrible crimes culminating in the murder in Jaffa of two Jewish nurses on their way to the Government Hospital, where they devoted themselves to healing the sick regardless of race or creed.

A leader in the *Palestine Post* has pointed out the insincerity of the Arab

statement of regret at the murder of the Jewish nurses. It says that the Arab leaders have not condemned any of the previous murders and acts of violence, nor dissociated themselves from the campaign of incitement and terror. The Arab Press openly attacked the Jewish nurses in Jaffa. Why did not the Arab leaders denounce such agitation?

The Arab Mayor of Jaffa has however written to the Press denouncing the murder of the nurses and all such acts aimed at women. But why only when aimed at women?

The strongest condemnation of the dastardly murder of the Jewish nurses and the sympathy of nurses throughout the world were expressed in a telegram from Geneva sent yesterday by the President of the International Nurses' Association. The President added: "I am making an immediate protest to the League of Nations and to the Mandatory Government against the cowardly outrage."

I understand that the Palestine Government has appointed its irrigation officer, Mr. D. G. Harris, as Special Commissioner in order to collect and collate material for submission to the Royal Commission, dealing with all aspects, political and technical, of the Administration of Palestine. Mr. Harris came to Jerusalem from an important post in India in 1935.

The local councils of seven Jewish quarters on the border between Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, but attached to the Jaffa municipality, have published an announcement and advised the Tel-Aviv municipality that they do not intend to be attached any longer to Jaffa, which is now a murderers' den, and that they proclaim themselves integral sections of Tel-Aviv, without waiting for the consent of the Administration. They have requested the authorities of Tel-Aviv henceforth to provide them with public services.

It is stated here that the Arab officials who sent a Memorandum to the Government on June 30th, have received a reply written on the instructions of the Colonial Secretary. The letter, which is couched in the mildest terms, states that the Colonial Secretary realises the delicacy of the signatories' position, and that he is grateful for their loyalty. Referring to the request for a suspension of immigration, the letter quotes Mr. Ormsby-Gore's statement made in the House of Commons on July 22nd, reaffirming that after order has been restored the question of a suspension will be considered.

The authorities have decided to widen Tel-Aviv railway station and add a line of several hundred metres' length owing to the congestion caused by the increased goods traffic since the stoppage of work at Jaffa port.

#### JERUSALEM, AUGUST 21ST.

Mr. Meir Dizengoff, Mayor of Tel-Aviv, who has withdrawn from public life during recent weeks while undergoing medical treatment in Jerusalem, publishes an open letter to the Palestine Government in the Hebrew Press, in which he expresses his opinion of the policy and conduct of the Government. He writes: "The attitude and conduct of the Palestine Government since the Arab outbreak has introduced demoralisation, anarchy and lawlessness throughout the country and destroyed the laws and authority of the Administration and civil discipline." He describes the situation at the Jaffa

port and on the railways, the annulment of collective fines, and the non-application of the Emergency Regulations owing to a section of the officials undermining the policy of the Central Government. "The country is directed," he writes, "not by the High Commissioner but by the Arab Higher Committee and by hooligans and bandit gangs."

Mr. Dizengoff condemns the proposed suspension of immigration, which the Government, owing to lack of sincerity and courage, considers imposing under the cover of the Royal Commission. He indignantly declares: "If you are unable to protect the life and property of those relying upon your promise, you may stop and suspend immigration, but admit that you are violating obligations. While professing faithfulness to the Mandate you hand over the execution of the National Home policy to the Colonial officials who are opposed to the essence of that idea." He expresses the supposition that the entire object of the appointment of the Royal Commission is to justify the Government's yielding to the Arab demands and to limit Jewish immigration and settlement while seeming to execute the Mandate and the National Home idea.

The Arab kings and princes are competing against each other to attain the role of mediator in the present troubles.

The Arabic paper, *Falestin*, reports that a conference devoted to the problem of Palestine was held in Bagdad on August 18th, at which King Ghazi presided, and the local British Minister was present. The paper predicts that the mediation proceeding from Bagdad and other Arabic capitals will yield results possibly within a week.

Nuri Said Pasha, the Iraq Foreign Minister, has now come to Palestine in order to attempt to negotiate between the Arab leaders and the Government with a view to finding a solution to the present deadlock. He is staying at Government House. The Mufti of Jerusalem has invited the members of the Arab Higher Committee and other notables to meet Nuri Pasha at a reception.

On the other hand, Ibrahim Pasha Hashem, the Transjordan Premier, who came to Jerusalem in connection with Emir Abdullah's attempt to mediate between Arab leaders and the Government, has left Palestine without achieving any results.

Mr. Shertok, of the Jewish Agency, met Nuri Said Pasha this afternoon on the latter's invitation, and had a lengthy discussion on the situation.

It is also rumoured here that King Ibn Saud has made an offer to the British Government to send his son Feisal to Palestine, in order that the Government might thus demonstrate its readiness to consider Arab demands favourably.

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## Rebirth of Hebrew Drama

**I**N many respects Palestine is still a pioneer country. There are still large tracts that have never been settled, desert that has never been conquered. And there are many crudities and inadequacies in the life of the country

that clearly reflect this state of affairs. These are common to all new or newly developed countries, but in some respects the Palestine of the Zionist is entirely different. It displays a richness and abundance of cultural activities that place it on an equal footing with the oldest and most civilised communities. Other pioneers have built new worlds, and their descendants have expressed their strivings in song and play and story. In Palestine the creation of a new civilisation and its cultural expression are proceeding side by side.

This is most evident in music and the drama, which have flourished so vigorously in the last two decades. In the earliest days of the new Palestine small groups of working men and women organised choirs and orchestras and dramatic groups, before there were theatres in which to produce, or halls in which to play. Even to-day the Ohel Theatre Group is composed largely of men and women who work at their jobs during the day and rehearse and produce their plays in the evening, while many of the members of the Philharmonic Orchestra are amateurs in the same sense.

Indeed, the extremely high esteem in which the artist is held is not without its dangers. Madame Rovena, the leading Hebrew actress, occupies a position second only to that of the President of the Jewish Agency—and is, unlike him, above reproach and criticism. The interest displayed in her health during a recent serious illness, and the celebrations with which her return to the stage was welcomed, might have struck a detached observer as an absurd exaggeration. But such fervent enthusiasm has many compensations. Any genuine musical or theatrical venture is assured of a wide audience. Tickets for concerts and plays are always sold out well in advance of the performance.

The two most important theatrical groups in Palestine are the Habimah and the Ohel players. The first is a professional company which started its career under the direction of Stanislavsky and his most brilliant pupil, Vakhtangov, in Moscow. The Habimah was later expelled from Russia. The influence of their original thought, the discipline of their training and the genius of their stagecraft have been merged with the traditions of Palestine, with the energy of her present life and the hopes for her future, to produce a dramatic technique that startled and captivated the audiences of Europe and America when the company toured the capitals. Mr. Jessner, formerly of the Berlin Staatstheater, has joined the Habimah players and is now producing for them.

The Ohel Workers' Theatre Group was founded by one of the original Habimah players, Mr. Halevy, who is still producer and director. In 1934 he brought the company to Europe. The dramatic critic of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote: "You need not be a Jew to like them. You need not be a Jew to understand them. You need not comprehend a word of Hebrew. If you are not moved to your depths by acting of this sort you have no judgment, no taste, and no proper feeling for the theatre. For here, theatrically illustrated, is the humanity that set the world on fire, the eternal and unquenchable flame from which our civilisation sprang."

*The Times* was no less enthusiastic: "It is not often that one carries away from a London theatre impressions rich, varied, pregnant and original enough to call for a detailed critical essay in description and analysis. The

occasion arises in the case of rare individuals ; a Bernhardt, a Coquelin, a Duse, and still more rarely when a complete company introduces what amounts to a new art-form. . . . To this category belong the Ohel Players of Palestine."

When the Ohel produced "Jeremiah" in Paris the *Figaro* called the play "a revelation," and the *Matin* wrote : "It is the finest theatre of our times. It is a new epoch in the history of art."

The plays selected by the two groups cover a wide field. Hebrew translations of Shakespeare are presented frequently, and recently Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell" was produced. Translations of modern drama have included plays by Tolstoi and Shaw, "Love on the Dole," "Liliom" and "Loyalties," and a dramatisation of Feuchtwanger's "Jew Süß." Most characteristic, however, and most frequently produced, are original plays in Hebrew dealing with Biblical themes or with aspects of Jewish life, among the former "Jeremiah," "The Crown of David," "Jacob and Rachel"; among the latter "The Dybbuk," "The Golem," "The Eternal Jew"—the drama of persecution appeals powerfully to an audience that, now living through its own redemption, still has its roots, though not its branches, in the Ghetto. In the treatment of the Biblical themes there is no sentimentality—Rachel and Jacob and Laban are presented for what they were—Beduins with primitive passions and habits.

The eminence of the Habimah and the Ohel tends to obscure the other theatrical companies in Palestine. The Matetch (Broom) specialises in farce and satire. At these plays modern Palestine laughs at itself, and laughs heartily. The Hebrew Theatre of Haifa, under the management of Mr. Rosenheim, formerly of the Lessing Theater, Berlin, opened early in the present year with a production of "Othello." There are several smaller theatrical groups, both in the towns and the settlements, manned chiefly by capable and enthusiastic amateurs.

The Habimah Players are shortly to pay another visit to Europe, to raise funds for the completion of their own theatre, the construction of which was begun more than a year ago in the hills on the outskirts of Tel-Aviv. The architect is Mr. Kaufmann, acknowledged to be one of the greatest of theatre builders, and the foundation stone was laid by the High Commissioner.

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## Reclaiming the Land

REFERENCE has frequently been made in these pages to the improvements undertaken by the Jews on land purchased for settlement in Palestine. The draining of marshy and malarial areas, and the diversion and banking of streams, have reclaimed large tracts from idleness and made them fit for cultivation.

These improvements spread over a larger area than that actually drained, for the marshes are usually found in scattered patches which affect the surrounding land, so that in the Nahalal district, for example, the draining of 610 dunams (a dunam is a quarter of an acre) has meant the reclamation

of 21,700 dunams, and in the Emek Hefer the draining of 1,760 dunams has made 30,000 dunams fit for cultivation.

In all the Jewish National Fund has reclaimed an area of 252,500 dunams at a total cost of £138,510. Other agencies have been engaged in similar work. The Palestine Colonisation Association has carried out great drainage operations, most notably at Hederah. The Zion Commonwealth Company has reclaimed an area of 14,000 dunams in the Herzlia district. Arab lands neighbouring on the improved areas have shared in the benefits. At Haifa Bay most of the work was done on the border lands between Jewish and Arab holdings, and thus the advantages have been almost as great on the Arab as on the Jewish side.

The most important work in prospect is the draining of the Huleh concession area, covering 56,940 dunams, of which 21,453 dunams are marshland and 17,000 dunams are lake. It is estimated that the total cost of draining and reclamation will amount to £500,000, and early in the present year a company was formed in Jerusalem to undertake the work.

Fifteen thousand dunams of the concession are reserved for Arab cultivators, and the expenses of reclaiming this area are to be borne by the concessionaires, who are not entitled to recover the costs from the Arab cultivators.

The original Huleh concession was granted to a group of Arab merchants in 1914, but nothing was done to improve the land. When the concession was transferred to the Palestine Land Development Company in 1934 the High Commissioner said :

“ The old concessionaires were obliged to set apart 10,000 dunams for local Arab cultivators. Under the new concession, Government has insisted that as much as 15,000 dunams shall be set apart if this be found necessary for the local cultivators.

“ Under the new concession, unlike the old, the major drainage and major irrigation works of that area will be carried out without any expense to the cultivators.

“ I attach no blame to anyone, but during the twenty years very little draining has been achieved. As High Commissioner, I think that it is for the good of the country that there is now every prospect that about 40,000 dunams of marshy land, of little value at present to anyone, will be drained and made available for cultivation, that the economic position of local Arabs will be improved, that malaria will be greatly reduced, if not wholly eradicated, with the best results to the health and happiness of the inhabitants of that district.”

## Labour in the Government Service

**T**HE Government of Palestine is far and away the largest employer of labour in the country. Not only does it require police and soldiers, postmen, telephone operators, and unskilled labourers in Government offices ; it also employs large numbers on the national railways and harbours, and on other public works. With the projected increase in extra-

ordinary expenditure on development works during the next few years their numbers will be increased. The economic activity of the country is therefore largely bound up with the employment policy of the Government.

The police, the Transjordan Frontier Force and the army, before the disturbances, numbered in all some 6,500. The Public Works Department engages and employs workpeople on a casual basis. In the last seven months of 1935 the number of man-days worked was 126,500, equivalent to about one thousand regularly employed. Palestine railways employ over four thousand individuals; the posts, telegraphs, radio and associated works require in all some 1,300 employees. Seamen, stevedores, lightermen, and other classes of port labour are subject to weather and tidal conditions, but, casual though the nature of their employment is, more than three thousand are employed at Haifa and Jaffa even in the slack seasons; at busy times the numbers rise to five thousand.

The Government thus has direct control of the employment of some 17,500 people. The programme of capital expenditure announced for the railways and for public works will require an additional six thousand workpeople.

Of the 6,500 in the police and military forces, some 5,000 are Arabs, 1,000 are British, and 500 are Jews. On the railways there are roughly 3,000 Arabs and 300 Jews; in the ports, too, about 3,000 are Arabs and 300 Jews. In round figures about 90 per cent. of the employees in the Government service are Arabs, and less than 10 per cent. are Jews, or a proportion of nine Arabs for every Jew.

The Government apparatus is to an overwhelming extent in the hands of the Arabs.

How does the Government use the power which necessarily accompanies the employment of this army of labour? What principles directly or indirectly guide its policy in this field?

The answer is definite and not open to question. The officials are concerned primarily if not exclusively with obtaining labour at the lowest possible rate. Instead of being exemplary employers, they deny their employees trade union conditions of labour and have not even established a labour or social welfare department.

Transjordan Arabs, Hauranis, and Druses from Egypt stand high in the list of those who are recruited for employment, since they are ready enough to work for rates which, although low, are two or three times as high as those current in their own countries. Next come the local Arabs, who are discontented with conditions of employment in the Government service and are deadly rivals of the Arabs introduced from outside to lower their standard of living. Many of the political problems of the country are bred by this highly unsatisfactory state of affairs. The Government Treasurer should recall the Fair Wages Clause of Government contracts in Great Britain. The men employed by the Government are in the service of the country, and the Government should use their power and prestige as a lever to raise the general level of labour standards in the country as a whole, and generally to improve working conditions.



## Our Problem in Palestine

### Why the Jew is Necessary Root of the Trouble Political

By "SCRUTATOR"

**I**T is unfortunate that there should be a fresh outbreak of violence in Palestine. But for that, Lord Peel's Commission should be at work in a couple of months. Instead of trying to anticipate the course of its inquiries, let us try to approach our problem in Palestine from a new angle. Let us forget the Zionists for the moment and assume that we have come into the possession of Palestine without a Mandate, without any Jewish interest in the country, and with no other duty than to put it to the use that serves us best.

What should we be saying now about Palestine, nearly twenty years after the capture of Jerusalem? Supposing that a Royal Commission had been appointed to inquire into the value to us of a Palestine held under these conditions, what would be the general tenor of its conclusions?

It would no doubt begin by dwelling on the immense strategic importance of Palestine. It would point out that the possession of the country gave our policy a free hand in Egypt and enabled us to defend the Suez Canal if we wished without a garrison in Cairo. Thanks to Palestine, our main line of communication with India need no longer run between two battle-fronts, as it did in the early part of the Great War, but has two protective bastions on either flank.

The Report, too, would have much to say about Palestine as a link in the air route to India, and show how recent events in Abyssinia and Italy's new Mediterranean ambitions had confirmed military arguments for occupying Palestine.

#### The Debit Side—

But (it would go on regretfully to admit) for these advantages we have paid a heavy price. We have rid ourselves of the diplomatic entanglement of Egypt only to acquire another in Palestine. Our occupation of the country is being attacked all over Europe as a supreme example of our Imperialist greed. The country (the Report might continue) is a mere place of arms

costly to keep up. Its population is ignorant and unprogressive, and is the prey of Arab agitators who complain that we have dismembered Syria for our selfish ends. The country has no economic future and no internal strength; it has no modern individuality of its own, but is only a detached fragment of Syria; its military value is discounted by a population that is both disaffected to us and without attachment to the soil.

"If we were able to create a Palestinian nation, energetic, patriotic, and capable of standing some day alone, like a British Dominion, then indeed the arguments for our occupation would be overwhelming. But as it is" (our imaginary Report might conclude) "we cannot promise that any expenditure of public money, however vast, will ever make a Palestine capable of becoming a nation or of being anything more than a place of arms; and the strategical case for its occupation, immensely strong as it is, is counter-balanced by the political drawbacks. We therefore regretfully recommend the evacuation of Palestine."

In other words, if we leave Jews out of the argument and imagine a Palestine without them, we should be advised to leave the country ourselves in our own interest; and if there were no Zionism we should either have to invent it or come to the conclusion that Palestine was not worth keeping, in spite of its wonderful strategic position. But bring the Jews and Zionism back into the argument, and what a change they make. One by one all the objections that we have imagined our Commission urging would disappear.

### —And the Credit

Cost? But thanks to the Jews there is hardly a country in the whole world which is not a financial tributary to Palestine. The reproach of Imperialist greed? Thanks to the Jews, our Imperial advantage is invested with a halo of duty. Lack of local resources? Thanks to the Jews, Palestine has progressed more rapidly than any country in the world; it alone prospered during the depression; it is the only real colonising work done in the twentieth century. No inherent strength, no possibility of nationhood there? Why, Jewish Palestine held up the whole might of Rome for three years, and no soil has ever commanded quite the same passionate devotion as Palestine from the Jews. It is part of their religion. And except through the Jew there is no hope of a Palestinian nation, and without him Palestine is only a poor corner of Syria.

There is a grave problem in Palestine, but let us see it in the right perspective. The alliance between Great Britain and Zionism is not Balfour's fad but a great joint essay in what might be a beneficent work of British Imperialism in the Near East. We must not conceive it in terms of a quarrel between Jew and Arab, but must begin with the assumption that what promises so much to us as an Eastern Power must be made to succeed. So, indeed, it

has so far as Zionist energy could make it. But the Imperial partner who might be expected to prance seems to limp and lag.

The mere appointment of a Royal Commission is a sign that something is thought to be amiss ; the extraordinary proposal that while the Commission is sitting all Jewish immigration should cease would seem to suggest that what is amiss is not in those Arabs—probably a small minority—who have been trying, often by very foul means, to arrest the progress of the country, but in the Jews for promoting it. It is surely inconceivable that the Commission should begin by conceding, even temporarily, to crime all that it has asked for, and by punishing, even temporarily, those who have shown energy in work that is as much Great Britain's as their own, and who have shown such restraint in the face of great provocation.

### The Real Problem

It would be unfair to blame the Arabs as a whole for the violence of a small minority, and what has happened must not be allowed to give a punitive tinge to any policy that may be recommended for Arab any more than for the Jew.

The problem is the same now as it was before : How to get Arabs to work with Jews for the good of their common country, Palestine, so that it can become great as in the past and be the leaven of progress in the East. Nothing else matters, and whatever the Commission suggests to that end will command the sympathetic study of all but those whom nothing could persuade. Now is not the time to try to anticipate these suggestions.

But it is permissible to indicate at the outset where the faults of the Government seem to have lain. In the main they have been faults incidental to the virtues of a good administration which tends to think more of what is than of what might and should be.

Palestine has had many distinguished administrators, from Sir Herbert Samuel downwards ; and its present High Commissioner combines with a great sense of duty a touch of the imaginative idealist. It has had good lawyers in its service as well as dull and prejudiced ones. But it is probably true to say of the Palestine Civil Service as a whole that it has never risen to the height of the Imperial argument in Palestine. It began by thinking there was nothing in Zionism, and it has come to think there is far too much.

Just because the Jews were so energetic, it tended to leave the work of progress to them and to think of its own duty as that of merely protecting the Arab and attending to administrative business. It was like a Whig Government with the Jew playing the part of Chamberlain with his restless force and energy and unauthorised Radical programmes. There was also a certain amount of anti-Semitism among officials, which would betray itself

in moments of crisis ; and much reading of Eastern politics in the obsolete mid-Victorian idiom.

From the beginning there was a certain shyness and an air of apology for the new alliance between the Jew and British Eastern policy. All this mattered, for it gave the Arab the impression that we were only half in earnest over the Mandate and only needed to be pressed sufficiently to whittle down its Jewish provisions.

### Discovering Palestine

A persistent misconception which has put a brake on co-operation between the two races is that the trouble between them is economic. Many Englishmen believe that the progress of the country has injured instead of benefiting the Arab, and pity him for the loss of his land and his employment owing to the fierce and subsidised competition of the Jew. Nothing could be further from the fact. It would be truer to say that the revolt in so far as it was economic was against prosperity. It was the clash of centuries such as causes trouble in every country.

The root of the trouble is political, and springs from the ambitions of a relatively small clique, working on the ignorance and fanaticism of the fellaheen, and to some extent backed by Christian sectaries whose chief interest in Palestine is to preserve it as a venerable antique. The Zionist in Palestine is modernist despite the antiquity of the historical association of his race with the country ; his interest in the country is not antiquarian, but in the future ; if it were not so, we could not hope that he will awaken the East from its long sleep.

But that there is any incompatibility of temperament between Jew and Arab is not true, as past history proves. What the Jew has done for the Arab is to discover Palestine for him much as we have discovered India for the Indians. The Jews' success has awakened ambitions of which the Arab was unconscious under the Turk. And, in fact, it is through the Jew that the Arab's nationalism has the best chance of success. They are not natural enemies, but natural allies ; and some day an Arab will arise with sufficient political intelligence to act on it.

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# Palestine

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## Nuri Pasha's Intervention

THERE are several theories about Nuri Pasha's negotiations. There is first the official. On this view Nuri Pasha is not charged by the Palestine Government with any mission. He is a distinguished Moslem who happens to be in Palestine, who sees the Arab leaders engaged in dangerous and difficult courses, and is using his best endeavours to bring them back to the ways of reason and good sense. If he is successful, and if, in consequence, murders and outrages cease, and the strike is called off, then the Government may in full independence and with a single eye to the merits of the case, consider what measures of conciliation it will adopt, whether by way of releasing prisoners, remitting punishments, or suspending Jewish immigration. Any other attitude would be inconsistent with repeated declarations by the Imperial Government that it would make no concession to violence, and who has ever known a British Government to depart from a pledge?

There may be some individuals in Palestine who accept unquestioningly this official theory of Nuri Pasha's intervention, but those naïve souls will not be found among Arabs or Jews. The Arab view is that Nuri Pasha's aid has been either invited or accepted by the Government, that he is proposing a bargain to which the Government is a party, and that if any step is taken by the Arabs to bring the outrages and the strike to an end it will be in reliance upon and in return for specific concessions by the Government, one of which is generally understood to be the suspension of Jewish immigration. Now if that be the real situation—and it has every air of plausibility and probability—it is just conceivable that the Government may so conduct affairs that chronology will enable it to say that it did not break its undertaking to Parliament and did not surrender to violence, but it will fail to convince any rational person in Palestine. Everybody in Palestine will believe that the Government has betrayed its pledges and has revealed lamentable moral weakness. It happens unfortunately that so far as the future good order and welfare of Palestine are concerned, the universal conviction of Palestinians counts more than a little successful political cant. The harvest will have to be reaped even if the face is saved; and that harvest is a continuous appeal to violence as the one conclusive political argument. We do not think that this interpretation on the part of the Arab agitators is sound, or that there is no limit to the weakness of British Governments. There is such a thing as yielding ground to recover it afterwards, but the Government can hardly expect primitive and enthusiastic Arab politicians to read as deeply into its mind as that.

The Arab theory goes farther. Nuri Pasha, they say, was officially or

unofficially the representative not only of the Palestine Government but also of the Arab Princes in the neighbouring States, who have promised aid in securing their larger political demands. This intervention, they continue, in effect puts Palestine definitely amongst the Arab States, destined to be a member of a future Arab Confederation. This is flying high and fast, and a great deal farther, we imagine, than was ever in the contemplation of the Palestine Government. But when it chose or accepted Nuri Pasha as mediator it invited precisely this kind of gloss. Did it not foresee or is it indifferent? Or does it not ask where British rule enters in these combinations?

The Jewish reading of Nuri Pasha's activity is not so very different from that of the Arabs, though naturally with a different emotional reaction. The Jews are convinced that a bargain is afoot of which they are to pay the costs, and they are alarmed at the bringing in of an Arab from outside Palestine to play the leading part in effecting the bargain. They feel it to be a betrayal of immediate important interests, the elevation of violence and fear into permanent guiding principles of policy, and a constant menace to the future security of their life and property. This may be an exaggerated view, but it is certainly not unnatural.

Putting aside the mere hypocritical humbug, there are two lines of defence which the Government might adopt. They might say that the task of repressing violence and outrage is beyond them, and that peace must be bought whatever the price. This would be a rational if lamentable conclusion, but before it could be adopted one would have to ask what do the military authorities on the spot and here think of it? Have they, with their knowledge of the technical problems involved and of the enhanced strategic importance of Palestine, accepted the view that we are impotent to repress and suppress a few hundred roving bandits and urban assassins? Do the politicians for their part not know that the ultimate stroke of this movement is directed against England?

Another defence might be that in these difficult years the important thing is to gain time, to yield ground now with the intention of recovering it in more favourable conditions. That would be a far less disastrous line of conduct, provided that it was clearly conceived and candidly stated. The trouble is the absence of clear thinking or candour. The Government is actively engaged in humbugging itself as well as the rest of the world.

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## The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty

**I**T would be a grave error to imagine that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, so long incubating and now at last happily concluded, effects sentimental rather than material changes in the status of Egypt and in the relations between the two countries. Looked at from the Egyptian angle, it gives Egypt the possibility of exercising financial and other jurisdiction over all her inhabitants, foreign as well as native; it gives her the control of her own police;

it gives her freedom to create military, naval and air forces entirely under her own control and of such kind and such magnitude as she desires ; it limits, moves, confines and holds out the prospect of ultimately ending entirely British forces on Egyptian soil ; it gives Egypt a share in the sovereignty, administration and garrisoning of the Sudan. These are changes of formidable significance.

Looked at from the English angle, the transformation has the following features : (1) The military occupation is gone. This means that whereas hitherto in times of need the British authorities were free to take of their own motion such measures as they thought necessary for the defence of British interests, they can henceforth operate only through the Egyptian Government, upon whose good will they will be dependent. (2) British control over the Egyptian police or any section of it is to disappear. This carries with it a corresponding surrender of the power to make British authority effective during the normal maintenance of public order and in emergencies. (3) British control over the Egyptian Army vanishes. This took two forms : a British Inspector-General and British personnel ; and a check upon the numbers, training, armament and equipment calculated to prevent it becoming a danger to the British Army of Occupation. Henceforth, although the services of a British Military Mission may be used, the Egyptian Army will be officered exclusively by Egyptians ; and the Egyptian Government will be the sole authority to decide what the numbers, training, armament and equipment of that Army shall be. The balance of forces inside Egypt is revolutionised.

(4) The British forces are limited to 10,000 men and 400 pilots, together with the necessary ancillary personnel, and they are to be confined to the Canal Zone. Hitherto, of course, the size of the British Army in Egypt was determined by the British Government. It was in permanent occupation of Cairo, Alexandria, and the Canal Belt, and it was free to move wherever desired throughout the country. Its function now is strictly the defence of the Canal, and it will have no hinterland outside the Canal Zone except subject to the good will of the Egyptian Government. A point worth noting is that the Canal Zone includes both sides of the Canal and means in effect that the British forces will control the Sinai desert and be linked up by the Sinai railway with the British forces in Palestine. The defence of the Canal instead of pivoting on the Egyptian bank towards Egypt, pivots equally or even more on the " Palestine " bank towards Palestine.

(5) The provisions for British forces in Egypt may disappear after twenty years. In their strategic planning the British Military Authorities must contemplate the possibility of defending the Canal without the advantages of a special position in Egypt.

From the British point of view the pith of the problem is the Canal, " an essential means of communication between different parts of the British Empire." The treaty substitutes a military zone for a country and the good will of the Egyptian Government for the material power of the British Government. It is no part of our task to deprecate the change—it had become necessary and unavoidable—and the new arrangement may

conceivably work as well as the old. Let us all hope that it will, and that mutual understanding will prove as strong a cement as domination. But certain consequences flow logically. British strategic necessities require the maintenance of a certain military strength in the Near East. If the treaty fixes a limit in Egypt, there is complete flexibility so far as Palestine is concerned. We shall expect the garrison of Palestine to be maintained at a higher level than before the present troubles, quite independently of the internal situation; and Palestine will be the natural place for keeping the mobile reserves of British Near and Middle Eastern policy. Under the treaty we have abandoned Egypt as a hinterland to our forces and are limited there to the rôle of a garrison. We must find that hinterland, material and moral, elsewhere; and the only place can be Palestine. This treaty greatly enhances the strategic importance of Palestine; it is the culmination of a process of evolution since the War, and he would indeed be blind to-day who missed its significance. But there is only one Palestine, the Palestine of the Jewish National Home, which can meet the case, and furnish that moral and material background indispensable to security and freedom of movement.

## The Zionist General Council Meeting

*(From our own Correspondent)*

ZURICH, AUGUST 27TH, 1936.

**B**EFORE the opening of the meeting of the Zionist General Council a two days' meeting was held in Zurich of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University. After discussion of various matters concerning the academic, financial and administrative work of the University, it was decided, in accordance with a proposal by the English Committee, to create a Chair for English Literature and Culture, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Sir Moses Montefiore. It was also decided to make all preparations for the opening of a Faculty for Agriculture, and to take the initial steps for the creation of a Medical Faculty. The budget of the University for the coming year was fixed at £87,000.

Dr. Weizmann opened the meeting of the General Council with a survey of the situation in Palestine, indicating its connection with the world position, and emphasising the disciplined attitude of the whole Jewish community, which did not allow barbarous murders to provoke reprisals. Although facing a grave situation, they must not give way to despair, but must fight for their rights and interests with the whole strength at their command. He regarded a suspension of immigration pending the work of the Royal Commission as the greatest danger, the prevention of which was their immediate task.

Mr. Ben Gurion began his address by expressing regret at the fact that the meeting was not taking place in Palestine and that Mr. Shertok, who since the last Congress had been responsible for the political work, was unable to leave Jerusalem even for a few days. He gave a survey of the development of the political situation since the last Congress, and dwelt upon the origin of



the disorders. Referring to the threatening suspension of immigration, he declared that such a measure would be worse now than it was in 1921 and 1930, not only because the Jewish position in the Diaspora at present was infinitely worse, but because a suspension of immigration would be a moral defeat, creating the impression that the Government was making concessions under the pressure of Arab terrorists, who subsequently would exert pressure upon the Government with the purpose of preventing a renewal of Jewish immigration. He praised the Jewish self-control and restraint.

There was an animated discussion on the attitude to be adopted towards the Royal Commission. In regard to the question of the Arabs, the discussion revolved mainly round the land problem and the future political co-existence of the two peoples. The speakers urged the necessity of the immediate political mobilisation of the Jewish masses in all countries, and of a special financial campaign for the strengthening of the Yishub and of the work of the Jewish Agency.

Mr. E. Kaplan, Treasurer of the Executive, delivered a report at this morning's session on the economic and financial position of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. He said that during the last two years the Executive had spent £250,000 on agricultural settlement, in addition to £150,000 spent by the Department for the Settlement of German Jews. He pointed out with gratification that the settlement, headed by Tel-Joseph and Nahalal, had begun with the repayment of their loans to the Keren Hayesod, despite the troubles. The outbreak of the disorders had interrupted most important negotiations for the development of the country that were conducted by the Executive. Fortunately the increase of the capital of the Anglo-Palestine Bank had been successfully carried out, and its capital now amounted to one million pounds, as against £300,000 last year.

Mr. Kaplan dealt with the economic position during the disturbances. Constructive work was going on throughout the country. He particularly stressed the importance of the Tel-Aviv jetty. Although there was considerable economic loss, there was no crisis. Mr. Kaplan described the financial efforts made by the Executive during the disorders, pointed out the tasks confronting the Zionist movement, and appealed for the support of the Consolidation Fund.

Mr. Ussishkin, Chairman of the Jewish National Fund, briefly reviewed the position of this organisation, and discussed the land question. He stated that the income of the Fund in the current year was £400,000, an increase of 16 per cent. upon last year's income.

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## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, AUGUST 27TH, 1936.

A DEPUTATION of the Jewish Council, headed by Mr. Ben-Zvi, was received on August 24th by the High Commissioner, to whom they submitted the resolutions adopted at the extraordinary session of the Elective Assembly. They declared that the terror was spreading, while the

Government was not applying the emergency regulations and did not succeed in restoring order despite the means hitherto employed. They therefore demanded, firstly, the enrolment of Jewish guards to be posted at the roadsides, railway lines, other communication and electricity stations; secondly, the co-operation of the Jewish youth in combating the Arab bands; thirdly, the inclusion of the Jewish quarters of Jaffa within the Tel-Aviv boundaries; and fourthly, the completion of the Tel-Aviv-Haifa road. They also demanded that the Arab strike-leaders should be held responsible for the riots and that the Government should grant compensation to the victims of the disorders.

The delegates expressed bitterness at the fact that the Emergency Regulations are employed to the same extent against the defenders as against the attackers. They protested against the exile of two Jews from Tiberias, one of whom was delegated to take part in to-day's deputation. They also expressed concern lest political concessions should be granted under the pressure of the terror, and at the hints of a stoppage of immigration, which would shatter Jewish faith in the Government. They emphasised that the Jews' power of restraint despite provocation was due to their confidence that their political rights would not be damaged.

In his reply the High Commissioner declared that with regard to the question of immigration he was unable to add to or subtract anything from Mr. Ormsby-Gore's statement in Parliament. The Government was aiming primarily to stop violence, which might continue for some time, but would eventually be suppressed. He pointed out that the number of Jewish supernumeraries had recently been increased, and he was prepared to consider further similar measures. He promised to give his earnest personal consideration to the readjustment of the Jaffa-Tel-Aviv boundary with a view to including the Jewish quarters bordering on Tel-Aviv within that municipality. With regard to the question of compensation, he declared that it required a ruling by the Colonial Secretary, and that it could not be discussed until the disorders were at an end.

The American Senators who are now on an unofficial mission in Palestine have issued a statement in which they say that all Americans are genuinely interested in the peace and prosperity of Palestine. In the midst of the world-wide depression, from which America has also suffered, they have watched Palestine's great prosperity with admiration. Americans have contributed greatly to the reconstruction of Palestine for the benefit of all elements of the population, and they are confident that an early return of peace will ensure a continuation of Palestinian economic activity.

The Tel-Aviv football team, who are sailing for Europe from Haifa to-morrow, before leaving Tel-Aviv visited the graves of the local victims of the disorders. From the cemetery they proceeded to the Town Hall, where a farewell speech was made by the Acting Mayor, who conveyed through them greetings to the mayors of all the cities in their itinerary.

Great jubilation is expressed by the Arab Press at the acceptance by the Arab Higher Committee of the proposals made by General Nuri Pasha es-Said. According to the Arab papers, the Iraqi Foreign Minister also

represents in his present capacity King Ibn Saud and Imam Yehia of Yemen. *Falestin* declares that the Arabs of Palestine, by their acceptance of mediation by the Arab kings, have made a great step forward to the establishment of the unity of the Arab States, of which Palestine henceforth forms an integral part. *Adifaa* states that mediation has given Palestine an international Arab imprimatur. A decisive step has been taken towards the establishment of an Arab Federation.

The *Palestine Post* points out the gravity of the issues involved in Nuri Pasha's promises. Although formally the Arabs are expected to take the first step, the subsequent concession of the suspension of immigration by the Government would imply its complete surrender to the gunmen. The triumphant note in the Arab Press indicates that the Arabs believe that suspension of immigration will be followed by the attainment of full Arab control of the country.

The *Palestine Post* goes on to say that the Arab jubilations are possibly premature, since authoritative assurances have been recently received by the Jewish leaders that the Government has not given any promises regarding the stoppage of immigration. It warns the Government that since the gunmen have declared from the beginning of the disorders that the suspension of immigration is the decisive issue, that concession will be generally regarded both in Palestine and abroad as tantamount to a capitulation by the Government to a few hundred gangsters.

The Arab paper *Al-Liwa* reports that 1,200 Arab junior officials in the Government service have addressed a memorandum to the High Commissioner requesting the permanent stoppage of immigration.

The Jewish Press publishes a memorandum submitted by the Jewish members of the Jerusalem Municipal Council to the Mayor, Dr. Khaldi, protesting against his participation in the Arab Higher Committee and his neglect of the affairs of the municipality, as well as his conversion of the municipal offices into a centre of anti-Jewish political activities by Arab officials.

An interesting survey of contemporary Arab life in Palestine has just been published in Tel-Aviv by the German Settlers' Association. A chapter is devoted to the Arab parties which are in a transition phase from feudal cliques to parties in the modern sense. The degree of democracy prevailing in these organisations should however not be overrated. On the whole they are still dominated by the rich merchants, landowners and the clergy, the individual members exerting little influence. A beginning has been made with the organisation of youths. Labour is almost completely without organisation. Religion and its political counterpart, Panislamism, are on the retreat, as modernism becomes to be understood more and more in terms of nationalism.

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## This Year's Harvest

**M**ANY expectations were disappointed by the results of the 1935-6 agricultural season. The citrus crop, which is the chief export of the country, was much smaller than had been anticipated. Exports to the

United Kingdom dropped from 5,360,000 cases in 1934-5 to just over 4,000,000 cases, and at one time grape-fruit prices fell below the costs of production and marketing. This was due in part to faulty official estimates of crop prospects, which misled producers.

The shipping of sub-standard fruit is prohibited under the Citrus Fruit Export Regulations, but many traders were able to evade the regulations because of the inadequate inspection facilities at Jaffa. It is hoped that the completion of the new inspection shed will make such offences more difficult in the future. Steps are also being taken to prevent the spread of disease among sound fruit from citrus refuse by improved storage methods. An expert has arrived in Palestine from England to take charge of this work. The prospects for the coming season for oranges in young groves are very good, and for older groves normal. Grape-fruit prospects in old and young groves are fair.

The summer cereal crops have on the whole been poor. In some districts the durra and sesame yield will not exceed 20 per cent. of the normal, and the tobacco crop has been poor throughout the country. A satisfactory maize crop was grown in the coastal areas and in the Emek, and the melon yield in the Tulkarm area was plentiful. The winter cereal crops in the Jerusalem district have yielded better harvests than last year.

## Investment and Money

THERE has been a steady rise in Bank deposits in Palestine in recent months. The Anglo-Palestine Bank shows an increase of nearly one million pounds, bringing the total to roughly eight millions.

The outlook for mortgage investments remains very good. The Directors of the General Mortgage Bank of Palestine Ltd., which is closely associated with the Anglo-Palestine Bank, have decided to pay an interim dividend at the rate of 3 per cent. on all issued shares. This is the first time that the Bank has paid an interim dividend on Ordinary in addition to Preference shares.

Two other features which reflect the underlying confidence are the quantity of currency in circulation and the price of securities in the local market. Both have remained almost stationary in spite of the disturbances.

The Jewish Agency has taken the initiative in founding Bizur Ltd., which is to finance public utility undertakings. The company has a capital of £50,000 and has issued £120,000 debentures which will bear 6 per cent. interest. During the first six months of the present year 301 new partnerships, 76 new co-operative societies, and 88 new companies were registered. The activities envisaged are very varied, including banking, agriculture, industry and public utilities.

It is evident that there has been no repetition of the incipient panic which characterised the period of the outbreak of the Italo-Abyssinian War. Confidence in the future has not diminished. Capital is being invested and further large sums await employment. As soon as tranquillity prevails it is confidently hoped that there will be an acceleration of economic development.

# Palestine

Vol. XI

September 9th, 1936

No. 29

## A Wise Decision

LAST Wednesday's Cabinet meeting had before it a long despatch from the High Commissioner, a sequel to the curious negotiations which have been afoot in Palestine. Naturally there has been no publication of the despatch and no report of the proceedings at the Cabinet, but certain hints have been allowed to appear which are sufficiently instructive. There seems no doubt that Sir Arthur Wauchope was asking for authority to suspend Jewish immigration in the event of, or as part of a bargain for the calling off the strike and the stoppage of violence. What of the other terms submitted by the Arab Committee? According to the *Palestine Post*, these included a general amnesty to all Arab offenders, an undertaking that the Royal Commission will recommend the permanent restriction of Jewish immigration to a degree approved by the Arab leaders, the presence of an Iraq representative to put the Arab case before the Royal Commission, and permanent action by the Iraqi Government to secure the carrying out of any recommendations by the Royal Commission favourable to the Arabs. These "terms" one would hope are too fantastic for consideration by any responsible British Administration, but they seem to have been taken seriously by the Arabs.

Be that as it may, the Cabinet has, at any rate for the present, refused authority to suspend Jewish immigration and is disposed to strengthen the measures for the repression of the terror. We have so often urged the case against surrender to violence that it is not necessary to repeat it. It has during the last few days been put with much force in *The Times*, the *Telegraph*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and other influential organs, and it has made its impression upon the Government. Anybody who travels abroad knows the curious position which this country holds. It is the universal opinion that a firm resolute policy by this country is the determining factor as to peace and war, and that firmness and resolution are not to be expected. No doubt the British Government is very conscious of the need of time to make its defence preparations, and no doubt a time will come when it will say "thus far and no farther." But time in the sense of policy is not a point but a wavering line. On one issue and in one field it may be prudent to fall back, when on another issue and in another field one can and must stand firm. Evidently the Arabs were persuaded that the British Government was on the run everywhere, and that by murder and arson they could impose their will upon it.

Presumably they got that impression from the Palestine Administration. *The Times* Jerusalem correspondent tells us that the Palestine authorities assert that the suspension of Jewish immigration is the only alternative

to the unlimited use of force for suppressing the disorders, and an alternative in the best interests of the Jewish National Home. As to what is good for the Jewish National Home perhaps the Jews and the Arabs are better judges than the "authorities," and both, from their very different angles, agree that the suspension of Jewish immigration would be highly injurious to it. The indisposition to use really strong and effective measures has marked the conduct of these authorities throughout the troubles and so competent and unbiased an observer as Lord Lugard is driven to write that "it is not only the Jews—as I know—who are asking whether the Mandatory has become incapable of governing." Where it seems almost impossible to get a terrorist murderer tried; where the Courts do what they can to hamstring the repression of violence in the sacred name of the liberty of the subject; where many officials do not conceal their sympathy with the objects of the Government's enemies; the policy of surrender springs naturally from the soil. The High Commissioner, whose good-will is not doubted, is a very solitary man.

Apparently the Cabinet was embarrassed by the intervention in Palestinian affairs of a representative of the Iraqi Government, who was also alleged by the Arab politicians to be in some measure the representative of other Arab princes. Not unnaturally the Arab politicians attached special significance to precisely this aspect of Nuri Pasha's intervention. For them it was the symbol of Arab political unity, the promise of inclusion in a future Arab Federation, and the throwing into the scales of Palestine politics of the Arab states. These characteristics were certain to be exploited, and fancies given the density of facts; and they were correspondingly perilous. It is difficult to understand that the importance of all this in the present and for the future was not fully grasped by the Palestine Administration. No doubt they themselves weighed Nuri Pasha's personality in a very different balance; but that is not enough. What the simple, ignorant masses can be led with some plausibility to believe is a political fact not to be depreciated, and the Administration cannot be acquitted of the charge of lacking that political wisdom which consists in correctly assessing imponderabilia.

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## Arab and Jew

### LORD LUGARD'S PROPOSALS

THE following letter from Lord Lugard was printed in *The Times* on Wednesday of last week:

"In spite of the reiterated warnings of your Jerusalem Correspondent and others that the feeling between Jew and Arab in Palestine grows daily more hostile and bitter, the British public is probably not aware how extremely critical the situation has become. As a member of the Mandates Commission I have been in touch with the affairs of that country since the Mandate was issued, and the information which reaches me corroborates your correspondents.

"The Government has appointed a Royal Commission to probe the causes of these troubles and to suggest, if it can, a means of pacifying the country. But its task will not commence until law and order have been restored, and its inquiry and the remedies it may propose will be a lengthy process. The question brooks no such delay. Something must be done at once if the situation is not to get beyond control and British prestige and honour receive yet a further setback. Professor Roth in his letter to-day asserts that seventy peaceful citizens have been murdered and little has been done to bring the perpetrators to justice. It is not only the Jews—as I know—who are asking whether the Mandatory has become incapable of governing. The leaders on both sides, says your Correspondent, dare not come forward. May I add my appeal to that already made in your columns by Lord Winterton that steps should be taken to overcome this reluctance?"

"What is the position? The British Government has committed itself to the creation of a Legislative Council with a large unofficial majority. Since that majority will not control the Executive and cannot therefore carry into execution a majority vote, the Legislative Council can only be a source of perpetual friction. The Jews will have none of it and the Arabs are not placated by it. But to recede now would be regarded by the Arabs as yielding to Jewish intransigence, while to accept the Arab demand for even a temporary suspension of Jewish immigration would be similarly regarded by the Jews. Meanwhile racial feeling on the one side and on the other spreads beyond Palestine and threatens complications of the most serious kind.

"What then is the reply to the vague demand that 'something must be done and done at once'? There seems only one reply—to let it be known that unless the leaders on both sides agree to meet as suggested, more drastic steps—such as a declaration of martial law—will be taken to restore order. If, on the other hand, they agree to meet I suggest that the Government should appoint a neutral chairman to maintain harmonious relations, and to consider with sympathy any proposals for a *modus vivendi* pending the inquiry by the Royal Commission. My information not long ago was that the Arabs would gladly have accepted any friendly gesture—whether it is now too late I cannot say. I believe that the Zionist leaders would also accept, and that they might be willing to make sacrifices to find a solution of the deadlock.

"Mr. Amery in his letter of August 5th believes that equality of rights (political and economic) permanently guaranteed under the British Crown irrespective of numbers—namely, equality of voting power—and

a guarantee of the inalienability, as from Arab to non-Arab, of an area, or areas, large enough for all present requirements and, with improved cultivation, for a steady expansion of their numbers

should go far to remove from the Arab the fear of eventual domination by the Jews, which is the root cause of his resentment.

"Something of this kind—and there are undoubtedly other proposals which could supplement it—might form the basis of, say, a 10-year agreement, during which period the further proposals of the Royal Commission would have time to mature."

## DR. WEIZMANN ACCEPTS

On Friday, September 4th, *The Times* published a reply from Dr. Weizmann, the Zionist leader :

Lord Winterton in your issue of last Monday, and Lord Lugard yesterday, appealed to Arab and Jewish leaders to meet in conference and discuss their differences. On Monday I informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that we are prepared, as we always have been, to enter such a conference under the ægis of his Majesty's Government.

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## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1936.

GR<sup>EAT</sup> satisfaction is felt in Jewish circles at the news telegraphed from London to-day that the Colonial Secretary has denied that the British Government has agreed to the terms reported to have been, at the suggestion of Nuri Pasha, accepted by the Arab Higher Committee as a basis on which the strike should be called off and terrorism should cease. Nuri Pasha is expected to return to Jerusalem in about ten days' time, and it is said that he will have the authority of the Governments of Iraq and of other Arab countries to act as mediator. It is also expected by the Arabs that agreement will be secured from the British Government to the terms for a provisional settlement.

The fantastic terms of the agreement were published in the *Palestine Post* on Tuesday. They were as follows : (1) a general amnesty to be granted in successive stages to all Arab offenders during the present disturbances ; (2) suspension of Jewish immigration during the inquiry of the Royal Commission ; (3) an undertaking by the Palestine Government that the Royal Commission will recommend such restriction of Jewish immigration that will preclude Arab apprehensions in regard to their future position in the country ; (4) a representative of the Iraq Government to have the right to appear before the Royal Commission with the view of supporting the claims of the Arabs in Palestine ; (5) after the Royal Commission inquiry the Iraq Government to continue its efforts with the British Government with the view to ensure the carrying out of the recommendations by the Royal Commission favourable to the Arabs and to annul such recommendations that are not favourable to them.

It is understood that the Arab Higher Committee is not disposed to issue any appeal to end the strike and stop terrorism until it is fully satisfied that Nuri Pasha is authorised by the Arab Governments in his negotiations, and that he has definitely secured the British Government's acceptance of what is really abject surrender.



According to the Arab press the Arab Higher Committee's decision to place the responsibility for the final decision to call off the strike on the local committees, was adopted under the pressure of the Mufti and his followers, and contrary to the wish of other factions.

The other Arab powers are apparently jealous of the part that Nuri Pasha is attempting to play. The Arab paper *Al-Liwa* now reports that Fuad Hamza, the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, has been ordered by King Ibn Saud to go to Jerusalem from Carlsbad, where he was on holiday, and has arrived at Beirut.

The Arab paper *Jamia Al Islamia* adds that the terrorist gangs have decided to convene a conference of their leaders in order to discuss their future action in connection with the present negotiations. The venue is believed to be some place in the desert.

In the month of August 2,865 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine, of whom 1,800 were admitted on the basis of the Labour Schedule certificates.

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## No Surrender

### COLONIAL SECRETARY'S IMPORTANT DENIAL

AT the session last Thursday of the Administration Committee of the Jewish Agency, which was holding its meeting in London, Professor Speyer read a letter addressed by Dr. Weizmann to Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Colonial Secretary, inquiring whether the report published in the *Palestine Post* as to certain terms alleged to have been accepted by the Palestine Arab Higher Committee as a basis for terminating the strike and terrorist campaign was correct. The alleged terms are reported elsewhere in this issue by our Jerusalem correspondent.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore wrote :

"No such terms have been agreed to either by the High Commissioner or by His Majesty's Government. Moreover, there is no foundation for the suggestion which is referred to in the letter addressed on August 31st by the Jewish Agency to the High Commissioner, that the High Commissioner had authorised Nuri Pasha to give assurances regarding measures, including the suspension of immigration, to be taken after the cessation of the disturbances. Not only has Nuri Pasha not been authorised to give any such assurances, but Sir Arthur Wauchope states he has not asked for any such authority, and to the best of the High Commissioner's belief Nuri Pasha has made it clear to the Arab leaders that he is not in a position to give any such assurances. No promises have been made to Nuri Pasha by the High Commissioner or by His Majesty's Government in regard either to the suspension of immigration or his position as mediator in the affairs of Palestine."

## Declaration of the Zionist General Council

THE representatives of the World Zionist Organisation, at the Zionist General Council, meeting in Zurich, issued a Declaration, which is in effect an eloquent repetition of the Jewish case. After referring to "the savage terror" of the past four months the Declaration says :

The force of this terror is directed against Great Britain and against the Jewish National Home. The aim of the terrorists is to coerce the Government into stopping Jewish immigration, to destroy all that fifty years of Jewish constructive effort have achieved in Palestine, to make further Jewish activity in the land impossible, and indeed to force Great Britain to break its pledges to the Jewish people and to annul the Jewish rights in regard to Palestine, which are recognised by and laid down in the Palestine Mandate.

The Jews of Palestine have faced the continued provocation with heroic restraint, and have refrained from all acts of retaliation. They have done all in their power to assure the continued functioning of essential public services. They have helped to maintain the channels of communication free : the Haifa Harbour and the main highways, despite the bombs and the bullets. They have kept the wheel of economic life in Palestine moving, despite the Arab strike.

But we regret to have to declare that the Palestine Administration has failed to maintain public order, and that through its indecision, weakness and delay, it has encouraged the terrorists to believe that continued outrage would ensure surrender to violence. Much useless bloodshed of Britons, Jews and Arabs might have been prevented by timely and decisive action on the part of the Administration. The British military forces have courageously endeavoured to restore order. Soldiers and police have lost their lives in the defence of law and order, and the Jews of Palestine and of the whole world will long remember the brave British officers and soldiers fallen in these dark days. But the Jews claim for themselves the duty and privilege of all peoples barbarously attacked—the right to defend themselves. This elementary right was first refused by the Administration, only to be later conceded with obvious reluctance and delay, when Jews were finally recruited as special police. . . .

We declare that the Palestine Government, by accepting criminal violence as a political argument, and by permitting public order and the fundamental rights of the Jewish people under the Mandate to become objects of barter, has undermined the authority in Palestine of the Mandatory Power. The surrender to crime, together with the open sympathy with terrorist aims shown by many Arab members of the Administration, has shattered the confidence of the Jewish people in the Palestine Government.

The Palestine Mandate laid upon the Mandatory Power the obligation to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home in accordance with the Balfour Declaration. 400,000 Jews have made Palestine their home. The Jewish people has recruited its energy, devotion, and financial resources,

from all corners of the earth, for the rebuilding of Palestine. At a time when Jews are subjected to physical and spiritual torture in many countries, and suffered moral humiliation, political persecution, and economic destruction, the Jewish people sees its salvation in its return to the Holy Land, the land of promise of the Bible and of the Prophets, the land with which Jewry has identified hopes and prayers for 4,000 years, the land which Jewry never forgot, and towards which it always strove in the darkest days of its long exile. . . .

The tragedy of the Jewish people exceeds all human endurance. The world cannot look with indifference on this agony, nor repudiate its responsibility, for the sake of millions of innocent men and women. The right of the Jews to their National Home cannot be denied. We cannot believe that His Majesty's Government can contemplate such a denial and a repudiation of pledges given to the Jews. We appeal to the conscience of Great Britain and civilised mankind not to betray the hopes of the Jewish people for its National Home. . . .

From every crisis we have emerged stronger and with greater power for progress in Palestine. From this crisis, too, we shall emerge with increased energy for the realisation of our national ideal. Strengthened by our faith in the ultimate triumph of our cause, convinced that it is based upon justice and right, fortified by the united will of the whole Jewish people and by the knowledge that the foundations of our National Home are guarded by 400,000 courageous men and women, we shall march forward to the fulfilment of the hope of Israel's restoration to its promised land.

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## Immigration into Palestine in 1935

**A** DEPARTMENTAL Report which presents its material in a clear style serves two purposes. It lays bare the legends, the lies, the surmises, and the imputations which political agitation create round its work, and at the same time directs attention to the evidence, the actual facts, laying most stress on those which are most significant. The Annual Report for 1935 of the Palestine Department of Migration serves both these purposes in an admirable manner.

It makes clear that the Palestine Government, not the Jews, control both the extent and the nature of the immigration. They are responsible both for the law and for its administration. They decide the number of immigrants, their categories, whether capitalist or labour, and the nature of their occupations. Thus the Report states: "Owing to the overcrowding of certain professions, notably the medical, legal, and engineering, the admission of persons in the liberal professions with £500 and upwards has been much restricted." The Report also points out that the system for controlling immigration is not something new, but has existed for some sixteen years and is steadily improving in the light of accumulated experience. Recent disturbances cannot therefore be explained on the ground of any substantial change in administrative practice.

Another charge which is often made, that the incoming Jews displace

Arabs, is also disproved. There has in fact been a substantial Arab movement into Palestine. In addition to the registered number of 2,293, there were 3,256 Arabs this year and 3,022 last year who came in as tourists but who stayed on illegally. The Report states that the control on the Syrian, Transjordan and Lebanon frontiers is not quite effective, and it is unofficially estimated that many thousands come in illegally over these borders. At the same time the emigration of Arabs has declined substantially in recent years.

It is sometimes said that the number of Jews who enter the country and remain illegally is very large. During the three years 1933-5 they have numbered 9,846, or some 6 per cent. of those who entered legally. The number of non-Jews who have remained illegally during the same period was 7,267. The Report points out that "deductions are made from the semi-annual estimates of the absorptive capacity of Palestine for Jewish labour immigrants equivalent to the estimated number of Jewish travellers who will remain illegally in Palestine during the following six months." This device prevents the total number of Jewish immigrants from being any larger than it would be if there were no illegal Jewish immigrants at all.

The total number of immigrants registered during the year, including those entering as travellers who afterwards received a resident's certificate, amounted to 61,854. Some 6,300, constituting over 10 per cent. of the Jewish immigrants, had a capital of at least £1,000. A sample of these shows that Jews in the capitalist category bring with them an average of about £2,500. They represented therefore a capital import of some fifteen million pounds. One-third of the "capitalist immigrants" came from Germany, and about one-fifth each from Poland and the U.S.A. A few members of the liberal professions were admitted with a capital of £500, and 400 skilled artisans with £250 or more.

Ten per cent. of the immigrants were previously engaged in manufacture; about half that proportion in agriculture and in commerce; 7 per cent. were unskilled labourers, and about 4 per cent. were engaged in the liberal professions. Many of the latter changed their occupation. The architects and engineers who entered during the last three years have found openings in their own calling because of the great activity in the building industries. Unfortunately, the Government have decided to restrict the entry of physicians.

The number of those applying for naturalisation certificates is still extremely small, only 6,000 in the course of the year. The machinery has been speeded up, so that the time required for carrying through naturalisation has been reduced from over a year to two months. A joint educational campaign by the Jewish Agency and the Government should be undertaken to point out the advantages of Palestine citizenship.

Mr. Eric Mills is to be congratulated on the splendid work of his Department, and on the clarity and fullness of his present Report. His Census and his Annual Reports are a model to the other departments. It is to be hoped that greater publicity will be given to the publications of this and other departments, so that public opinion and policy can be based on cold facts and not on mere surmise.

# Palestine

Vol. XI

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No. 30

## Vigorous Action

THE dispatch of a complete division to Palestine is a welcome sign of the Government's determination to end a situation that had become intolerable. When the reinforcements that are now on their way have arrived, the Government will have under arms against the rebels not far short of 20,000 men. Calculation of the numbers of the rebels actively engaged against us is little better than guesswork, but a guess of a thousand rifles in all is probably over rather than under the truth. Yet things have gone so far that the numerical superiority on the side of the Government can hardly be said to be excessive. One-tenth of the effort if it had been made at the beginning of the trouble would have produced as great an effect, but much time has been lost and the history of most rebellions illustrates the fable of the Sibylline books. The degree of immunity that political crime has enjoyed in Palestine since April is now to cease and the Government is to be congratulated on its new vigour. But what was at the outset a relatively simple political problem has become by now a military problem of no little difficulty. No doubt the Government when it decided to send a whole new division reckoned on the moral effect that a large force would produce on those who are encouraging the movement, though they are not themselves in the field. The Arab Committee which is directing the political strike has not yet admitted its defeat, though one still hopes that it may. Even if it did, it may have begun mischief that has passed beyond its power to stop, and the dupes of its ambition and political incompetence may disown its authority. We shall be wise to be prepared for a continuance of the struggle, though one hopes that it will be short.

The task that awaits General Dill in that case is by no means an easy one, even if the numerical superiority of his forces is as great as we imagine. Palestine is a very difficult country to fight in and its broken surface lends itself to guerilla tactics. Palestine is a small country; but the chief difficulty in dealing with scattered guerilla bands is that they wear no distinctive uniform. In the presence of superior forces, they are indistinguishable from the rest of the population; but when these have passed by they are strong enough to intimidate the well-affected and to punish those who have given any assistance to lawful authority. Inevitably, if such a struggle continues, the innocent suffer along with the guilty. It is work which no army likes. At the root of the trouble is the traffic in arms, which must have been considerable, but Palestine has long land frontiers and their adequate policing against illicit traffic is very difficult. A further difficulty is the mixture of the loyalist and rebel populations. Where a large district is wholly occupied by rebels it is always possible to deal with the country in sections, cleaning

up one and establishing order in it before proceeding to the next disaffected region, but when loyal and disloyal elements are mixed the execution of this plan has serious complications. And the maintenance of order amongst mixed populations is a special problem to itself. Martial law—that is, military rule in substitution of the ordinary law—is expected, and you cannot have military rule in a country without serious interference with its economic life and a setback to its prosperity. It is to be hoped that the mere threat of drastic military action may be sufficient to convince the Arabs that their rebellion is hopeless, but one cannot count on that, and we shall fortify ourselves against disappointment if we recognise that despite the disparity in numbers the military problem of restoring order is not so simple as it looks and has been complicated by past procrastinations and misreading of the nature of the issue.

But whatever the difficulties they must be faced boldly, and the Government can count on the sympathy and if it is required the active assistance of the Jewish population in whatever measures are necessary. The statement of policy which was issued with the announcement of the Government's decision to send a division to Palestine was in form only a rehearsal of familiar facts, and neither promised changes nor indeed added anything new to what had already been said. The promise of a Commission was to inquire into the grievances whether of Jews or Arabs in the execution of the Mandate, but the statement made it clear, as Mr. Ormsby-Gore had already done in the House of Commons, that it was not to begin its work until order had been restored. The Jews in Palestine are keen on friendly relations with the Arabs and their co-operation in the making of a great country, but it is a condition precedent to such joint effort that the Arabs should accept the principle of the Mandate and substitute the argument of reason for that of crime. Until that condition has been satisfied, debate is useless and the materials of common agreement do not exist. What has pleased the Jews in the statement of policy is rather the distribution of the emphasis that it placed on recent events than any positive assurance. It recognises that the trouble is political, not economic; and we hope that we shall hear no more of the argument that the progress of Palestine benefits only the Jews and injures the interest of the Arabs. Unless we dismiss that idea once and for all from our minds, the present troubles will recur no matter how completely Arab dacoity may seem to have been crushed. It recognises, too, that the trouble is only superficially a racial trouble between Jew and Arab, and that the real challenge is to British honour and to the authority of an international mandate. Not until that challenge has been met and once and for all defeated is there any permanent basis of peace and progress; after that no good thing is impossible in Palestine.

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## The Government's Statement

**T**HE following statement was issued by the Colonial Office on September 7th:

Disorders broke out in Palestine in April of this year which, after rioting at Jaffa and elsewhere which was quickly suppressed, took the form

of a declaration by a committee of Arab notables of a general strike of a definitely political character for aims inconsistent with the Mandate, and pursued by methods which directly challenge constituted authority. There have been widespread acts of murder and other outrages by gangs of armed terrorists.

Apart from attacks in which British soldiers, airmen, and police, as well as many Arabs and Jews, have lost their lives, the activities of these armed gangs have included repeated attempts to disorganise means of communication, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, the derailing of trains, and attempts to prevent the roads from being used by traffic.

Considerable material damage has been done, affecting seriously the economic life of the country, and several attempts have been made to damage and set fire to the oil pipe-line between Haifa and Iraq. An important result of the strike has been the practical closing of the port of Jaffa, although happily the port of Haifa has hitherto been little affected.

### "A DIRECT" CHALLENGE

Active steps were at once taken by the Palestine Administration for the protection of life and property and for the suppression of disorder, and during the months following the outbreak of the disturbances the Palestine garrison has been considerably reinforced.

In spite, however, of the greatest forbearance exercised by the British authorities with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, whose chief concern has been to restore peace between the different communities in Palestine by measures which would entail the smallest possible amount of suffering and loss of life, the political strike has continued, accompanied by outrages and guerrilla warfare. Widespread intimidation has been used by those responsible for the continuance of these disorders with the object of compelling, at any rate, the passive co-operation of the Arab population at large.

In short, the situation which has been created is a direct challenge to the authority of the British Government in Palestine.

On May 18th the then Secretary for the Colonies announced in the House of Commons that the Government had decided that it was desirable that a full inquiry on the spot should be undertaken, but that the first step must be the re-establishment of law and order and that after order had been restored it was their intention to advise His Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission which would, without bringing into question the fundamental terms of the Mandate, investigate the causes of unrest and any alleged grievances either of Arabs or Jews.

On July 29th the personnel of the Royal Commission was announced in the House of Commons, together with its terms of reference.

The Royal Commission will undertake its duties at the earliest possible moment, but, as has already been stated, order must be restored in Palestine before the Commission begins its inquiry there. This is a condition essential to enable it to perform its duties effectively. Unhappily, however, the Arab

leaders have taken up the position that they will not end the strike until fundamental changes have been introduced by the British Government in its policy with regard to Palestine, and, notwithstanding the announcement of the personnel and terms of reference of the Royal Commission, the strike has continued, accompanied by outrages of varying degrees of intensity in many parts of the country.

All efforts to introduce a reasonable spirit of accommodation have hitherto failed. Well-disposed Arab rulers and notabilities in neighbouring countries have from time to time expressed willingness to use their influence in attempts at conciliation. The King of Saudi Arabia offered to use his good offices, acting in concert, if their co-operation could be secured, with other Arab rulers. Unfortunately conditions have continued to be such that it has not been found possible to make any successful progress by this means. A public-spirited attempt has also been made by His Highness the Amir of Transjordan, but this likewise has proved fruitless.

A further recent initiative in the same direction has been taken by General Nuri Pasha-es-Said, Foreign Minister of Iraq. Protracted discussions by him with the Palestine Arab leaders have led to no satisfactory result, for the Palestine Arab leaders issued on August 31st a manifesto declaring that they would continue the strike until their aims had been attained.

#### MORE RAPID AND EFFECTIVE ACTION

Despite General Nuri Pasha's intervention, daily outrages and other instances of grave disorder have continued unabated, and after a careful review of the whole situation His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the campaign of violence and threats of violence by which the Arab leaders are attempting to influence the policy of His Majesty's Government cannot be allowed to continue, and that more rapid and effective action must now be taken in order to bring the present state of disorder to an end with the least possible delay.

With this end in view, it has been considered essential to send further substantial reinforcements to Palestine. An additional division of troops is accordingly being sent there. In view of the size of the reinforcement and of the additional responsibilities entailed it has been decided that the supreme military control in the country shall be entrusted to a lieutenant-general. The officer selected for the command is Lieutenant-General J. G. Dill, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., late Director General of Military Operations and Intelligence at the War Office.

His Majesty's Government deeply regret that such decisions should have been forced upon them. Great Britain accepted the Mandate for Palestine upon terms which involve responsibility for the welfare of all sections of the population of Palestine. They regard this responsibility as a trust which they have no choice but to carry out. In this connection it is appropriate to recall that in their report to the Council of the League of Nations in 1930 the Permanent Mandates Commission stated that in their view the following two assertions accurately expressed what it conceived to be the essence of the Mandate for Palestine :



1. That the obligations laid down in the Mandate for Palestine in regard to the two sections of the population are of equal weight, and
2. That the two obligations imposed upon the mandatory are in no sense irreconcilable.

His Majesty's Government are fully in accord with the sense of this pronouncement at Geneva and it is their earnest desire to carry out a policy of impartial justice to both Arabs and Jews and to work for the peace and progress of a country so specially dear to both races.

It has been the constant aim of British policy to secure and maintain relations of friendship and confidence with the Moslem peoples. For this reason, apart from all others, they would have wished to avoid all possible means the course of action which has now been forced upon them.

But no Government, least of all a Government exercising mandatory responsibilities, can allow themselves to be deflected from their course by violence and outrage. It is still their hope, however, that when those who are disturbing the peace of Palestine have been brought to realise that their present actions are inimical to the true interests of all sections of the population and to the country as a whole, and that the Mandatory Government is determined to exercise its authority with impartiality and justice, it will be possible for the Royal Commission to proceed to Palestine to ascertain whether any legitimate grievances or fears for the future exist on the part of either Arabs or Jews and to make recommendations for their removal with a view to establishing more cordial and peaceful relations between all concerned.

His Majesty's Government are convinced that these objects are attainable within the framework of the Mandate, which they have no intention of abandoning.

It is the confident hope of His Majesty's Government that the Royal Commission will make recommendations which will enable His Majesty's Government to bring finality to a situation of doubt and fear on both sides, and that out of the tragic misunderstandings and disorder of the last five months a lasting settlement can be reached.

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## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, SEPTEMBER 8th.

The attempt to murder Mr. Max Nurock, following the assassination of Mr. Belleg, has fired the Jewish community in Palestine with anger and indignation. Mr. Nurock is the highest-placed Jewish official in the Palestine administration, a man of great charm and ability who has won the confidence of all his colleagues.

A contract for £60,000 for the erection of a military camp near Nathania, which was awarded to an Egyptian firm of military contractors, was given over by that firm to the Histadruth, agreeing that the work should be done

by organised Jewish labour. The work must be completed within two months.

During a search made in Kalkilya to-day a large Arab bomb factory was discovered with 22 filled bombs and 40 semi-finished bombs. Numerous arrests were made.

The Arab youth in Jaffa is organising a fund-raising campaign under the slogan "Jaffa's Three Days," accompanying their demands for funds with intimidation. It is significant that the mukhtars of the Arab villages in the Jaffa district have sent a petition to the District Commissioner asking him for protection against the nightly demands of contributions under threats by the terrorists.

In a statement commenting on the declaration issued by the British Government, Mr. Shertok, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, says that it marks a decisive turn in the Government's attitude towards putting an end to the dilatory and vacillating methods which have been pursued for twenty weeks, and ushers in a period of determined action. He refers to the danger that existed of the Palestine Government accepting Nuri Said's terms, which would have put a premium on Arab outrages by suspending Jewish immigration and by establishing a status for foreign Arab Governments permanently to interfere in Palestine affairs. This danger was averted for the time being by the Government realising the grave results of surrendering to violence and to the defiance of Arab leaders who speculated on the Government's policy of weakness, hoping to extort greater concessions through the continuation of violence.

Referring to the prospects of security, Mr. Shertok stated that even graver trials than in the past may be in store for the Jewish people in Palestine in the future. But they have no reason to repent the discipline and the avoidance of retaliation. But all the attacks on the settlements and the nightly raids under fire were firmly resisted. Not one settlement was penetrated, and not a single Jewish position was given up. They are holding their own throughout the country.

With regard to the possibility of negotiations with the Arabs, Mr. Shertok said that they were always prepared to explore all possibilities of reaching an agreement, and have made repeated attempts towards this end, even during the present troubles, but they have found the Arabs adamant so long as they hoped to defeat the Jews through forcing the hands of the Government. Only by making the Arabs realise that the fundamentals of the Mandate will not be surrendered, the ground may be prepared for an amicable understanding.

It is reported from Jaffa that there is a noticeable weakening of the strike in that city. Numerous Arabs are working, and many workshops are openly functioning. It is also reported that a number of Arabs and Hauranis are again seeking work in Ness Ziona groves.

Six Jewish Communists are appealing against the sentence of a year's imprisonment passed upon them by the District Court for illegal activities. The Communists are defended by two prominent Arab lawyers who are members of the Arab Strike Committee.

According to a report issued by the General Federation of Jewish Labour during recent months, the majority of Jewish workers have been little affected by the disturbances. Building workers and workers in industry associated with the building market are, however, an exception.

A number of Jewish skilled workers were idle until they obtained employment in the work created through the initiative of the Federation. Some of the disengaged workers were able to step into jobs of certain Arabs, who remained away from work because of the strike.

In addition to a new cigarette factory, several small factories have been erected in and near Jerusalem during the last few months. The Federation hopes the building market will get under way again after the completion of negotiations concerning the transfer of building material.

Although the transport business and passenger traffic have declined, Jewish lorry drivers have been employed by the military and police, and Jewish garages have acquired new business because of the Arab strike. Some of the Jewish bakeries now employ more Jewish workers than formerly.

JERUSALEM, SEPTEMBER 13th.

The Arab Higher Committee issued this afternoon a reply to the statement by the British Government on September 7th.

The Committee states that the Arab strike was not declared by the Higher Committee, but was a spontaneous action by the Arab people as a demonstration of its bitter feeling against the policy under the Mandate for the past eighteen years. It declares that the disturbances were not begun by the Arabs but by the Jews on April 16th, citing as proof the statement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on April 26th.

The statement does not contain any indication of the policy of the Arab Committee in regard to the future, and is merely an attempt to justify its conduct in the past.

JERUSALEM, SEPTEMBER 14th.

The total number of Jewish immigrants that arrived in Palestine during the first half of September is 3,250.

The Arab papers which hitherto had been alleging that famine was prevailing in Tel-Aviv and in the Jewish settlements, now admit real poverty and hardships in their own camp. The *Falastin* reports from Nablus that the prices of food, especially of wheat, are soaring high and that the poor are bitterly complaining. A similar situation is reported from Hebron.

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## The Jewish Special Constabulary

**I**N spite of intense provocation, in the face of murder, arson, pillage and destruction, the Jews have shown great discipline and self-control. This has been acknowledged by both the Palestine Government and the Colonial Office. Unfortunately, the latest acts of cold brutality committed

in Safed, Haifa, Tel-Aviv and Jaffa have created a situation in which the Jews can no longer be expected to be satisfied to leave it to the authorities to suppress the insurrectionary rising without themselves being part of the defence forces of the Government.

From the very beginning of the disturbances two demands were made by the Jews. These were reasonable in themselves, and the very least that a wise government would have granted in order to prevent the spread of fear, and of lack of confidence in their own policy. Roads, linking up the colonies, for long a necessity on economic grounds, at once became urgent for defensive reasons. To leave isolated settlements without easy access to the main centres and to one another was, in the circumstances of the country, to expose them to dangers which no government responsible for security was justified in allowing. Even to-day there is no proper appreciation of the importance of this matter. There are workers ready and eager to undertake this task, but the Government is satisfied with the minimum activity in this field.

Even more amazing has been the attitude of the Government towards the Jewish supernumerary police. At first the authorities were opposed to them altogether. Then they adopted dilatory tactics, professing inability to furnish them with uniforms and with arms. Finally the necessity was conceded, and at present there are some two thousand armed Jewish supernumerary police.

They are not merely part-time police, special constables devoting themselves in the main to their private avocations. Nor are they exempted from normal police discipline. They are trained, their hours of duty must fit in with the police organisation, they must be fresh and able to do sound police work. They are obliged to devote themselves exclusively and completely to their police duties. Surely, if the Government require them on grounds of major public security, and to prevent the increase of ordinary crime, they should not only train, clothe, arm and equip them fully, but provide for them whilst they cannot pursue their normal occupations. But instead of welcoming their services, instead of recognising the eagerness of the Jews to help re-establish order, and to risk the dangers of that work, there has been an unaccountable meanness in providing for their upkeep. Only one-third is provided by the Government.

Why should the Government ask the settlements which need the services of this force to find two-thirds of the cost and to deposit three months' pay for them in advance? Have they not paid their normal taxes, in return for which they have a right to proper protection and policing? Why should they, who are law-abiding, be asked to pay, and not the Arab villages, which are likely to harbour and give shelter to the terrorist? In less dangerous times the Palestine official responsible for this proposal might have congratulated himself on having discovered a more vicious taxation device than the infamous window tax in Great Britain. Let the Government quit this fooling.

# Palestine

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## Back to Reality

THE despatch of a large armed force to restore order in Palestine naturally provokes an examination of British policy in that country, but there is little excuse for certain hasty assumptions and superficial doctrines which are getting into circulation. It is stated, for example, as an impregably established fact beyond all question, that there is no possibility of Jew and Arab ever settling down in harmony in Palestine. Now as the best hope for the permanent welfare of the country is a co-operative association between the two peoples, and indeed as no plausible alternative has been put forward, this is a desperately pessimistic conclusion. What is there to justify it? The experiment of the Jewish National Home has been in operation for some fifteen years. During that period it has, so far as Jewish effort is concerned, succeeded beyond expectation, and, by general consent, has conferred great material benefit upon the Arabs. During that period also the vital strategic importance to the British Empire of Palestine and the Jewish National Home has become clear. But also during that period there have been from time to time outbreaks of disorder of which the present is the most serious. It should be remembered, however, that for the greater part of the time there has been peace and, if not political agreement, a large measure of practical association. In private the intelligent Arab leaders admit that the Jewish National Home is there to stay, and if these present disturbances are so violent it is because they are regarded as a supreme effort. If this fail, the alternative will be discussion, arrangement, compromise.

Precisely in the interests of future harmony it is necessary that the appeal to violence shall fail utterly, and show no solitary advantage, however small, but only loss to those who have made that appeal. There must be no concession, however temporary, on the point of immigration, and no indication of sympathy with false principles or willingness to tamper with the Mandate. The *Observer*, for example, suggests that the Mandate shall be changed and the Jewish population be kept permanently down to one-third of the whole. If there is to be perfidy let us at least share the profits. Does any man of knowledge sincerely believe that there could be security for the Jews or the Jewish National Home on the basis of a permanent minority? Arab States and communities have their merits, but they can never be safely trusted with dominion over minorities. The recent tragedy of the Assyrians in Iraq is only the latest entry on a lengthy roll. It is only on the basis of equality that enduring harmony and fellowship between the two peoples can be established, and that principle must be stamped on British policy. For the like reason all suggestions of a nebulous, ill-considered policy of "cantonisation" should be treated with the utmost suspicion and scepticism. The hope

of Arab-Jewish fellowship is not bankrupt, but nothing is so certain to imperil it as to assume that it is.

There are some who think it is indecent to bring into the discussion British Imperial interests, but these are very real and British statesmanship would stand condemned if it ignored them. The ultimate aim of the Arab Nationalists is directed, as is plainly avowed, to eliminating British control. Is that to be harmonised with British Imperial interests? Or is a Palestine with a permanently and artificially secured Arab majority likely to be a bastion of Imperial defence? But it is said—think of the repercussions in Arab lands and India? Let us get a correct perspective. This is no Moslem question because no religious issue is involved, and the Moslems of India have as little concern with the political affairs of Palestine as they have with the political affairs of Egypt. It is true that the ruler of Iraq would like at no cost to establish the influence of himself and his family in Palestine, but that does not mean that it is for Iraq a serious matter of policy, as the statement of Nuri Pasha should render plain. The other Arab States have even less interest or pretension. The more far-seeing Arab public men in the neighbouring States know how hard is their own task in their own countries and how valuable Jewish co-operation would be.

The economic case against the Jewish National Home has been practically dropped, for it can no longer be denied that the Arab population in every branch has increased in numbers, health and prosperity. But Palestine is, it is contended, the Arabs' country, and they have a right, overriding all other considerations of humanity and civilisation, to keep others out and retain control for themselves. The doctrine, put forward as something like a sacred dogma, appears to be that any people who at any time happen to find themselves in control of an area are eternally entitled to its exclusive possession, no matter what contribution they fail to make and succeed in preventing others making to the cause of humanity and civilisation. Thus stated it does not appear so completely beyond question. If it had been accepted, the British Empire could not have been created, nor indeed England, nor any of the modern States. Even the claims of the Arabs in Palestine would vanish, for they are immigrants and later immigrants than the Jews. There are, in fact, no aboriginal or autochthonous peoples in control of any region of the world. All are where they are as the result of migration usually forcible, and the whole progress of mankind has depended upon the possibility and the fact of such migration. The sacred right of the dog in the manger has no ratification, either by history or philosophy.

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## Development Capacity

**N**OT the least important factor in politics is the selection of terminology. Phrases taken from economics and sociology may acquire a meaning which tends to obscure or distort what they were designed to clarify.

This has been the fate of the term "absorptive capacity" as applied to immigration into Palestine. Whatever its original connotation, it now

suggests that, having reached a certain stage of growth, Palestine is near a saturation point which can be regarded as the limit of its existing physical resources. It is suggested that to exceed that point involves a threat to the security and livelihood of the present population. Economic capacity is regarded as an edifice of fixed dimensions and unyielding walls, into which new people can be introduced only with extreme caution if overcrowding is to be avoided, or, alternatively, if the walls are not to give way under pressure and the entire structure to collapse.

At best the term "absorptive capacity" serves merely as the accepted formula for introducing and discussing the real factors determining at any given time the optimum point for immigration. Much of the prejudice and confusion surrounding it would be avoided if the more exact term "development capacity" were substituted. This phrase points to the true nature of the problem.

How can agriculture, industry and commerce be best developed? How can the necessary capital, the selected trained labour and the indispensable capacity of the entrepreneurs be introduced? How can the natural resources of the country, its exceptional climate, its long seaboard, and the vast hinterland be fully exploited?

The improved rotation of crops, a more extensive use of fertilisers, more capital equipment, and, most important of all, a comprehensive system of irrigation would vastly increase the numbers of those who could settle productively and profitably on the land. In cereal cultivation for the country as a whole the yield is extremely low—lower even than it is in Syria. For cattle breeding and dairy farming there are equally wide opportunities for improvement. The Arab farmer's cow yields on the average 600-800 litres of milk annually; the yield per cow in intensively farmed Jewish settlements averages roughly 3,500 litres. Vegetable growing is in its infancy. These are but random instances indicating the possibilities of expansion in agriculture. Vast areas lie almost uncultivated—the Huleh, the hill country, and the arid south. The population living on the land can easily be trebled.

The possibilities for the expansion of industry are even more elastic than for agriculture. The factors determining expansion are capital, labour, the initiative of the entrepreneur, and markets. A wider market for industrial goods will be created by improvements in agriculture which give the rural population greater purchasing power. Secondly, the development of industry itself provides a market, since the establishment of a new industry directly increases the demand for building materials, for fuel, transport, machinery and accessories of all kinds, and indirectly for housing, clothes, food, and professional services for the workpeople.

The expansion of agriculture and industry calls for an increase in banking and insurance facilities, for transport and for public works of all kinds. The greater population requires in addition to material goods professional services, amenities, municipal and national social undertakings. Nor is the outlook for foreign trade any less satisfactory. The expansion of the citrus market, the increased output of chemicals, and the gradual development of a Near Eastern market for Palestine's industrial products and a European

market for her early vegetables, are a promising feature of the national economy. The tourist industry will help to swell the export figures.

Immigration means more capital and a greater population. The extension of the market represented by the increased demand for consumption rapidly leads to an extension of production and to improvements in the technique and organisation of agriculture and industry. It is wholly incorrect to regard the economic situation as static, permitting a measurable volume of immigration, for immigration itself largely determines economic development, whilst its present profoundly affects its future extent.

What then are the limits to development capacity? When will the optimum density of population be reached? Clearly the presence of a percentage of unemployed is no valid test, since the United States, right through the nineteenth century, when its population increased tenfold, and Great Britain, during the period of its maximum development, suffered from spells of unemployment. The only test is the standard of living. When, instead of rising fast, as it has done in Palestine for nearly two decades, there is over a considerable period a continuing fall, then and not till then will it be desirable to consider the restriction of immigration.

We are, however, very far from that issue. The immediate need is to increase immigration. In a growing country the restriction of immigration needlessly keeps down the standard of living. In the same way as, it is generally conceded, the development of Australia and Canada has been retarded by the lack of an adequate supply of capital, so Palestine's progress is being held back, not by a shortage of capital, but by lack of labour. The country suffered from this shortage from 1932 to the disturbances produced by the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. Evidence on this point is complete. All groups of wage rates were rising steadily, rents were augmented because of the lack of labour for building the necessary houses, and existing enterprises like the Potash Company were held back. Even the farmers frequently encountered the greatest difficulty in harvesting and transporting their produce. Much of the £16 million lying on deposit in the banks, and doubtless some part of the various Government reserves, which were growing very fast, would have been invested in essential undertakings had it not been for the lack of labour.

There is nothing out of the ordinary in the unchaining and the letting loose of the Malthus monster of overcrowding in Palestine. Fear of him is found in all countries, not excluding the sparsely peopled lands of Australia and Canada. The only difference is that while elsewhere we hear of him only in periods of depression and unemployment, in Palestine he is meant to terrify when all the evidence goes to show that the country is suffering from a lack of labour.

But in this country at any rate we are sceptical and critical of this particular monster. We recall that Malthus cried out at least a couple of centuries too soon. Since his day the population of Great Britain has increased fivefold; real wages, i.e. the general standard of living, has gone up 400 per cent., and the capital resources of the country multiplied twentyfold. Nor was Great Britain exceptional in this respect. The population of Europe



multiplied threefold during the nineteenth century. During the last seventeen years, in the face of a similar outcry, the population of Palestine has doubled, the general standard of living has doubled or trebled, and the capital resources have multiplied tenfold. There is not one jot of evidence to show that the development capacity of the country has reached its limit. On the contrary, all the available evidence of visible development capacity points to a population three times as large as that of to-day.

## Views of Nuri Pasha

THE following statement was cabled from Istanbul on the 17th by Reuter's correspondent :

Nuri Pasha, Iraqi Foreign Minister, who was asked by the Arabs to mediate with the Government, is at present here, and when pressed to make some statement on the Palestine situation, said :

"I have explained my plan to both parties and to the High Commissioner of Palestine. If it is accepted I shall make it public. But I must say that not a single Arab will ever accept that Palestine should become in its entirety a Jewish national home.

"As for the reinforcement of the military establishment in Palestine I am convinced that England does not contemplate crushing either of the parties involved in the dispute. This reinforcement is for purely pacific measures which will eliminate useless loss of life pending a satisfactory settlement."

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, SEPTEMBER 15TH.

THE expression in some circles in Great Britain that the trouble here is a popular revolt against Jewish immigration and British rule is entirely contradicted by the facts. In a recent editorial note the *Palestine Post* said :

"That the people are sickening of the protracted strike is clearly borne out by the spread of violent intimidation within the Arab camp itself. The armed bandits fall upon a village and at the point of their revolvers extract the peasants' savings. Wealthier persons are in fear of losing their lives if they do not support the agitators. Loyal officers are also the target for bullets, and it is reported that when the Arab was shot in the old city of Jerusalem yesterday he heard the word 'traitor.' It is generally believed that the reason why moderate Arabs do not express their opinions against the strike is that they fear the consequences to themselves. Hence the difficulty of the Arab Higher Committee in arriving at a decision on the subject."

Here is a typical example of the "terrorism" of which peaceful Arabs as well as Jews are the victims. One night last week an armed Arab band swooped down on a number of Arab villages in the vicinity of Zichron Yacob. The bandits demanded money, under threats. When the villagers did not, indeed probably could not, comply with the "request" for funds,

they were beaten and their houses were ransacked, the few valuable possessions being stolen.

## More Land for the Effendi

**F**OUR days before the outbreak of the present troubles in Palestine the Government published the information that a long-term concession to cultivate 10,000 dunams of land in the Jericho Valley had been granted to the Dajani family. The head of this large and very wealthy aristocratic Effendi family is Hassan Sidki Dajani, who was President of the Strikers' Drive, active in the early days of the disturbances. He was fined for publishing a seditious document and was the first to be exiled to the concentration camp. The Government policy of buying off opposition in advance has evidently miscarried hopelessly in this instance.

But why was the concession granted? The Government own the whole of the Jericho Valley, some 125,000 dunams in extent. It is occupied by a few hundred negro Beduin families who came from the Sudan a few generations ago. Apart from a small area used by the Palestine Potash Company, the land lies for the most part waste and neglected. About half of the area is very fertile, and the best part of this has now been handed over as a gift to this wealthy family. The Government undertook in the Mandate to encourage "close settlement on the land, including State lands and waste land not required for public purposes," and in the Prime Minister's letter to Dr. Weizmann issued in 1931 this was specially referred to and accepted as "a positive obligation of the Mandate." Why is this area not being used for this purpose? If the Government wish to encourage banana growing, why not offer the land to the Jewish colonisation agencies, which have years of experience in this field?

Some sort of a case could doubtless have been made out for granting it to poor Palestinian Arabs, but why present it to perhaps the wealthiest Arab family in Palestine, which at the same time exerts great influence through its members, who are Government officials, judges and lawyers? Nothing in the concession shows that the land is to be used for the so-called dispossessed Palestinian Arabs. The concessionaires are under no obligation to employ Palestinian Arabs. Indeed, there is a real fear that labourers from Egypt and the Hauran will be brought in, because they will take lower wages.

The evidence points to a repetition of the error made in 1921, when the Government granted over 250,000 dunams of rich land in the Beisan area to a handful of Beduins who for fifteen years have not known how to deal with it.

## A Note on Modern Hebrew Literature

**T**HE return of the Jews to Palestine has been closely associated, both as effect and as cause, with the development of an extensive literature in the Hebrew language. This development began, it is true, long before Zionism took shape as a practical movement, and in its earlier stages it had no conscious connection with Jewish nationalism.

The emergence of the Jews of Central Europe from their age-long seclusion in the ghetto, about the middle of the eighteenth century, produced amongst other things a new type of Hebrew literature. For centuries Hebrew had been used almost exclusively for purposes closely connected with Jewish religious life. Commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud, commentaries on the commentaries, religious and ethical treatises, liturgical compositions and homilies, Rabbinical rulings on points of Jewish law, codes designed to standardise the daily practice of the orthodox Jew—these and these alone had been regarded as meet subjects for those who wrote in the sacred tongue. But the newly regained contact of a section of Jewry with the culture of the modern world gave rise to a desire to make Hebrew a medium for the expression and the spread of European ideas which had remained foreign to the mass of Jews. Under the leadership of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86) a group of gifted writers produced a number of Hebrew works on general historical, philosophical and scientific subjects and a considerable output of essays, poems and dramas. Hebrew became once again a language of general literature.

In Germany, the country of its origin, the revival was short-lived. The emancipation of the Jews led to a stampede towards assimilation, and Hebrew soon ceased to interest those whose sole aim was to become thoroughly German in culture. It was otherwise in the Russian Empire (then including part of Poland), where the emancipation and assimilation of the Jews were not desired by the Government, and would in any case have been more difficult because of their larger numbers and greater solidarity. The more forward spirits among the Russian Jews, looking with envy and longing on the blessings which emancipation had brought their brethren in countries farther west, found in the revived Hebrew language the ideal weapon with which to break down the conservatism of their own community and to awaken in it a desire for freedom and the light of European culture.

The Jewish masses understood no European language; their Yiddish vernacular bore the stamp of ghetto slavery; but Hebrew recalled the glories of the Jewish past, which contrasted so strongly with the degradation of the present. Thus in Russia, from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Hebrew became the medium of a literature of revolt—revolt against the reactionary Jewish policy of the Government, but more particularly against the ultra-conservatism and anti-modernism of orthodox Jewry. Even in those early days the note of the return to Zion was not wholly lacking; but chiefly the writers were intent on combating narrowness, hypocrisy and superstition and on finding a place in Jewish life for the ideas of nineteenth-century Europe side by side with (if not in substitution for) those of the Talmud.

This literary movement threw up an occasional genius like Abraham Mapu (1808-68), who wrote in pure Biblical Hebrew historical novels set in the time of the old Jewish kingdoms, or like the poet and satirist J. L. Gordon (1830-92), who pilloried the harshness of a Rabbinic law which made no allowance for changed circumstances, and dared to challenge the traditional reading of Jewish national history which put the secular power always in the wrong. In its service were enlisted a host of other writers of popular science

and history, essays, novels, stories and poems. As time went on the literature came closer to everyday life, and S. J. Abramowitz (1836-1917) produced a series of novels in which, adapting classical Hebrew to the needs of his subject, he depicted with affectionate satire the unworldly scholars and the *Lasftmenschen* of the Russian ghetto. With the 'sixties of last century a number of Hebrew periodicals, dealing both with current problems and with more abstract questions, came into existence.

It was taken for granted by these Hebrew writers and fighters that the right course for their community was to Europeanise itself and so to demonstrate its fitness for equal rights, which would then be granted as they had been in western countries. The comparatively liberal policy of Alexander II in the 'seventies lent some plausibility to this train of ideas. Meanwhile, however, a discordant note had been struck. Peretz Smolenskin (1842-85), novelist and essayist, raised the question whether Europeanisation was an unmixed blessing for the Jews. In western countries it had given them equality of status and freedom of opportunity; but it had sapped their attachment to their own people and its traditions and aspirations. Should Russian Jewry tread the same path? Should it not rather aim at securing a firm basis for Jewish existence in Palestine, where the Jew would be able to live a modern life and think as a modern man without danger of losing his individuality?

A sudden change of policy on the part of the Russian Government gave point to Smolenskin's criticism. The pogroms and the "May Laws" of 1881-2 made the Jewish position worse than it had ever been before even in Russia, and demonstrated the futility of hoping for emancipation. Most of the thinking elements in Russian Jewry swung over to nationalism; the resettlement of Jews on the land in Palestine, begun in a small way a few years earlier, received a powerful impetus; and thenceforth Hebrew literature became essentially the literature of the Jewish national movement. Latterly the centre of this literature has tended more and more to shift to Palestine, where Hebrew is the language of the Jew's speech as well as of his reading. Most of the great figures of the nationalist period—notably the thinker Asher Ginzberg (1856-1927), known by his pen-name *Ahad ha-Am*, or "One of the People," and the poet H. N. Biolik (1871-1934)—are no more, but there is no lack of able writers in all fields, and much is being done by translation to place what is best in the world's literature at the disposal of the Hebrew reader, whose nationalism involves no narrowly nationalistic attitude towards the cultures of other peoples.

Thus, by a development which may appear paradoxical but is in reality perfectly natural, a literary movement which was born of the Jew's desire to feel himself at home in Europe finds its consummation in the realisation of his older and more permanent longing to be once more at home in the land of his own history; and the miracle of a revived Hebrew, with its promise of some not unworthy future contribution to the thought and the poetry of mankind, is there to remind us, even in these troublous times, that the political and economic aspects of Zionism do not exhaust its significance for the Jew or for the world.

# Palestine

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## The Military Problem

IT is sad that Palestine should again have become a military problem, and even now hope is not quite extinct that the Arabs will submit to the arbitrament of reason. The issue is not between Jew and Arab, but solely whether Great Britain shall have a mandate in Palestine; not how it shall be carried out, but whether it shall be carried out at all. The Arabs, not the Jews, have made this issue, and if there were no Jews at all we should still have to take up the challenge of violence to reason. The Arabs could, if they were wise, avoid it, but nothing, that we can do, can avoid it. In this sense Palestine has now become so far as our immediate action is concerned a purely military problem.

General Dill's task would be very easy if either all the Arabs were against us or even if those, who were, wore distinguishing marks by which we could distinguish friend from foe. The actual number in arms against us is small, probably less than one-tenth of the numbers that will be engaged in restoring order. The country, too, is small. The whole of Palestine is not larger than Wales, and more than half of it will be outside the area of any likely military operations. The coast region between Tel-Aviv and Haifa is quiet, and there is no reason to think that the disorders will spread to Transjordan. There is therefore no sort of parallel between the problem in Palestine and in countries like South Africa, where vast distance and long lines of communication favour guerilla tactics. Nor does the history of Palestine itself afford any close parallel to the problem that now confronts General Dill. The campaigns of Judas Maccabæus show how readily the country lends itself to a war of ambuscade. This famous guerilla leader won many victories over forces much larger than his own, commanded by Greek generals of no mean ability, and he terrorised a country in which the proportion of Jews to the population was probably less than it is now. But, brilliant as his victories were, it may be doubted whether his family would ever have founded a dynasty or won independence for Judæa if Rome had not been sympathetic with everything and everybody who could make trouble for her enemies in Syria. It was in fact foreign intervention in Syria that fertilised what otherwise might have been barren victories and terrorist raids, and the conditions shed no light on our present problem, except to show how many opportunities there are for ambuscade in the Shephelah hills between Jerusalem and the coastal plain. Nor is anything to be learned from the protracted campaigns that the Romans had to wage in Palestine under Vespasian and Titus. The conditions are as completely different now from then as they well could be.

Perhaps the Irish rebellion gives the best sort of parallel to General Dill's

task. The resemblance is in the military conditions, not of course in the political antecedents or issue. In the whole course of the Irish rebellion there was nothing that could be called a battle, nor is there likely to be in the Palestine operations. It is indeed doubtful whether the formed forces under arms in Ireland at any one time much exceeded three or four thousand; their power for mischief lay in the fact that they had the sympathy of a large part of the population and were able to terrorise the rest into at least neutrality, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the army. A large army could have marched from end to end of the country without meeting with serious opposition and also without meeting any formed rebel bands. On the other hand, if it split up into smaller detachments capable of protecting the considerable number of loyalists, it was liable to be attacked by a sudden concentration. In the towns American as well as Irish history has shown how great is the power of a few gunmen if they have a cause which commands the sympathy of a sufficient number of the people. There is no reason to think that the Arab rebels command anything like the degree of sympathy in the Arab population that the Irish rebel leaders had in Southern Ireland, or that the Arabs have the genius of the Irish for this kind of struggle. But the Irish rebellion does at any rate illustrate some of the difficulties that the British Army may have to deal with in Palestine far better than any campaign in regular warfare.

The trouble in Ireland, as it may be the trouble in Palestine, was that it was difficult to punish the guilty without at the same time punishing the innocent. In consequence the British Army, and still more its auxiliaries, alienated friends and made more new enemies than it disposed of old ones. The Turks dealt with terrorism by methods of terrorism that were wholesale; they never made any pretence of governing with the consent of the governed; and their principle was that whoever is not certainly a friend must be treated as an enemy. Such methods are not open to us; as it was, our methods in Ireland produced a storm of indignation that made it impossible to continue them. The alternative was to begin a formal campaign for the reconquest of the country, district by district, disarming the population as we progressed; and its probable cost was estimated at something like £250 millions. And if no political settlement had been possible, probably this would have been the plan adopted.

General Dill's plans in Palestine have not been revealed. In the towns martial law is inevitable, and it will inflict inconvenience on loyalists as well as rebels. This will have to be borne patiently. In the country as a whole his probable policy will be to occupy a number of scattered centres, and use these as bases of operation in the surrounding districts. There will have to be systematic disarmament of the disaffected parts; and not the least of his anxieties will be to stop the considerable import of arms from over the border. An even more important object than the defeat of the rebels must be to give protection to the loyalists. That will be no easy matter against an enemy who lives for the most part in small villages; for even a small country can eat up a large army which has to protect a great number of scattered points against raids. There may in some districts have to be special concentration points.

But if it be true now, as it certainly was at the beginning, that the bulk of the Arab population is loyal, or at least opposed to the campaign of murder and arson, the isolation of the active rebels may not take very long, and when the armed bands can be separated from the rest of the population the rebellion will be over. But it is necessary to sound a note of warning against under-rating the practical difficulties. If they are overrated, a short campaign will come as a relief; but if they are underrated, mistakes may be made which magnify the problem.

## Plea for the Round Table

THE following letter from Mr. Israel Sieff has been published in *The Times*.

In your issue of August 28th you were good enough to publish a letter in which I urged direct Jewish-Arab negotiations to seek a way out of the present *impasse* in Palestine. May I now summarise the correspondence which that letter has elicited?

I asked whether it would not be possible for a group of Arabs and Jews to be formed to study the two major problems, which can only be dealt with by those who hold no official position and yet are sufficiently influential to carry weight with their respective peoples. The two problems I suggested were:

What are the underlying causes of the psychological frictions and enmities responsible for the periodic outbreaks in Palestine, and, secondly, what are the points of contact where Jews and Arabs now work harmoniously together, and which could be expanded to embrace a larger number of similar activities, and so extend the area of common tasks in the life of the National Home of the two peoples?

Lord Winterton on August 31st commended this proposal and pointed out that only the Zionist and Arab leaders, acting together in harmony and good will, could prevent the legacy of the present disturbances endangering and embittering the lives and injuring the material well-being of Zionist Jews and Palestinian Arabs alike for a generation. He urged: "They should meet and discuss their differences now." As one who had fought with Lawrence under Allenby, and as a well-known friend of the Arabs who has made his voice heard on their behalf in Parliament, his plea cannot have failed to carry weight.

Lord Lugard, with his unrivalled experience in colonial administration, and, as a member of the Mandates Commission, having been in touch with the affairs of Palestine since the Mandate was promulgated, added his appeal on September 2nd that the leaders on both sides should meet. He commented on a statement of your Jerusalem Correspondent that the leaders on both sides dare not come forward, and urged that steps should be taken to overcome this reluctance. Failing such a meeting he advocated the declaration of martial law.

The Imam of the London Mosque, M. A. R. Dard, pointed out on September 9th that Islam is a religion of peace. He added :

“ The Arabs, therefore, should not fail as Moslems to demonstrate that they are not less anxious for peace than the British authorities. Otherwise, I am afraid, they might lose the sympathy not only of the British public, but also of their sensible co-religionists.”

Lord Lamington, who ever since the framing of the Palestine Mandate has taken up a definitely pro-Arab and anti-Zionist attitude, added his appeal to those already made that the Arab leaders should meet the Zionists in conference.

The Bishop of Rochester and Professor John Garstang, in your issue of September 18th, also expressed the belief that a round-table conference between representatives of Arabs and Jews resident in Palestine held out a hope of peace.

Thus members of both Houses of Parliament, a Mohammedan Imam, an Anglican bishop, an eminent archæologist, and a distinguished civil servant, all friends of the Arab cause, have pleaded with the Arab leaders to enter into direct negotiations with the Jews. The attitude of the Jewish leaders has been officially stated. Dr. Ch. Weizmann, the president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, wrote on September 4th, immediately after the letters of Lord Winterton and Lord Lugard had appeared :

“ On Monday I informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that we are prepared, as we always have been, to enter such a conference under the ægis of His Majesty’s Government.”

Unhappily, neither the sincere advice of proved friends of the Arabs nor the definite move which Dr. Weizmann states the Jewish Agency will make to bring about peace between Arab and Jew has evoked any kind of response from Arab leaders in Palestine. Surely, sooner or later, the Arabs must realise that they and the Jews, the two peoples whom history has placed in Palestine, must come together for the sake both of their common country and of their children who will inherit it.

And it is because of this that a large section of Jews are hopeful that before long the saner and less extreme elements of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine will have the courage and vision to seek the co-operation of the Jews in the upbuilding of their common homeland.

Mr. Sieff’s letter brought the following from Lord Winterton :

I feel that I must trespass once again on your space to thank Mr. Sieff for his reference to me in his last letter, as well as others whose letters have appeared in your columns, or who have written to me privately.

For the moment our efforts have failed. In the circumstances the dispatch of further troops, and the vigorous military action to be taken, is necessary. But it is a regrettable necessity, and not, as some writers in the Press (I exclude *The Times* from this criticism) seem to think, an end in itself. In other words, the goal is not merely the ending of the present disorder, or even an examination of its causes through the agency of a Royal Commission, but an agreement between Zionists and Palestinian Arabs in which both



sides will have to give substantial concessions in order to make life tolerable for either.

Probably a round-table conference under the ægis of the British Government would offer the best chance of achieving this end.

May I conclude with this comparison? During the worst period of Hindu-Moslem tension in India, when those of us then in office were faced with daily anxieties over the situation, there were never more than 68,000 British troops in India, who, with their comrades in the Indian Army, had to assist the police to keep the peace in British India, with its 280,000,000 inhabitants, as well as guard the large, dangerous, and turbulent frontier.

Yet in Palestine to-day, a small country, with a population of a little over 1,000,000, which we are assured is, economically speaking, very prosperous, nearly 25,000 of our exiguous Army (for which it seems harder each day to obtain recruits), in addition to a considerable Air Force, are required to prevent, to put it frankly, one section of the population from cutting the throats of the other.

This is an intolerable situation fraught with great danger which must never be allowed to recur, but which can only be prevented by the insistence of responsible British public opinion that the two sides shall come together, and that neither will be favoured by the British Government or Parliament to the injury of the other.

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## Cantonisation Examined

IT has been suggested that the solution to Arab-Jewish hostility and conflict lies in the adoption of a cantonal organisation of the country, with segregation of the two peoples in strictly defined areas. The assumptions on which the proposal rests, if never explicitly stated, are abundantly clear. They are, first, that the interests of the two peoples now inhabiting Palestine are so irreconcilable, their hostility to each other so insuperable, and their inability to co-operate so deep-rooted, that no hope of progress along the lines of mutual respect and collaboration can be entertained. Consequently peace is to be sought, not in an endeavour to discover and eradicate the roots of the trouble, but in the erection of formal administrative barriers behind which the two peoples will be, for all important purposes, isolated.

The first assumption is that a cantonal organisation of the country would guarantee peace. This suggests either wilful misunderstanding of the facts, or ignorance of the geographical features of the present disturbances. The most disturbed area, which has been referred to as "the triangle of terror," lies in the district occupied by Arabs, between Tulkarm, Nablus and Jenin—all three exclusively Arab cities. The most peaceful place in Palestine after Tel-Aviv is Haifa, where the population consists of Arabs and Jews in roughly equal numbers. Work in Haifa has proceeded normally since the beginning of hostilities, unaffected by strikes, untroubled by intimidation, impervious to violence. Land-reclamation works and municipal undertakings, manned by Arabs and Jews working peacefully side by side, have not ceased for one hour. The shops are open, and the curfew has not been

introduced. Here is practical and irrefutable proof that Jews and Arabs can live and work happily together, and that it is only in such co-operation and good-will that a solution to the problem of Palestine, difficult though it admittedly is, is to be sought. Segregation would destroy the only possibility of harmony; it would exacerbate the feelings of resentment and hostility, and divide, instead of pacify the country.

The technical problems that would arise from cantonisation are too numerous to detail. What, if any, are to be the methods of communication and co-operation between the Arab and Jewish "cantons"? On what basis will representation on the central government bodies be allocated? The important question of finance presents peculiarly difficult problems. When federal governments have been established in the past, the poorer communities have benefited from union with the more prosperous units in the federation. The reverse would be true in Palestine. Although a minority of the population, the Jews contribute the greater part of the national budget. Consequently the Arabs receive services and benefits out of proportion to their own contribution. In a federal State the social services, such as education, health, roads, police, etc., which are pre-eminently matters for local administration, would be dealt with by the cantons. In Palestine this would mean, either that the Arab cantons would be extremely heavily taxed, or that the Arabs would receive much fewer benefits. In other words, they would pay more for public services than they do to-day, and receive fewer benefits.

Wisely enough, the protagonists of cantonisation have refrained from asking, much more from answering, these questions.

Nor have they analysed this proposed system of government in relation to the promised Jewish National Home and British Imperial interests and undertakings. The Jewish National Home referred to in the Balfour Declaration envisaged an area of 45,000 square miles, covering Cis- and Trans-jordan. Later the promise of the Jewish National Home was confined to Cisjordan, an area of 10,000 square miles. To-day the Jews occupy a little over 500 square miles, about one-twentieth of the total area. It is surely fantastic to claim that the whittling away of the National Home and its crystallisation in the size of a small English county is "a just and reasonable interpretation" of Great Britain's pledge either under the Balfour Declaration or even under the Mandate. Is it likely that the Jews will be satisfied with the restriction of the Jewish National Home to an area one-ninetieth of the extent of that to which the Balfour Declaration referred? What is in fact proposed is the strangulation of the National Home and the flat betrayal of the British pledge as well as of the Mandate.

As to Imperial interests such as the Iraq Oil Pipe Line, and the main roads, would it be safe to let these pass through the Arab cantons? Could aerodromes be constructed in areas occupied by populations hostile to the presence of the British in the country? Cantonisation, an artificial demarcation of areas, is a facile proposal, which is unrelated to the realities of the Palestine problem. It would solve none of the fundamental difficulties. These can be solved only by taking into full account the interests of the three parties—the British, the Jews and the Arabs.

## The Builder of a City

**I**N 1909 Meir Dizengoff and a number of associates founded Tel-Aviv. Except for one short break, he was its Mayor from the beginning until his death at the age of seventy-five. All his immense energy and ability were devoted to the building up of this city on the sand dunes to the north of Jaffa, so that under his guidance it grew into the largest town of Palestine, with a population of 140,000.

Greatly daring, a few Jews resident in Jaffa in 1906 conceived the idea of a Jewish garden city. At the same time the late Alderman Moser of Bradford provided the funds for a modern secondary school, the Herzlia Gymnasium, which was built in what was at first a suburb of Jaffa. The slow but steady growth of the town was interrupted during the war when Dizengoff, because of his hostility to Djemal Pasha, was compelled to leave Palestine. On his return in 1920 he became Mayor of the first Palestinian Jewish city, which was in the following year recognised as a municipality. It then had a population of about 5,000. By 1926 Tel-Aviv with its suburbs had a population of some 40,000, and by 1930 the number of inhabitants had increased to 70,000. Since then its modern character and growing commercial and industrial life have attracted a large percentage of the Jewish immigrants, while the recent disturbances have led to the settlement in Tel-Aviv of some 15,000 Jews formerly resident in Jaffa.

Dizengoff was a man of vision and saw a great future for Tel-Aviv as a port and as the metropolis of the country—a diminutive New York. He was constantly planning for its growth and development, and thinking ahead in figures which to less imaginative people seemed fantastic.

Unfortunately his vision was not shared and is still not shared by the central Government. His conception of a modern town, with the essential planning it requires, its indispensable public works and amenities, was at first regarded with derision and is not understood even to-day. The Central Government still refuses to grant adequate financial aid, in the form of annual subsidies and in those facilities to borrow without which no modern city can be constructed nor civic life made possible.

But Dizengoff continued steadily and hopefully with the work of construction, himself participating in every major activity which concerned the inhabitants of Tel-Aviv, and taking the lead in those which interested him most. The Levant Fair, which made the city a trading centre for the entire Near East, was largely his creation. He had for long advocated a separate harbour for Tel-Aviv, not as a rival to Jaffa, but as an essential addition to the expanding industry and commerce of the country. When therefore the disturbances made the Jaffa port unsafe for Jewish passengers and transport, and it was decided to construct a jetty at Tel-Aviv, he rose from a sick-bed to encourage the labourers in the undertaking.

But it was not only economic affairs which won his interest. He had a vivid sense of the part that cultural activities should play in the life of a growing town. His house and his collection of pictures and objects of interest are the

nucleus of a museum and art gallery, and he was a warm supporter of the Habimah Players.

In the 'seventies of the last century, Joseph Chamberlain won immortality during his three years' tenure of office as Mayor of Birmingham. During that time he was responsible for the destruction of slums, for the adoption of great housing schemes, the acquisition and development of gas and water undertakings, the provision of parks and recreation grounds, and the establishment of the Birmingham School of Art. Meir Dizengoff accomplished what was perhaps a greater task in building up a city from its very foundations.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, SEPTEMBER 24th.

THE steady increase in the population of Tel-Aviv has been accelerated by the troubles in Palestine. In a recent article the *Palestine Post* says that the Tel-Aviv Municipal Council has to finance sixty additional school classes required during the coming year for three thousand new pupils. The budget problem has been rendered acute by the difficult financial position of the Jewish Community Council, which will be able to contribute less this year than in previous years.

The number of children attending schools and kindergartens in Tel-Aviv has increased enormously during the last few years. In the school year 1934-5 about 10,000 children were registered, 1,900 of them in kindergartens, and the total budget was approximately £65,000. During the coming year a budget of £114,000 will be needed for the 17,000 children expected to be enrolled.

Nothing is more remarkable than the steady industrial progress of the Jewish community in Palestine, despite the Arab terrorism. The position of the Jewish banks has remained generally steady. Arab banks have suffered through the strike, since the Arabs have not taken up their bills. But all Jewish bankers have been astonished to see how great a part of the accepted bills have been honoured by their clients during these months. The withdrawal of bank deposits has been negligible, but the rise in demands for credits has been considerable.

An Arab newspaper has complained bitterly that the richer Arabs are niggardly in their support of the strike. Gifts of £50 or even £100 are not enough, it says, especially as so many Arabs are actually starving. It calculates that the wealthy people of one Arab community can give £30,000 without feeling the poorer, and hints very broadly that if they do not they may suffer for it.

From Arab sources it is reported that Arab orange growers have been assured that the strike will end in time for the opening of the shipping season. In any case they have been promised that shippers and the boatmen in Jaffa will be permitted to work during the shipping season.

# Palestine

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## The Three Kings

THREE Arab rulers—King Ibn Saud of Arabia, the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, and King Ghazi of Iraq, to whom we ought perhaps to add the name of the ruler of Yemen—have a direct interest in the welfare of Palestine and are disposed to use whatever influence they have to that end. An even stronger motive than their racial kinship with the Arabs of Palestine is the prosperity and well-being of their own countries. Whatever injured Palestine or impaired the execution of the Mandate would as they know have very unwholesome reactions at home. They have no anti-Jewish feeling which among Semites is an artificially cultivated growth peculiar to Palestine. Abdullah would like the Jews to help to develop his own country and cannot therefore sympathise with the complaints of the Arabs in Palestine against the Jews, and both he and King Ghazi do not forget that they owe their eminence to British bayonets and without them stand a good chance of losing it. A serious war between Arabs and the British in Palestine is something that they have the best of motives for wishing to avert. They know that even if there were any chance of an Arab victory, it could only mean civil war later among the Arabs and the loss of some thrones. Sound conservative instinct therefore prevents their taking the side of the rebels, and, if the Palestinian Arabs ever thought that they would, it is only another example of the political incapacity of their leaders. The influence of the Arab kings must necessarily be thrown on the side of peace.

It is obvious too that any pressure that they can bring to bear must be exercised on the Arabs. They have not only a right but a duty to give good advice to their kinsmen; but they cannot intervene in the strict sense without making a precedent that would be as dangerous to their own dignity as to that of Great Britain. They would lose their independent position if we intervened in their domestic affairs, and it would end our responsibility as trustees in Palestine if we allowed any foreign Power, however friendly, to come between us and our wards. Mere matters of form and procedure must not be allowed to obstruct any chance of a peaceful settlement; but for us to negotiate terms through interveners from outside would be a question of sovereignty, not of form. If that happened once it could happen again and the effective government in Palestine would not be a British Government responsible to the League, but certain Arab Powers responsible to no one. Peace on such terms would be too dearly purchased.

Whatever the Kings do therefore must rest between them and their Arab kinsmen. It must depend not on what we promise to do, but on what they as Arabs think is in the best interests of Arabs. They will reasonably wish to inform themselves about our immediate policy, though there is no mystery

about it ; but no Government can anticipate the findings of the Commission, and, if it could, there would be nothing for a Commission to do. We may, and indeed should, make it clear that we have no wish to penalise the Arabs for anything that has happened ; the fact that there has been a rebellion will not deflect us to one side or the other of what we think is best in the interests of the country. Nor is it our practice when we make peace with rebels to punish for their past actions individuals who have given clear indication of a changed mind. If these assurances will help, they should be given. But to depart from the policy already announced in any particular and to offer any inducements for the Kings to intervene on behalf of a peace, that could not properly be given to our Arab wards direct, would fatally compromise our mandatory authority.

Yet, however late the hour, no chance of bringing about an early peace should be neglected. The Palestinian Arabs are divided among themselves. The terrorists, who are seeking to convert their private war into a war between Great Britain and all Palestinian Arabs, are comparatively few in number. The majority of the Arabs realise that formal war, should it come, would not be a war about the Jews or even a war between Arabs and Great Britain so much as a war against prosperity. The Arab is a good business man, and the business leaders of the country view the prospect with alarm. And so, it would appear, do some members of the Arab Committee who have hitherto encouraged the strike. The Jerusalem correspondent of the *Observer*, a paper which is certainly not unfriendly to the Arabs or prejudiced in favour of Zionism, says that the Arab citrus growers are threatening to begin work rather than lose a promising citrus season. He thinks that the Arab Committee is only hesitating because it hopes to secure the signature of the four Arab rulers to an appeal for the cessation of the strike, which will enable them "to save their own faces and saddle others with the responsibility for the 'climb down'." Another motive that may also be present in their minds is that, if the strike is not ended very soon, the beginning of serious military operations will end their own power for mischief and perhaps their own personal liberty. It is possible to equivocate and face both ways in the politics of peace or even of "a sort of war" ; but when real war begins, they must either be on one side or the other, either enemies or friends ; and the prospect of being, where their dupes are, cannot be a pleasant one.

The motives of the Arab Higher Committee have ceased to be of much importance. Its members are likely to fall into discredit whether they call off the strike or continue it ; but if they do the right thing it will not be necessary to inquire too narrowly into their motives. On the contrary, if the Kings boldly advise the Arabs to lay down their arms and denounce the methods of violence, they will do a service to their kinsmen in Palestine for which they will long be honoured. Nothing that they can do will affect the impartial findings of the Commission, which will begin to sit as soon as the disorders have ceased. The alternatives on which they can help to make up the minds of Palestinian Arabs who may still be wavering are much simpler and more elementary. They are, Mandate or No Mandate ? Shall the two branches of the Semitic race work together for the common good ?

## Conference

THE troops have now arrived in Palestine, the plans of operation have doubtless been worked out and martial law, where necessary, has been proclaimed. It would not be profitable now to ask whether some of these measures might not have been taken at an earlier date; and it would be still less profitable to imagine that military repression is the end. The restoration of order and the vindication of authority are but means, the clearing of the ground for statesmanship to play, and statesmanship not only from the Government but in equal degree from the other parties to this great affair—the Arabs and the Jews. The first condition of statesmanship is sincerity, a realistic approach to the problem and a determination to grapple not with shadows but with actualities. The time is past for mere manœuvring, the reiteration of slogans and the big phrases which fail to hide the lack of courage and responsibility. For that reason it is regrettable that the Arab leaders should be waiting upon a word from this or that Arab prince, and telling the more simple-minded of their followers that, in spite of all declarations and acts by the Government, a bargain has been or will be struck and a price promised behind the scenes.

One may appreciate the dilemma in which they find themselves. They are the victims of their own extreme programme (which they have always known could not be attained) and of the lawless Left Wing which it has bred. Not only is their prestige at stake; their very lives are in danger. The assassin has already slain some of the more moderate and may claim other victims. One may well sympathise with men so placed, even if one thinks that they are harvesting their own errors. But the way out is courage and responsibility, just as the way in was lack of real courage and responsibility. The Arab leaders know now that the terrorist is the common enemy, and they should co-operate in the restoration of that order which is the indispensable condition of better things.

Of all delusions the most fatal is that Jew and Arab can never live together in peace and harmony. Statesmanship must start from precisely the opposite assumption—that Jew and Arab have to live together and conduct the life and development of Palestine as a joint undertaking. For that reason by far the best method of determining the conditions of such co-operation would be the coming together of Jews and Arabs to discuss and agree. That to which they themselves freely assent has the best likelihood of being adapted to the real needs of both and of being faithfully executed. The proposal of a joint Conference has been accepted by Dr. Weizmann on behalf of his people; it has been recommended to the Arabs by some of their sincerest friends in this country. If it has not yet been accepted by the Arab chiefs, that is not because the cooler heads among them do not recognise its wisdom, but rather because of the entanglements of old shibboleths and the dread of responsibility. Those counsels of prudence and that solid horse-sense which manifest themselves often enough in private conversations will have to find expression in public declarations and public acts. There is no other way if the true interests of the peoples of Palestine are to be served.

It may be difficult to lay down the details of an agreement, but it is not difficult to indicate some principles. The doctrine of segregation should be rejected because it is the negation of co-operation and a confession of despair. The doctrine of domination must likewise go. Palestine is not now an Arab country and it is not now a Jewish country; nor, so far as political prophecy can reach, is it likely now to be either an Arab or a Jewish country. It is already the home of Jewish and Arab peoples and the seat of Jewish and Arab cultures. The leaders of both sides must acknowledge that such is the destiny of Palestine, against which it is absurd to fight, and to avert which it is ridiculous to seek measures. The plain conclusion from that plain fact is that the foundation of co-operation must be equality. The essence of equality is not numbers; the very terms "majority" and "minority" have no place. On the political side you may express it in institutions apt to give equality formal security, but the true guarantee behind the mechanical contrivances must be a respect for freedom and a spirit of understanding. Assuredly this is to ask much when violence is rampant and passions are hot; but it is to ask no more than is indispensable and no less than will in due course come.

Co-operation is not a negative thing. It will not be enough, though it will be much, for Arab and Jew to agree to let one another walk each his own path. They have a common fatherland in which the lives and fortunes of both touch at many points; it is necessary to multiply those points of contact and to convert them from opportunities of friction into opportunities of joint endeavour. Who can doubt that the Jews can give much help to the Arabs in economic and social development, and who can doubt that the Jews have much to learn and much to gain from that Arab world which washes like an ocean round their National Home?

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## Martial Law

**M**EASURES for the restoration of order in Palestine were announced in the *London Gazette* last week, which published the text of an Order in Council entitled "The Palestine Martial Law (Defence) Order in Council, 1936."

The new order, which will be brought into force by proclamation of the High Commissioner in Palestine, enables the High Commissioner (Sir Arthur Wauchope) to delegate to the general officer commanding the forces in Palestine, Lieutenant-General Dill, power to make regulations for securing the public safety and the defence of Palestine. A further proclamation delegating the powers to General Dill will be necessary, and the date of issue will be decided by the High Commissioner in consultation with General Dill. When this second proclamation has been issued, the general officer commanding will have the widest possible powers.

General Dill will have power to make any regulations for the public safety which he considers necessary for that purpose; these regulations will not be open to challenge in any court of law; to set up military courts for the trial of offences against these regulations, and to provide, if he thinks fit,



that there shall be no appeal from the decisions of those courts and that the judgments and orders of those courts shall not be open to challenge or review elsewhere.

Among other powers which may be delegated to the general officer commanding is that of making regulations on such matters as censorship; arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation; control of harbours, ports, and movement of vessels; control of aerodromes and landing-grounds; control of transport by land, air or water; trading; appropriation, control, forfeiture, and disposition of property; infliction of communal fines and the forfeiture and destruction of property as punitive measures.

The power of making regulations for the control of harbours and ports applies also to the territorial waters of Palestine. That dealing with trading applies also to importation, production, and manufacture. Any provision of Palestinian law inconsistent with any regulation made under the article dealing with courts is to be suspended and to be of no effect.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 1ST, 1936.

DEALING with the proposals for a Round Table Conference to secure Arab-Jewish agreement, the Arab paper *Felstin* states that no agreement is possible with the Jews as long as the Jews in Palestine adhere to the Balfour Declaration. Only if the Jews will give up the Balfour Declaration and will consent to live in Palestine as a national minority and as part of world Jewry will it be possible to come to an understanding.

According to the figures published by the Jewish Agency, over 4,500 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine during the month of September.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 4TH.

The cinemas in Jerusalem, which were closed owing to the curfew regulations, are reopening for matinees to-morrow.

The first consignment of this season's grape-fruit from Jewish groves, consisting of 20,000 cases, was shipped from Haifa to-day.

The Official Gazette publishes the total revenue and expenditure of the Palestine Government from April to June inclusive, i.e. during the first three months of the disturbances. The revenue amounted to £932,000, and the expenditure to £877,000. The Government total surplus by the end of July 1st amounted to £6,322,000. The surplus increase since July 1st, 1935, is £1,800,000.

To-day's Arab paper *Islamia* has published an article urging pogroms against the Jews in Iraq and Yemen. The paper appeals to the Arabs of these countries not to confine themselves any longer to a mere economic boycott of the Jews, but to go beyond it.

A meeting of the Arab Higher Committee took place yesterday and lasted seven hours. The Committee discussed a number of suggested amendments to be inserted in the text of the appeal by the Arab Kings

which is about to be published. The amendments will be forwarded to the Kings, who, it is believed, will agree to the alterations. The Arab Higher Committee decided that after the Arab Kings have determined on the final text of the appeal to the Arabs, the Arab Higher Committee will itself issue a similar appeal. It is reported that the text of the Arab Kings' appeal does not contain any political promises to the Arabs. It is believed in Arab quarters that within five days the appeal will be issued and the strike will come to an end. It is further reported that the appeal to be issued by the Arab Higher Committee will be signed also by the local strike committees.

In Arab quarters it is rumoured that the leaders of the Arab terrorist bands have decided to discontinue their activities as soon as the appeal by the Arab Kings appears. These activities will be discontinued pending the work of the Royal Commission. If, however, the Commission's report will not be favourable to the Arabs, then terrorism will be renewed.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency has issued a further appeal to the Jewish peoples. It says :

"The pioneers of our people in the country did not confine their efforts to the protection of the existing achievements or to the continuance of their previous activity. During the very height of the disturbances, when the sword of destruction was still brandished over their heads and the hopes of the Jewish people were threatened by the gravest danger, the community won new permanent footholds promising expansion, and thrust its roots more firmly into the soil. The world's first Jewish city has carved a way out to the sea, and a Jewish port is being built on the Tel-Aviv shore. Jewish labour has been consolidated in the Jewish villages, and thousands of new Jewish workers have been absorbed in the Jewish settlements. Jewish agriculture has won new markets, and hundreds of new pioneers have been admitted to the labour settlements. The quarrying industry, the basic industry of building, has absorbed additional Jewish labour. The Jewish defence forces have increased at an unprecedented rate, thousands of Jewish youths enlisting for the supernumerary police force and now guarding Jewish life and property; and during these months of crime and unleashed passions, thousands of newcomers of all types and ages entered Palestine and settled in the country, demonstrating the absorptive capacity of the country despite terrorism."

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## One and a Half Million Surplus 1935-6

**P**ESSIMISTS about the future of Palestine received altogether unexpected aid when in the autumn of last year a certain restlessness and anxiety was engendered in that country by the Italo-Abyssinian war, and a new contagion of unrest came from Egypt. An incipient bank panic was allayed by timely measures taken by the two leading banks and the Government Treasury. The general nervousness, however, did not result in a reduction in economic activity, although it succeeded in impeding the rate of growth. The increase over the previous year is reflected in the figures of Government revenue receipts from various sources.

## Revenue and Expenditure in £P.1,000

Receipts					1934-5	1935-6
Customs	...	...	...	...	2,600	2,751
Port and Marine	...	...	...	...	90	107
Licences, Taxes, etc.	...	...	...	...	1,075	1,082
Receipts for services	...	...	...	...	845	913
Posts and Telegraphs	...	...	...	...	355	418
Interest	...	...	...	...	97	141
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	246	215
Grant-in-aid	...	...	...	...	141	140
Total	...	...	...	...	5,450	5,777

The principal sources of revenue showed an increase as compared with the preceding year, the total increase amounting to £P.308,000. While in the two preceding years the increase in receipts amounted to one-third each year, the increase during the last fiscal year was only 5.4 per cent.

Expenditure					1934-5	1935-6
Pensions, Public Debt and Loan Charges	...	...	...	...	155	160
High Commissioner, Secretariat and District Administration	...	...	...	...	144	203
Legal and Judicial Departments	...	...	...	...	101	105
Treasury and Audit Department	...	...	...	...	29	30
Dept. of Customs, Excise and Trade	...	...	...	...	147	243
Depts. of Health, Education and Antiquities	...	...	...	...	385	434
Dept. of Agriculture	...	...	...	...	147	181
Dept. of Lands, Surveys and Development	...	...	...	...	117	124
Dept. of Migration and Statistics	...	...	...	...	29	33
Police and Prisons, Defence	...	...	...	...	650	672
Transjordan Frontier Force	...	...	...	...	191	189
Posts and Telegraphs	...	...	...	...	296	443
Public Works	...	...	...	...	540	991
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	258	298
Railways deficit	...	...	...	...	33	124
Total	...	...	...	...	3,222	4,320

There was a net increase in expenditure of one million pounds. The Department of Public Works almost doubled its expenditure, and the Department of Posts and Telegraphs spent 50 per cent. more. It is not clear how much of these increases was expenditure on capital account.

The surplus of receipts over expenditure in the fiscal year amounted to over £1,500,000. The total surplus in the Treasury on March 31st, 1936, amounted to £6,250,000.

In his report for the year 1934-5 the Treasurer explained that his object was to have £3,000,000 in hand as reserve, that he needed £500,000 as a working balance, and another million for works actually in progress and for renewals of railway locomotives, rolling stock and permanent way. Why, it may then be asked, has he not used the remaining £1,750,000 for such "*inescapable essential capital works of development*" as the Tel-Aviv-Haifa road and the railway development scheme of Sir Felix Pole?

But does not the whole policy of the Treasury call for some explanation? Which part of the British Empire has in the past adopted a policy of paying for its capital undertakings out of current revenue? Is not this an unusual, unorthodox, and unjustified policy? Is it not manifestly unfair to burden the present generation for material benefits which will accrue to future generations, from roads, railways, harbours and other public works? The effect of such a policy is to retard to a very marked degree the development of the country, and it is surely not unreasonable to argue that that is its intention.

## Hebrew Shorthand

TIME alone can show whether Hebrew, in being adapted to modern conditions of life, has retained much or little of the idiom and genius of the classic language. But it was certain from the outset, that modern Hebrew, like all other modern languages, would have to absorb the words and phrases of modern science and engineering, and that if it were really vital it would develop a growing vocabulary in which slang could not be altogether avoided. Many Jews twenty years ago, and many non-Jews to-day still find it difficult to believe in the reality and efficacy of modern Hebrew, that children learn this language in their infancy, and that an educational system has been built up in which it is used from the kindergarten to the university. This reluctance to believe what is a fact may perhaps be best overcome by a flank attack.

Anyone who has even an elementary knowledge of shorthand will realise that the phonetic system on which it is based can be applied to any language, and that Hebrew would require its own symbols and signs. A system of shorthand is indispensable in a modern community. Hebrew shorthand-writers are employed on the staff of the Jewish Agency, of *Davar* (the Hebrew daily), of the Municipal Council of Tel-Aviv, and of the Jewish Federation of Labour. The Hebrew verbatim report of the Zionist Congresses (congresses are a severe test of the efficiency of stenographers) has become a regular feature. Business houses have begun to feel the need of clerks able to take down Hebrew in shorthand, and classes have now been organised in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem.

Recent progress in this field is due to Jacob Maimon, who in 1928 published his manual, *A Course of Hebrew Stenography*. This "Palestine Pitman" found from experience that all previous attempts at a Hebrew shorthand had been made by people who did not themselves practise their own system, and were not themselves engaged professionally as shorthand-writers. The attempts therefore ended in failure. He worked out for his own needs a system which enabled him to take down the speech of the fastest lecturer.

Maimon is still in his thirties, and wishes to see his system more widely adopted in Palestine, and then to devote his energy to adapt it to Arabic, which he thinks will not be an easy task, and later to English, so that there will be one inter-lingual system of shorthand for the three official languages of Palestine.

## A Common Fatherland for Arab and Jew

By DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN

*(An address delivered to the Society for International Affairs)*

WHEN Palestine emerged out of the Great War it had a Jewish population of approximately fifty thousand. To-day that population is approaching something like four hundred thousand. It is, therefore, correct to say that about three hundred and fifty thousand Jewish people have entered the country on the strength of the political framework established as a result of the war—a mandate accepted by Great Britain under the League of Nations, based on the famous document known as the Balfour Declaration.

Let us consider for a moment the two essentials which induced British statesmen to recognise the claim of the Jewish people to the establishment of a National Home in Palestine. I think that what played the greatest part in the framing of this policy was the recognition that the Jews have always hoped—it was an article of faith for religious and even for non-religious Jews—that a day might come when they would be allowed to return to the land of their ancestors. They have never given up this claim. They prayed for it. They fasted for it. And events have proved that it was not merely a romantic attachment on the part of a dispossessed people to a country of which they were deprived two thousand years ago. As soon as the slightest chance was given to the people to come back and begin work there, these hopes and these sentiments released an enormous energy, which has been transformed into actual performance. People who were town-dwellers began to till an ungrateful soil. A language which has been derelict to all intents and purposes has been revived, and has produced a modern literature, and a newspaper press, equal to those of any small country. Towns have sprung up, universities, schools, shops, a whole life, simply as a result of these sentiments which, stored up for thousands of years, had found a possibility of expression.

### UGANDA SCHEME

The Jews have had opportunities of settling in other countries. As far back as 1904, the British Government, under the ægis of the late Joseph Chamberlain, offered the Jews a strip of territory in what was then Uganda, now Kenya, of, I think, about eight thousand square miles in area—not very much less, that is to say, than modern Palestine, which has ten thousand square miles. It was at a time of very severe crisis in Jewish life; pogroms swept over those parts of the world where great Jewish masses were living. When this offer was brought before the Zionist Assembly (an offer of a

territory which was then empty—there were no difficulties there), the Jews refused it, saying only that it was not Palestine, and that a day might come when this same great Government might find it possible to help the Jews to go back to Palestine itself. This prophecy of feeling and sentiment was fulfilled in 1917.

#### ARGENTINE COLONISATION

We have carried on a great deal of colonisation in, for instance, the Argentine Republic. In fact, Jewish colonisation in the Argentine Republic began almost simultaneously with the first tentative Jewish efforts in Palestine. A great Jewish philanthropist left a fund of ten million pounds about sixty years ago for the colonisation of Jews on the land in various countries, and the Argentine Republic was chosen as the principal country for settlement. Now let us, for argument's sake, compare Palestine and the Argentine Republic. Fifty years ago the Argentine Republic was to all intents and purposes an empty country. There was no population which could resist or object to the entry of Jewish immigrants. There was a vast sum of money available for the work of colonisation and the building up of a community. The people who were entrusted with this work of colonisation in the Argentine were good people, who knew and understood their business, and worked hard. After fifty years, what is the result? There are a few Jewish villages in the Argentine to-day, and the agricultural population amounts, I think, to between six and seven thousand families; and the worst of it is that the children of these peasants go to Buenos Aires or to other great towns in the vicinity. There is no incentive to keep them on the land, to build up a country. The spirit which prevails in Palestine to-day, and which has made possible the work which has been carried on, is entirely absent in the Argentine colonisation.

#### BACK TO THE LAND

Palestine is a small country where land is not so plentiful, where there is definitely a population which is not exactly ready to receive us with open arms, and it is here that three hundred and fifty thousand people have come in. About fifteen thousand are established on the soil, and their children build further villages and colonies, and ask for more land. It is not only a material civilisation which is being created; on the basis of this material civilisation a moral superstructure is being created, a Hebrew civilisation which is unthinkable in any other country but Palestine.

It may seem peculiar, and I dare say we Jews are somewhat peculiar, to have staked out a claim after two thousand years. A great many people are blessed or cursed with a long memory. And I think it was the recognition of this yearning of an old race on the part of the British people (a people which knows the Bible and the geography of Palestine and its history better than a great many other people), which made it possible for them to give to that race the opportunity of converting this accumulated sentiment into something which may become a real force. The suggestion that is so often heard

that the Balfour Declaration was made to induce the rich American Jews to enter the war, or that it was made for imperialist or any other similar vulgar reason, is entirely false. I think one fact may disprove this legend. When the British Government agreed to issue the famous Balfour Declaration, it agreed on one condition : that Palestine should not be the charge of Great Britain.

#### OUT OF GEAR

The second reason which I think weighed heavily with the statesmen who framed this policy—a daring policy, I agree—was the position of the Jews in the world. Here was a scattered race of millions of people, who, through the transformation of social and political conditions which had come over the world owing to the war, were thrown out of gear, suspended between heaven and earth ; the countries of the world had come to be divided into two categories ; countries where Jews could not live, and countries where Jews were not allowed to enter. What was to happen to them ? After all, they were a people who (I am repeating something which the late Lord Balfour mentioned in some of his speeches) had made some contribution to the world ; and by way of redress it was felt that a place should be given to at least a part of these people where they could settle down in peace and begin a new life. It is true that Palestine cannot hold all the Jews who need a home ; but the fact that you cannot take all of them should not prevent the settlement of at least a part.

The right to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine was qualified by the condition, also embodied in the Mandate, that nothing should be done which in the process of the upbuilding of the National Home would interfere with the rights and the position of the populations which already existed in Palestine, that is to say the Arab population and the Christian population. It will be interesting to see whether this second half of the Balfour Declaration has been adhered to—how it actually works, and whether there is a conflict, as is sometimes suggested, between the first half, the Mandate to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine, and the second half, the preservation and protection of the interests of the Arab population.

I should like to state that not only has nothing happened in Palestine during the years we have been working there since the war which might impair the position of the Arabs, but, paradoxical as it may seem to some who are not fully acquainted with the position in Palestine, never has the Arab been rooted so firmly in the soil of Palestine as he is to-day. Never has the economic and the moral position of the Arabs been so strong as it is to-day. The Arab population has increased since 1922 (I take that time because a census is available) by something like 40 per cent. ; and, curiously enough, this increase of the Arab population is largest in those areas where Jewish colonising activity is greatest. In parts of Palestine which are to-day purely Arab (for instance, in the centre of Palestine in the triangle formed by the comparatively large Arab cities, Nablus, Jenin, and Tulkarm, where

practically no Jewish work has taken place), the increase has not been so great. Why has this happened? We have worked a great deal on the coastal plain, which stretches from Haifa in the north down to Jaffa and Gaza in the south, where there are quite a number of Arab settlements and where Arab villages have existed for hundreds of years. Let me take, for argument's sake, an Arab who had, in this stretch of plain, a hundred dunams of land. This land could be irrigated so that it would be capable of growing oranges, grapefruit, or vegetables—in other words, what is called in American agricultural parlance "money crops"—but in order to do this the land had to be developed, for it had been neglected for centuries. It had been covered with sand. There had been no irrigation, and it was virtually waste land. To make these hundred dunams of land irrigable would require, even for Arab conditions where labour is cheap, an investment in the neighbourhood of two thousand pounds; an impossible sum for a poor Arab peasant. Therefore he had of necessity to grow on this land something which he could grow without having to improve it, which was a little barley or wheat. This hundred dunams of land yielded him approximately ten shillings per dunam—that is, fifty pounds a year. If taxes are deducted from that, the annual budget of an Arab peasant in an area which represents the richest soil of Palestine was not more than forty or thirty pounds. Naturally he sank lower and lower. Then he sold forty dunams, 40 per cent., to the incoming Jewish immigrant. He got a price which ranged between ten and twenty pounds per dunam, say fifteen. He received therefore six hundred pounds, a sum which is beyond the dreams of avarice for a man whose total yearly budget is thirty or forty pounds. It is a mistake, and prejudice, to think that when an Arab gets hold of a large sum of money he "blues" it of necessity. He does not do anything of the kind. On the whole he is thrifty, intelligent, hard-working, and he sinks this money into the sixty dunams of land which are left. He gradually works it up, and instead of deriving ten shillings per dunam he derives five pounds, and later even ten pounds per dunam; before long he has begun to prosper, and the result is that in the place where one man lived a miserable life, two or three can now live in prosperity. This is why it is exactly in the areas in which we have worked most that the Arab population has increased most. I happen to live in this very area. It is surprising to go round Arab villages in this area, and to compare them with Arab villages in a purely Arab area. The difference is that of night and day. The villages on the coast are prosperous and clean; there are schools, infant mortality has fallen considerably, a civilised way of life is growing up, and a civilised population. The purely Arab areas are as primitive as they were two hundred years ago.

I will give one further illustration of this development. The total citrus area in the hands of the Arabs has grown from twenty thousand dunams, immediately after the war, to a hundred and thirty thousand to-day. Now that is an increase of over a hundred thousand, and as each dunam of citrus represents an investment, even for Arab standards, of approximately fifty pounds, the increase of the actual wealth of the landed property of the Arabs in a comparatively short time is obvious.



## LAND RESERVE

Taking into consideration the whole area of irrigable land in the country and assuming that that area were properly developed, there would be room for at least four times as great a population—and I mean a peasant population—if only a part, a third or even less, passed by sale into Jewish hands. There would be room for an additional fifty or sixty thousand Jewish families, leaving a reserve for the next three generations for Arabs to grow, to develop, and still to live on the land. I am speaking solely of that part of the land which can be irrigated by underground water which is available in Palestine. On economic grounds, therefore, I think it follows that there is no conflict between the National Home and Arab aspirations, or the rights and position of the Arabs. In fact, in the last three years about twenty thousand Arabs have immigrated into Palestine from Transjordan and Syria. It is a considerable figure; and they are to-day being used as a reserve of cheap labour, because they are cheaper than the local Palestinian Arabs.

There is a legend that we have ousted Arabs from the land in the course of our work. Well, I have spoken of the increase of Arab population, but the official figures of the Palestine Government, which were tested and should be believed, indicate that, perhaps as a result of our colonisation, six hundred Arab families have left their previous holdings. They were offered new land, but very few of them availed themselves of this offer. . . .

## STOP DEVELOPMENT

To-day the Arab demands can be summed up in three lines: stop Jewish immigration; stop Government. Crystallise the National Home! Those three hundred and fifty thousand Jews I referred to cannot be pushed into the Mediterranean, and therefore they must stay where they are. They may possibly be dealt with piecemeal later on, but there must be no further development. The Arabs would then be satisfied.

Everything that is going on in Palestine to-day is on the pattern of that which is going on in Egypt (or that which was going on only a few months ago) and also going on in Syria. The same demands, the same formulæ are being applied. In Palestine, I admit, we are an additional pretext, and the Jews are always a convenient pretext. Therefore the position is somewhat more acute. But I think, in justice and in fairness to the Arabs, it should be said that there is one element which makes the situation dangerous. It is an element of fear. If you talk with a reasonable Arab, he will tell you that it is all right, what you say is perfectly true. The Arabs have not suffered; on the contrary. But what will happen to-morrow? And it is the usual, almost Biblical, Pharaonic fear, lest the Jews become too numerous. What will happen when we become the majority? There is the usual talk about the Jew, powerful, with all his international connections, unlimited quantities of money, sweeping on to Palestine. Here are the Arabs, a poor people, who will be pushed into the desert. It will be the end. And therefore they will stop us when they can. Now they still can. If they make themselves

sufficiently unpleasant in Palestine, and throw bombs, the British will think twice, and the Jews will be stopped.

#### COMMON FATHERLAND

In this element of fear—and it is very difficult to reason with people who are frightened—there is a reality with which one has to reckon, and it is our duty to allay the fears of the Arabs, in our activities and in our relationships with them. It is our duty to point out that if the development of Palestine goes on as it has done up to the present, not only will the Arabs not become weaker, but they will become stronger than they have been hitherto. And they will see that we have no desire to oust them, as we have proved by our activities. And we consider, and we repeat it, that Palestine is a country common to Jews and Arabs; both parts of the population are destined to build up a common fatherland. It is difficult to think in these terms to-day, but in spite of the acuteness of the momentary difficulties there is much more co-operation beneath the surface between Jews and Arabs than people are likely to believe. And I believe that when the Arabs realise that they cannot throw the Jews into the Mediterranean, then they will, just as we are anxious to do, sit round a table and try to work out, on the basis of the actual possibilities of the country, a *modus vivendi*.

#### AT CROSS-ROADS

And therefore, to-day, we are standing at the cross-roads in this important work. We have done what we have done, and I speak about it, not boastfully, but with a certain pride. Under difficulties we have built up something which commands respect. We have done it on the strength of the plighted word of Great Britain, which took us and the land of Palestine in its charge. We have tried to do it openly, squarely, in co-operation with the Mandatory Power, trying to make it work as easily as we could. I will not say that it has been altogether a "walk-over," but at any rate we have tried to do it. If we carry on with the work within the limits set by the Balfour Declaration, particularly the second half, and within the limits set by the possibilities of Palestine, a time will come when attempts which we witness to-day will not be repeated. We speak of these attempts without fear in our hearts. In the face of very serious provocation the Jewish population holds out in Palestine. It is very difficult for a young farmer to see his trees uprooted, or his harvest burned, or his cattle destroyed; and occasionally the farmer has a gun in his pocket, and it is very difficult not to produce the gun. We consider that our contribution to this serious situation is absolute discipline, steadfastness, and fortitude in the face of the aggressor. We rely on the Mandatory Power to establish order.

# Palestine

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## The End of the Strike

THE Arab Higher Committee have called off the strike for two reasons. The first is because it would have ended without them. From the first there has been a majority among the Arabs who thought the leadership of the Mufti and his associates both unpatriotic and unwise. The terrorists forced this majority into a show of sympathy for a time, but even the show has latterly been breaking up, especially amongst those Arabs who had a real stake in the country and stood to lose by a rebellion which worked by trying to undermine its prosperity. Their native good sense and business instincts were already threatening to leave high and dry the selfish incompetence of their leaders. The second reason was that the Higher Committee were beginning to be afraid for their own skins. Had the army got seriously to work, nothing is so certain as that these unworthy leaders would have been put out of the way of further mischief. They have issued along with the proclamation calling off the strike an attempted justification of their past actions. They plead that they were made necessary by the enormous dangers threatening the nation and by the denial to the Arabs of their political rights; and they claim that the strike has proved to the world the necessity for an alteration in the Government's policy. Even now they are too timid to take on their own shoulders the responsibility for ending the strike and lay it on the Arab kings and princes. But the Arabs are not fools. They know that, through acting on the advice of these men, they have suffered great losses in life and livelihood, inflicted great injury on their country, and disgraced the Arab name in the world by the foulest crime and all to no end that they could not have reached without trouble by simply following their native sense and turning a deaf ear to the councils of selfish personal ambition. The impudence of the defence shows how conscious the leaders are of their own failure. How glad the High Commissioner and General Dill must be that they have effaced their influence by their own cowardice and incompetence and so have saved the Mandatory Power the risks of being compelled to make martyrs of them.

Unfortunately, the calling off of the strike does not necessarily mean the end of the fighting. If the country settles down, it will be no thanks to these so-called leaders who follow so far in the wake of sensible Arab opinion and it may be that the terrorists, many of whom are not Palestinians at all, will continue a struggle which presumably is not wholly without profit to themselves. But if the Arabs as a whole are not in sympathy with them, the military issue will be reduced to comparatively small dimensions. The advice of the Arab kings to cease violence is quite unconditional; they are known to have refused to say a word in excuse of the rebellion, and

though seemingly both the advice of the kings and the manifesto of the Higher Committee were issued together, the simplest can see what a gulf separates the two documents. The Higher Committee wanted the kings to take the side of the rebels. They refused, for they know how much they owe to the British, and kings do not like rebellions in any case. The Committee then wanted them to excuse their policy and take the responsibility for its failure. Again they refused and recommend the Arabs to rely on the justice of the British Government, which was open to them from the first. The Committee would have liked the kings to commit themselves to a policy of opposition to the Jews and to a suspension of Jewish immigration. Again they refused, perhaps for the good reason that, in so far as they have a progressive and modern spirit, they may want Jewish help themselves. That is known to be the case with the Emir of Transjordan.

The moral of the advice given by the kings is that the policy of the Higher Committee has been its own alone, that a pan-Arabian movement is not one that commends itself to the kings, and that in any case the policy of the Committee has no sort of connection with it, but is against the material interests no less than the moral credit of the whole Arab race. Perhaps we may carry this train of thought a little farther. Let us get away from the immediate detail of this unhappy strife and try to see the tendency and sweep of the general ideas which are shaping the history of the East.

When the Balfour promise was given it was capable of two interpretations. One was that Palestine was to become a Jewish state, a small *enclave* of Great Britain, in a vast sub-continent of Arab states, under special international guarantee and administered until such time as it was able to govern itself. That interpretation would have been quite consistent with the maintenance of the civil and religious Arab rights in Palestine; minorities are not necessarily oppressed, least of all in countries for whose welfare Great Britain is responsible. And in 1917 and for some years later that interpretation was natural, for there was no country of Palestine, but only a sub-province of Syria of that name. The people already in Palestine were probably forgotten in 1917, for they were then of no political importance, they had no national consciousness, were the most backward section of the Arab race and indeed were not pure Arabs at all. But the very success of the Jewish immigration had a real and unexpected consequence. It created a country which did not exist before, and created it not for Jews alone, but for Arabs too. The Arab, when he speaks of Palestine as "my" country forgets that but for the Jew it would not have been a country at all.

To this new pride of the Arab in Palestine as a country the wise Jew takes no objection—on the contrary he rejoices in it. So long as the Arab did not think of Palestine as a separate national entity, a mandate for Palestine was necessarily a mandate for a Jewish State. But in proportion as the Arab becomes a good Palestinian, another complexion of the mandate becomes dominant. It becomes a mandate for the creation in Palestine of a new Palestinian nationality, which Jew and Arab co-operate to form. In rebelling against the admission of Jews to Palestine, the Arab is kicking away the ladder by which the country has ascended to the hope of nationhood. If he

persisted, he could force the Jew back on the early interpretation of the Mandate which he has abandoned. The Jew is not exclusive; he recognises that Palestine needs the Arab as well as the Jew, and he is anxious that the two races should work together for the good of their common country. But that hope is not reconcilable with the policy of the Higher Arab Committee which for six months has condoned crime in order to defeat the Jew's right not to dominate Palestine—he claims no such right—but to be there at all.

There are, then, two logical alternatives under the Mandate. The alternative of a Jewish State, which, if all Arabs were of the same mind as their Higher Committee, could not be realised except by a wholesale transference of the Arab population, like the transference of Moslems to Asia from Europe, and of Christians from Asia to Europe. The other, easier, and on all grounds preferable alternative, is the creation of a new bi-racial Palestinian nation. The issue in Palestine is simply this—will the Arabs accept this alternative as completely as the Jews are prepared to do?

That the majority of the Arabs in Palestine would do so but for their leaders is not seriously to be doubted. Let more competent leaders step into the place of those who have done such unworthy violence to the ideal of a great Palestine. It is for Palestine itself to know of these new leaders; but the Arab kings have at last shown that it is an ideal in keeping with the best traditions of the race, and that only through its fulfilment can the East once more come into its former greatness.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 10TH, 1936.

**A**FTER meetings to-day with representatives of the local strike committees, all of whom ratified the manifesto by the Arab rulers, the Arab Higher Committee met this evening and decided to publish the manifesto by the Arab kings and their own manifesto calling for the termination of the strike and the disturbances. The Arab commercial community is actively preparing for the resumption of normal activities.

The text of the manifestoes signed by King Ibn Saud, Emir Abdullah and King Ghazi respectively, is as follows:

“To our sons, the Arabs in Palestine, through the Chairman of the Arab Higher Committee in Jerusalem. We are greatly concerned with the present situation in Palestine, and in accordance with the agreement amongst ourselves and our brother Kings and Princes, we call on you to re-establish peace in order to avert further bloodshed. We rely on the good intentions of our ally, Great Britain, which has expressed its determination to do justice. You may trust our desire to continue our efforts to assist you.”

The manifesto of Imam Yehia (of Yemen) is in the same terms.

The Arab Higher Committee calls on the Palestine Arabs to obey the kings' call. The Committee states:

“The Arab nation in Palestine declared a strike and decided to continue it in view of the enormous dangers besetting the nation as the result of the present policy and the fact that its political rights had been denied.

"It has proved in an astonishing way to the entire world its strong conviction in the imperative need for an alteration of the present policy. But it is part of our inherited traditions to comply with the wishes of the Arab Kings and Princes, and the Higher Committee strongly believes that the latter would not bid their sons do this unless in their own interests and to safeguard the nation's rights.

"The Higher Committee, therefore, realising the great benefit accruing from their intervention and support, calls on the Arabs to end the strike and unrest."

It was arranged that the appeals by the Arab kings should be published on Monday, the Moslem festival "Lelat El Maaraj," commemorating the night of Mohammed's ascension. This date was chosen to make the event a festive one, and it is believed that the negotiations in their final stages have been prolonged so as to enable the publication of the appeals on that day. The Arab Higher Committee is making every effort to exaggerate the significance of the rulers' appeals for the purpose of turning them into a kind of second Balfour Declaration, calling them "The Arab Kings' Declaration."

Despite the expression of satisfaction, Arab circles are profoundly disappointed with the careful wording of the appeals, which do not contain any promise for the future.

On behalf of the Arab Higher Committee, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, its secretary, is reported to have written to Sir Arthur Wauchope intimating that the Arabs are terminating the strike with broken hearts, but that they expect that the Government understands that the termination of the strike does not yet mean permanent peace. The Government must realise that it is impossible to carry out both provisions of the Balfour Declaration for the benefit of the Arabs and the Jews, and must therefore decide to carry out one or the other. Auni Bay Abdul Hadi adds that the Palestine Arab question is not local, but is the general concern of the whole Arab race. Concluding, he declares that Sir Arthur Wauchope could contribute much towards peace by a suspension of Jewish immigration and by an amnesty of the Arabs sentenced in connection with the disturbances.

The leaders of the Arab bands have agreed to the arrangement for the termination of the disturbance. Kaukji, the rebel leader, is reported to have left the country for Syria.

In Jewish quarters the end of the strike is regarded as a formal retreat on the part of the Arabs, whose main objects have failed. The Arab strike, it is pointed out, was called to achieve three definite purposes: the suspension of Jewish immigration, the prohibition of Jewish land purchases, and the formation of an Arab National Government. None of these have been achieved.

The Jews, however, view with serious concern the mediation of the Arab kings, with the apparent consent of Great Britain, thereby opening a door for future intervention in Palestine by the other Arab States. The first test of the attitude on the part of the British Government, it is pointed out, will be its action regarding the Labour immigration schedule which is now due.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 11th, 1936.

The Hebrew paper *Davar* this evening reports that the Mufti has reached an understanding with a prominent Catholic Italian in Jerusalem, whereby the Palestine Arabs will participate in the forthcoming Fascist conference in Italy which will support the Arab movement. In exchange the Moslem Wakf organisation is prepared to sell to the Catholics the Christian Holy Place at Mount Zion, at present belonging to the Wakf.

Traffic was resumed to-day on the Tel-Aviv-Jerusalem highway, when hundreds of people returned from their week-end. Scores of cars and omnibuses caused heavy traffic. People from Jerusalem, who for months had been oppressed by the curfew regulations, spent a lively evening in Tel-Aviv, where the cinemas and cafés were again crowded. The omnibuses of the Eged Company will resume their normal service to-morrow, and will ply every twenty minutes between Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv without convoys.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 12th, 1936.

Despite the proclamation for the ending of the strike, acts of terrorism have continued throughout the last few days. Late last night Jewish settlements were attacked, and one Jew was killed.

The first boat after six months is anchoring in Jaffa this week, bringing wood for citrus boxes for Arabs.

The Jewish Tel-Aviv and Jaffa Chamber of Commerce has announced that as long as the conditions in Jaffa port are not radically changed, the Jews will not use it.

There have been complicated intrigues behind the scenes before the publication of the manifestoes. The Committee did their best to persuade the kings to express appreciation of the heroism of the Palestine Arabs, and of the racial power that has been revealed by them. The kings flatly refused to comply with this request.

The Emir Abdullah, who, himself a little more than a petty princeling, is jealous of the prestige of the kings, has been eager for months to increase his personal importance by successful peacemaking. Actually Transjordan has benefited economically from the troubles in Palestine, and its capital, Amman, has grown in size almost every day. New and better houses are being built, and the town now has a supply of electric light.

A correspondent of the *Palestine Post* in Amman says: "Just in case Amman should feel itself too civilised, one day the water mysteriously ceases to run, and the next night we are suspended in an unexplained darkness. Still, we progress."

It is of course well known that Abdullah is anxious that Jews should settle in Transjordan; and in view of the possibility that this some day may be permitted, Jews have obtained options on Transjordan land.

Loud complaints have come from South Syria, and particularly the Lebanon, of the almost entire suspension of the tourist traffic. Generally, indeed, it may be said that the Arabs outside Palestine have had the smallest sentimental sympathy with the war against prosperity in this country.

At the beginning of the trouble I reported that a number of wealthy

Arabs promptly left the country. Most of them are still away, safe from blackmail and violence, in Egypt and in Italy.

Very friendly relations have been established between the British soldiers and the Jewish settlers, who have arranged lectures and entertainments for the soldiers explaining the motives of the Zionist movement and the lines on which the settlers are working.

The Mufti has lost a great deal of what little personal prestige he had. The Arabs outside Palestine have never regarded him as a person of any importance.

The will of the late Mr. Meir Dizengoff was published to-day. His entire estate is bequeathed to the Tel-Aviv Museum, which he founded.

The orange-picking season has commenced in the Jewish settlements in the Jordan Valley, where, owing to climatic conditions, the citrus crop ripens early.

That normal Jewish life in Palestine has continued despite the disturbances is shown by the national conference which was convened in Tel-Aviv for the purpose of unifying all cultural activities in the country. The conference was attended by 400 delegates representing all parties and organisations of the Jewish community. The conference lasted three days and concluded with a decision to impose a tax for cultural activities upon the Jewish population.

An Italian hydroplane arrived at Haifa harbour this afternoon after completing the first test flight on the new air route from Brindisi to Haifa via Athens and Rhodes. A regular service three times weekly will begin in April 1937. The entire journey lasts eleven hours, and there will be accommodation for eighteen passengers.

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## British Labour and Palestine

ON October 8th, the Labour Party Conference at Edinburgh, discussed the situation in Palestine. Miss Susan Lawrence, for the Executive Committee, moved the following emergency resolution :

“ This Conference, recalling the continuance of support given by the British Labour Movement to the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine, and recognising that the interests of Jewish and Arab workers alike can be served only by their cordial co-operation, deeply deplores the outbreak of racial and religious strife which threatens to destroy this great humanitarian project, and to deprive the Jewish people of the opportunity of developing their own political, social, and cultural institutions.

“ Recognising the immense progress already made in promoting the welfare of the Jewish people in Palestine under the influence of the strong Trade Union and Socialist organisation which has been built up among the Jewish workers, the Conference earnestly hopes that the British Government, in accordance with the terms of its Mandate in Palestine, and with the obligations imposed upon it to develop the country in the interests of both Jews and Arabs, will take all the necessary measures to bring the present disorders to an end.



"The Conference trusts that when order is restored, all possible steps will be taken by methods of conciliation to ensure the peaceable and orderly development of Palestine.

"Recognising the fact that the situation of Palestine makes it a point of extreme strategical importance, and as such an object for rival imperialist ambitions, this Conference declares that, in the interests of the peace of the world, that country should be under international control; it therefore upholds the principle of government under the existing British Mandate under the League of Nations, so as to ensure equal economic opportunities to all countries and a proper protection of minorities."

Miss Lawrence said that the Jews in Palestine had introduced elementary labour legislation, recognised the principles of trade union organisation, and established co-operative settlement. She had seen these co-operative colonies, and they were the Utopia of "News from Nowhere" actually in practice.

## "Cantonisation" is Partition

WORDS have a suggestive quality which may be highly deceptive. "Cantonisation" is obviously manufactured from "Canton," and the "Canton" with which we are most familiar has its home in Switzerland. But the Swiss "Canton" has a history and a purpose very different from those associated with the Palestinian "Canton" for which a certain amount of propaganda is now in progress. The Swiss Canton existed before the Swiss Confederation; it was a step on the road to unity. The Palestine "Canton"—if it ever came into being—would come into existence many centuries after Palestine; it would be artificially created by breaking down the unity of Palestine. Some very shadowy Federal union of these artificial Palestine "Cantons" is adumbrated or hinted, but such a Federation would be based upon precisely the reverse of the principle out of which arose the Swiss Confederation. The Swiss Confederation is the expression of the conviction and the truth that the peoples of the Cantons, differing in racial origin, language and religion, yet could constitute a nation and form a common state with advantage to all members. As between the Swiss of one Canton or another there are equal rights to migrate, to settle, to work, to hold office, to possess land, to share in the government.

The Palestine Federation, in the contemplation of its propagandists, would be a monument to the incompatibility of peoples, and to the impossibility of their living together and constituting one society in which the rights, individual and cultural, of all were confirmed. Apparently, though these things are vague and obscure, it is desired that so far from "Cantonisation" involving an enlargement of rights and opportunities it should necessitate a heavy reduction of them. The Jew would decline and become an alien in the Arab "Cantons"; the Arab would decline and become an alien in the Jewish "Cantons." Each would be denied in the territory of the other the right to settle, to own land, to trade, to be educated, to participate in government. To call such a system "Cantonisation" or Federation is an abuse of

language, for that system is calculated to achieve precisely the opposite of what in current speech is implied in those terms. It would be more candid and more correct to call it "partition."

In effect partition it is, the division of Palestine into two, or, taking into account the sop to Imperial claims, three states. For in essentials political organisations which deny all economic, social and political rights to one another's citizens are separate and distinct states, the vague hyphen of a "federal" link notwithstanding. To break down a single state into several states is a rare voluntary operation, but to break down a small country like Palestine into several states must be without precedent. We have already pointed out that the financial strength of the Jewish "Canton" would necessarily be much greater than that of the Arab, and it is difficult to see how the Arab could provide from its own resources for the most elementary needs of government. But where is a subsidy to come from? It could come only from the British Treasury or the Jewish sector. The British public would hardly welcome a proposal of that kind; and while it is reasonable enough that in a common state the greater Jewish wealth should contribute towards providing the Arabs with social services and amenities, that could neither be expected nor claimed after partition. The only reason offered for "Cantonisation" is the alleged impossibility of co-operation between Jew and Arab; and "Cantonisation" cannot both have its cake and eat it. Contribution excludes "Cantonisation" and "Cantonisation" excludes Contribution. It is difficult, therefore, to see what under partition could prevent the Arab sector becoming a sodden mass of poverty, and that could make as little for order and peace as for happiness.

But, indeed, the financial burden would be intolerable for both Arab and Jewish sectors, for each would have to meet the cost not only of simple local administration but to a large degree of central administration. In each sector there would be a duplication of every branch of governmental activity. Now the cost of government is already quite high enough in Palestine; "Cantonisation" might easily increase that cost by 50 per cent. The efficiency would decline and the cost rise. To attract men of high quality to the public services there must be a certain minimum area for their operation; areas below that must be content with servants of lesser calibre. This is a commonplace, and it would mean that the petty "Cantons" would be staffed with officials of less competence than unified Palestine can command.

But, it may be said, like it or not, cost what it may, there is no practicable alternative. We have pointed out that there is no real substance in the assumption that Jew and Arab cannot work together in the joint partnership of a common state. There are assuredly difficulties, but those who are too much impressed or depressed by contemplating them should take courage from the experience of that Switzerland from which they have borrowed and distorted a word. For many years the Cantons of Switzerland knew civil war and war with one another, wars due to antagonisms deriving from race and religion. A wise statesmanship, a statesmanship which joined, not sundered, evoked a harmonious fellowship in a state which is the model of peace. That is the example which should inspire us in Palestine.

# Palestine

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## A Gesture

WHAT can Jews do to help Palestine to settle down into normal life after the troubles through which it has gone? They can do something by their personal bearing. They can show the restraint in victory that they showed in adversity. They will not let what has happened affect their social and business relations with the Arabs. Naturally they cannot feel respect for the Arab leaders who encouraged, or at any rate made no real attempt to restrain, the foul crimes that were committed during the strike, but they can distinguish between the leaders and their dupes, between crimes of selfish ambition and of mere ignorance and barbarism. There should be no retaliatory boycott, no attempt on the part of the Jews to keep themselves apart. A generous bearing at such times is not inconsistent with prudence, and it has been known to heal wounds that defied political treatment. There must be no suspicion of vengeance either in the politics or the social and business life of Palestine.

Can Jews go farther and do more than that? It is a curious situation. For six months the country has been in a turmoil, and at the end the leaders of the trouble are seen to be throwing themselves on the favour of the Government without any expression of regret for what has happened and without any indication that they are now ready to acknowledge the Mandate and make an honest attempt to work it. There are, surely, no favours going for anyone. A Commission will presently begin to examine complaints made by either side against the past administration of the Mandate and to make practical suggestions for the future. It may be the wisest Commission that ever sat on anything, but unless there is goodwill on both sides the best suggestions will break down. Would there not be a better chance of success if instead of imposing a settlement which must in the nature of politics contain elements of compromise, some attempt were also made to organise the moderate and patriotic forces in Palestine? More than once Dr. Weizmann has proposed a conference between Jews and Arabs, and if such a conference could be brought about and could reach anything like a common policy it would not affect the independence of the Commission's findings and it would vastly increase the chances of its success. More important than to draft schemes, however ingenious and fair, is to create the spirit that will make them work and to endow it with some sort of organisation. Any such conference would have to be between Jews and Arabs, but both names might be left out of its title, which might without affectation call itself a Patriotic Conference. Its objects would be to formulate the heads of a Palestinian patriotism which Jew and Arab could share with equal pride and serve with equal duty.

It will be said that there is no chance of its reaching any agreement.

Certainly a conference between extremists would have no chance, but there must be among the Arabs many men who are prepared to work in this cause, and protected as they would be by a powerful British army might give a lead that their compatriots would follow. Inevitably there would have to be give and take on both sides, but the Jews in the past have shown their willingness to compromise and their anxiety for co-operation with the Arab, and the Jew has not been in commerce for these thousands of years without knowing that what is worth having is worth paying for.

What price he would pay would of course depend on what he was getting, but a Palestine Patriotic League, loyal to the Mandate, composed of Jews and Arabs alike, with some sort of guarantee, easier to give in the case of the Jews than of the Arabs, that they had a genuine following in the country, might exercise a great and wholesome influence on the future of the country. What price Jews might be willing to pay this is not the time to discuss; the whole suggestion is too contingent on circumstance. It must, however, be clearly understood at the outset that Jewish negotiations are bound by a trust. Nothing could be done and no price could be paid that was in the smallest degree contrary to the terms of that trust, which is not a trust for Jews now in Palestine only, but for Jews all over the world, and for millions of Jews still unborn. But consistently with this solemn trust, there is little that they would not be prepared to do in response to a similar spirit on the side of the Arabs.

Perhaps it is easier to indicate what might be done in conference in negative than in positive terms. One suggestion sometimes made is that Jews and Arabs should agree to political parity; another suggestion that is made is that Jews should give a pledge that at no time should their number in Palestine exceed that of the Arabs. Neither suggestion seems very practical in that form. For the first there is this to be said, that although it would limit the future political influence of Jews, it would for many years ahead give them a greater political influence than they would otherwise have. That would be an important consideration if the project of a Legislative Assembly came into being in the near future. But we have little faith in the permanence of any system of artificial parity. The objections to an artificial parity in numbers are much stronger. This would be impossible to maintain indefinitely; but even if it were possible, it might easily become in the future a clog in the progress of the country. Political planning, however honest and ingenious, is not equal to forecasting circumstances that might arise ten or twenty years hence, still less fifty years or indefinitely. However convenient for political reasons such an undertaking might be in the immediate future, a time would come when it would become obsolete. The true Palestinian patriot could not consent to any rule that hampered his country's development. The material and moral greatness of a country cannot be embanked and canalised within rigid and fixed limits. It must be free to follow where opportunity and statesmanship call. Whether either of these plans would work if subject to a time limit is another matter, and might well be worth consideration.

But the great object is to create a new Palestinian patriotism and

nationality that would transcend racial differences. Even a measure of co-operation would be better than none. It would grow into a habit. They should be the future citizens of Palestine who love her best and prove their love by hard work and by rising superior to race. If that spirit could be kindled and some organisation created to fan the flame, the mere statistics of racial representation in a Palestine Chamber would in time have no more influence than statistics of the racial origins—Celt, Saxon or Dane—of members of the British Parliament. And any artificial political restrictions of the members of the various races in the country might be a temporary convenience, but would become obsolete just in proportion to the success in creating the new nationality. Perhaps it is in this direction that Jews can best turn their minds in this interval between the end of the strike and the beginning of the Commission's work. The Jewish invitation to a round-table conference is still open. Could not the Government do something to assist—perhaps even to organise—a response from the Arabs?

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## Under French Rule

**F**RENCH administration in Syria and the Lebanon has had its critics, but the latest report of the British Consul-General at Beyrout suggests that it can give instruction in some matters to the Palestine administration. He tells us that since 1934 the authorities have been busily engaged on a five-year plan of economic reconstruction. As part of this scheme the Northern Railway has been extended from Aleppo via Nissibin to the Iraq frontier, a work finished in the spring of 1935 and formally inaugurated on May 2nd of that year. This railway opens up the rich country of the Jezireh and offers easy transport for the products of Northern Iraq, and the results are sufficiently satisfactory to suggest a further extension to Mosul. Again the motor track from Damascus to Bagdad has been made an all-weather route; the raising of the Barrage on the Lake of Homs, which will irrigate 14,000 hectares, will be finished in 1937; and two other important irrigation schemes (the Ghab in the Plain of the Orontes, and the extensive Armouk marshes near Antioch) are being commenced this year. The Beirut harbour is being extended, and by 1938 will provide an additional surface of 26 hectares with 900 metres of quay accessible to large steamers. Finally, the metric system of weights and measures was introduced in the Lebanon in April and is being extended during 1936 to the other states of Syria.

The very idea of a five-year plan or any systematic view of economic development is alien to the mind and tradition of the Colonial Office. Certain indispensable roads and public services are put through after a stubborn rear-guard action against the public opinion which demands them, but the leading doctrine is that economic planning is no part of a Government's duty, and economic development is the concern of private individuals, and if not carried out by them not to be carried out at all. Any drainage or irrigation schemes in Palestine have been due to private individuals, at their own costs and risks, and with little encouragement or sympathy from the Government. Even in the matter of weights and measures, though Palestine

has a metric dunam, it still labours under Asiatic weights and measures of the maximum inconvenience; and the tenant's calendar depends on a lunar year which allows the day of flitting to move the round of seasons in a short period. The attitude of the Government towards municipal progress has been equally obscurantist. It has been content to give the towns constitutional forms, but not financial assistance or co-operation in solving their problems.

This dead and deadening conception of the function of Government is one source of Palestine's political troubles. If the Administration had pursued an active policy of development for agriculture and industry the Arabs would not have been fed on the bitter wind of party slogans, nor would the regular response of the Administration have been the offer of political interferences in the economic field manifestly injurious to the interests of the country. The contrast between the economic strength of Palestine and Syria emphasises the moral. What has been achieved in Palestine is due to the vast effort made by the Jews in spite of the Government's lack of enterprise.

## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 13TH, 1936.

IT will be remembered that at the beginning of the troubles Hauranis and Arab immigrants from Syria gave considerable trouble, particularly in Jaffa, and that a number of them were repatriated. It is another proof of Palestine prosperity that all through the year there has been a trickle of Haurani migrants across the frontier. There are now some 3,000 Hauranis in Haifa, of whom half are recent comers.

It has been pointed out here that if the Royal Commission inquires into the origin of the population of Palestine, some curious facts will emerge. The Arabs of the towns cannot on an average trace their connection with the country further than the past hundred years, while there are Arabic-speaking Jews in the villages who claim that their ancestors never left the country, even at the time of the expulsion.

The remnant of the Samaritans, now a tiny and poverty-stricken people, still lives at Nablus, the ancient Shechem. A collective fine of £5,000 was imposed on Nablus as a punishment for a raid; and the Samaritans were expected to find £50 of this, although they have no sort of sympathy with the Arab national movement, their religion is a form of Judaism, and their sympathies are entirely with the Jews and with the Government. In another case the Jewish National Fund had to pay a fine imposed on Arabs in possession of its land. The Arabs refused to pay, and as the law provided that in such a case the landowner was liable, the fine was collected from the National Fund.

If the object of the strike, the Hebrew papers say, was to demonstrate to the world that Palestine is dependent on the Arabs who could paralyse the country, they succeeded in proving that the opposite was the truth. The strike was also an internal defeat for the Arabs, because it could not have

continued even for one day without the accompaniment of intimidation and terrorism. The chief political demands formulated by the Arab leaders when declaring the strike, have not been gained. The Arab leaders were only rescued from complete political bankruptcy by the Arab rulers, whom they urged to help them out of the position by issuing an appeal to the Arab people. The Hebrew Press, however, stresses the fact that the political intention of the appeal by the Arab rulers was firstly to put Palestine under the protection of the Arab States.

Despite the failure of the Arab strike, and the heroism with which the Jewish community and the whole Zionist movement have faced the test, the Hebrew Press does not minimise the severe political struggle which is still awaiting the Jewish people.

It is revealed that Mr. Dizengoff, the late Mayor of Tel-Aviv, left an estate of £10,000, in addition to his house, all of which, with the exception of several small bequests for relatives, is bequeathed in his own and his wife's name to a special fund for the upkeep of the Tel-Aviv Museum.

A German steamer of 11,000 tons anchored off Tel-Aviv jetty this week. Jaffa stevedores and boatmen pleaded that it should be unloaded in Jaffa, claiming that they were not responsible for the strike. The Jewish consignees, however, refused.

Communist leaflets have been distributed in Haifa in which the Mufti of Jerusalem and the other leaders are condemned for ending the strike and for their misplaced confidence in the Arab kings, who are, it is said, the servants of British Imperialism. The Arabs are called upon not to disarm, but to continue the strike and terrorism against Great Britain and Zionism.

The first consignment of citrus fruit, consisting of 750 cases of grape fruit, was loaded to-day at the Tel-Aviv jetty. Four steamers anchored off the jetty to-day, but none is anchored at the Jaffa port, although all the Arab port workers are at their posts.

The first night after the ending of the strike and of the appeals by the kings and the Arab Higher Committee calling for the restoration of order, was marked by shooting in various parts of the country, including the neighbourhood of Tel-Aviv, the Petach-Tikvah road, Jewish groves, and at Safed. Supernumeraries and military replied to the attacks. There were no casualties.

Even after the liquidation of the strike, the Hebrew daily *Davar* comments editorially, the Jewish community will not return to the forms of economic life that prevailed prior to the outbreak of the disturbances. The new economic footholds gained by the Jews during the days of disorder, in the domain of Jewish labour in the colonies and at the Tel-Aviv port, are not dependent on Arab economy, and it would be suicide if the Jewish community were to give up these positions secured at a terrible cost.

It is reported that the leaders of the terrorist bands insist on the Arab Higher Committee compensating the bands, whose position has become precarious now that the strike has been called off. Unless the large sums that are demanded by the terrorist leaders are paid, they threaten to continue terrorist acts. Negotiations are proceeding between them and the Arab Higher Committee.

It is reported, however, that large numbers of the Arab terrorist bands have fled to Syria. They include most of the leaders of the bands.

The Jewish Agency has expended £55,000 for special needs necessitated by the disturbances, including £8,000 for defence; £2,800 for new buildings in Jewish settlements; £2,500 for roads for the defence of the settlements; £2,500 for the Tel-Aviv jetty; £19,000 for political and information activity; £6,750 for a security fund to provide for credits to industrialists and merchants affected by the disturbances; £4,000 for the absorption of thousands of new Jewish workers in agricultural, marine and Government activities; £8,000 for the housing of Jewish workers engaged in railway and marine enterprises.

At the opening of the meeting of the Smaller Zionist General Council on Tuesday, Mr. Ben Gurion declared that the liquidation of the Arab strike was due to four factors: the Arab leaders' fear of the large military forces sent to Palestine; weariness of the strike among the Arab masses; pressure by the Arab grove-owners; the fear of Arab leaders of the terrorists, who murdered the Arab Mayor of Hebron and the chairman of the Arab Committee in Haifa. The mediation by the Arab kings was due to the request of the Arab leaders in Palestine, and the strike ended without any promises by Great Britain, although the fact itself that the Arab rulers intervened in Palestine affairs was liable to create a dangerous precedent.

The two most urgent political demands of the Jews, Mr. Ben Gurion continued, were that the Arabs should disarm, and that Jewish immigration should not be restricted. Dealing with the Royal Commission, Mr. Ben Gurion said that the Jews must make clear their fundamental attitude, which has been expressed at Zionist Congresses in the general formula "Not to dominate and not to be dominated."

The Jews were following a course of economic independence, and co-operation with the Arabs based on equal rights.

It is reported that the Jerusalem Arab Strike Committee has decided to declare an economic boycott of the Jews, and that the Strike Committee will transform itself into a Boycott Committee.

The largest aerodrome in the Near East, at a cost of £250,000, is being built by the Government near Lydda.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 15TH, 1936.

The Annual conference of the Palestine Manufacturers' Association was opened in Tel-Aviv on Wednesday. Hundreds of members with representatives of the various Jewish national institutions, as well as Government officials were present. Mr. Shenkar, Chairman of the Association, in his opening address gave a comprehensive review of its activities. He stated that there were 4,000 Jewish industrial undertakings in 1935, now employing 30,000 Jewish workers, and that the output amounted to £8,000,000.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 17TH, 1936.

The *Palestine Post* of to-day publishes the text of a letter received by the Mufti of Jerusalem from King Ibn Saud during the negotiations which preceded the appeal by the Arab rulers. In that letter King Ibn Saud stated



that he would not ask Great Britain to make promises since that had already been done three times without results. King Ibn Saud further advised the Mufti of the futility of persisting in the strike and violence.

The restrictions that had been imposed by the authorities on telephoning abroad during the last few months will be removed to-morrow.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 18TH, 1936.

It is reported that Sir Michael McDonnell, the Chief Justice of Palestine, is resigning his position.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 19TH, 1936.

As a result of the construction of the Tel-Aviv jetty, the Jews now have facilities for fishing in the Tel-Aviv waters. The Jews are now in a position to establish their own fish market.

The mail steamer *Excalibur*, belonging to the American Export Line, anchored at Jaffa to-day, where a small amount of goods for Arabs was unloaded. The steamer then proceeded to the Tel-Aviv jetty, where a large cargo consisting of goods for Tel-Aviv merchants, was unloaded. It is expected that the steamers of the American Export Line will in future regularly call at Tel-Aviv.

## The Arab Political Parties

ARAB political parties in Palestine are not, in any way, comparable to British parties. The Arab parties have no definite organisation; their programmes are almost exclusively devoted to attacking what they oppose. They are plentifully adorned with slogans and fine phrases, but they refrain from any clear statement of positive proposals. The leading Arab families have family councils and family connections, associates and confederates, and these feudal cliques are what is understood by political parties.

During periods of tranquillity there is little political activity, though in recent years there has grown up an Arab Press which is to a large extent the instrument of the parties. But only a very small number of Arabs read the papers. The newspaper-reading public and, in general, the political life of the country, are confined to the semi-educated tarbushed effendi of the towns and villages. These ambitious young men look to the men at the top to get them jobs through their influence with the Government. Because of the smattering of education and their European clothes the effendi have considerable influence with the lower classes. There is, too, a number of Arab merchants and an Arab professional class, but apart from the lawyers, they are not very interested in politics.

The five leading families, who with their retainers, form the nucleus of the Arab political parties are the Nashashibi, the Husseini, the Khalidi, the Hadi and the Salaph.

Until recently the Nashashibi held the Mayoralty of Jerusalem in fee and, with the patronage of this position, a following was built up. The Husseini have control of the Moslem Supreme Council; the head of this family is the Mufti of Jerusalem, and for a long time the Husseini were in control of the Mahommedan and Christian Congress of Palestinian Arabs. Both the

Nashashibi and the Husseini groups enjoy the support of the feudal landlords and their retainers.

Dr. Khalidi is Mayor of Jerusalem, but under conditions which restrict his patronage. Auni Bey Abdul Hadi is leader of the younger political elements.

Both the Mufti, as head of the Moslem Supreme Council, and Dr. Khalidi, as Mayor of Jerusalem, receive salaries from public funds, while agitating both against the Administration and the fundamental principles on which the Government was founded.

The Nashashibi, or Arab Defence Party, dreams of national independence within the confines of Palestine and Transjordan under the rule of the Emir Abdullah, and was in favour of the formation of a Legislative Council. The Mufti's supporters, grandiloquently styled the Party of the Palestinian People, aim at a larger Arab Empire which shall include Syria. This party has organised a Youth League and a body of storm troopers on Nazi lines. It fears the establishment of a Legislative Council, which might thrust the Moslem Supreme Council into a secondary place.

It was thought that the party of the Mayor of Jerusalem, himself a former Civil Servant, might bring a modern and enlightened group to the fore. But the Khalidi, or Reform Party, is in fact a close ally of, if not a camouflage for, a section of the Mufti party.

The Istiklal Party, or Independents, desire the establishment of a kind of Holy Mahomedan Empire, to include all countries where Arabic is spoken—Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and the states of the Arab peninsula. Its founder and leader is Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, who has frequently acted as mediator between the other rival groups. A considerable section of professional men have joined him. The party consists mostly of the younger men in the towns, and it is endeavouring to introduce real political sense into the life of the Arab communities.

In the last few months another political organisation has grown up, the National Bloc, under the leadership of Abdul Latif Bey Salah of Nablus. It is similar in character to the feudal parties of the Husseini and Nashashibi. There are also several bodies of young men organised in scout groups and sports clubs, and it is from the ranks of these organisations that a new leadership is arising to challenge the old.

All the five political parties are represented on the Supreme Arab Committee. But there is little evidence of concern for the real problems which confront the country—poverty, illiteracy, usury, backsheesh, the rule of might within the local communities, the impoverishment of the land. The parties are ready enough to talk of democracy and democratic government, but they are not interested in giving the people any effective training in democracy. Nothing has prevented them from introducing a wider franchise in the municipalities which they control, but in fact the franchise has in some areas been narrowed. The practical questions which have concerned them have been the obtaining of as many jobs as possible in every department of the Administration, and of contracts for their supporters. For this reason they favour the building of schools, hospitals and roads, and the raising of loans, at government expense. They have been eager to obtain from the Treasury all the benefits resulting from the development of the country.

# Palestine

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## Palestine and Geneva

THE reports of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations are a useful reminder that the sovereignty of Palestine still resides in Geneva. We are only managing trustees, and the legal sovereign at Geneva, though it has every confidence in our trusteeship, retains the right of criticism, and in the last resort even of veto, moral if not legal. Its influence over policy is analogous to the control that a constitutional Sovereign may exercise over events even while strictly he has no alternative but to act on the advice of his Ministers. The reports of the Mandates Commission, therefore, are always worth reading, and though criticisms are studiously polite in form, it would be rash to assume that on occasion they may not bite. When Mr. Lange, for example, of Norway, expresses surprise that the Mandatory Power had not been able—this was at the beginning of June—to put an end to violence and disorder, he conveys a rebuke which is none the less effective because the criticism of the League is usually conveyed in understatement, and though five months afterwards the trouble is now over the moral is not to be ignored. These recurrent outbreaks of disorder do surprise friendly neutral Powers and are an exhortation that the first duty of a mandatory government is to govern and lead, not to follow events.

Mr. Orts thought it appropriate to recall a certain observation made by the Mandates Commission after the disturbances in 1929. The Commission then expressed the hope that the necessity of continually acting as umpire between the hostile factions will not prevent the Palestine Government from "proceeding to carry out a constructive programme in the interests of the peaceful masses of the population more vigorously than hitherto." The Commission which is about to begin its work commands wide confidence in its impartiality, and it is sure to make useful recommendations, but it is perhaps necessary to remind ourselves that it will still be "umpiring" when constructive statesmanship is most required. As was pointed out here last week, the great task is to create the will to compromise, without which the most ingenious schemes will come to naught. If, for example, the Government, instead of hoping to reconcile the irreconcilable Arabs, saw its way to encourage the Arab moderates to organise and to meet the Jews in the round-table conference to which Dr. Weizmann has invited them, that would be an example of the difference between mere umpiring and constructive statesmanship. Everyone acknowledges the high conscientiousness of the British trusteeship in Palestine, but its problems touch us at what is a joint in the harness of our Imperial experience. No one is so good as the British at ruling people at a low level of civilisation. At the other extreme no one has equalled us in the gift of reconciling Empire and liberty and of fashioning a

new nation without any loss of loyalty. But we are less good at fusing two different levels of civilisation, nor have our Provincial governments acquired that lower but still valuable gift of developing a country in a purely business sense. The traditions of our Civil Service were founded when *laissez faire* was the accepted rule of government, and they have not adapted themselves to changed Imperial and economic conditions. For that reason our Crown Colonies were long stagnant in their progress. Their governments never thought it part of their duty to develop their business prosperity. The economic progress of Palestine has been amazing, but nearly all of it has been the work of the Zionists, and the very fact that they have been so energetic and enterprising has tended to make the Government, in its rôle of balancer, the friend of the unprogressive Arab. It may be doubted whether the Government has ever consciously conceived the problem in Palestine in such terms as, How can we assist in the development of the country? Will this policy or that contribute more to its wealth and prosperity? It is in that sense that critics on the Mandates Commission miss the signs of constructive statesmanship, while praising the excellence of the purely administrative side of Government work.

Mr. Lange had some interesting things to say on changes that have taken place in the French mandated territories of Syria and the Lebanon. He quoted a view of the Mandates Commission on the rights of minorities which has a very important bearing on Jewish rights in Palestine. There should, it said, be no change in the present status of Syria "until the populations of Syria and Lebanon have furnished more convincing proof of their spirit of mutual tolerance." In Palestine the Jewish minority have an altogether exceptional position as the main beneficiaries in the Mandate, and it is sometimes agreed that this claim is inconsistent with the natural free development of the country. The truth is that until racial intolerance has given way to a better spirit there can be no progress towards freer institutions and greater independence. Mr. Van Rappard, of Holland, pointed out that the case of Iraq has shown that in such cases one must proceed with the utmost caution. A spirit of racial tolerance and co-operation is the first condition of political development. Again one sometimes wonders whether the Government is doing all that it could to encourage the moderates among the Arabs who would work with the Jews.

How impossible it is to regard the Mandate in Palestine as a mere local interest to be determined by local considerations was well demonstrated by the remarks of the Polish member of the Commission. The Polish Government, he said, had been glad to learn that immigration was not to be suspended, and hoped that that decision would be maintained. Palestine was the chief natural outlet of emigration for the Jews, and even M. Komarnicki doubts whether in any case it will be large enough. You could not have a clearer indication of the essential difference between the position of the Arabs and Jews under the Mandate. For the Arabs Palestine is only a minute corner of the territory that they occupy; for the Jew it is rapidly becoming almost the only country in which a great increase of his population is possible or into which he can hope to move as of right from countries in which he is

persecuted. The racial question in Palestine is not between local Jew and local Arab. It is between the whole Jewish people all over the world and a very small fraction of the Arab people. One may put it in even stronger terms. The issue is between an international interest of all countries and a definitely local—almost parochial—interest of a small fraction of one race. One puts it so not as a justification or excuse for Jewish racial dominance in Palestine. Nothing is further from the mind of the Jews. But it does supply an impregnable basis on which to rest the Jewish plea for Arab tolerance and for co-operation between the two races, and for letting economic conditions and the economic interests of the country be paramount in determining the amount of Jewish immigration.

## Justice

SIR Michael McDonnell, the Palestine Chief Justice, it would appear, is retiring from the Colonial Judiciary. During the present troubles there was friction between him and the High Commissioner. Some of his judgments, and not less the very candid language in which they were couched, were regarded as unhelpful by the Executive. Now the mere fact that in difficult times the Courts and the Executive clash is not necessarily a reflection on the judges; indeed, it is in line with an ancient tradition of this country, though not a tradition always slavishly followed in lands beyond the sea under British rule. It must be confessed that the Palestine Executive by its own defaults gave the judiciary their opportunity. A fine was imposed on a village in June; it had not been collected by September when a rule nisi was obtained. Roads were driven for military reasons through the rookeries of Jaffa, and a pretence was made that these measures were dictated by sanitary benevolences. Bad drafting of regulations was ill sustained by lack of vigour in administration and of candour in explanation. What better occasion could a jealous judiciary ask for vindicating its independence and putting the Executive in its place? The pity of it is that murder, arson and robbery benefited more than the liberty of the subject and the majesty of the law. The Arab Press regrets Sir Michael's departure, but we shall be doing neither it nor him wrong if we say that it is not only the courageous and independent judge whom it honours. That is an institution remote from Arab traditions just as it is so native to our own.

Judges, however, are best measured by their professional record. Sir Michael McDonnell became Chief Justice of Palestine in 1927, having had no previous judicial experience of any kind. In 1934 he published some law reports. During those seven years there were no Palestine law reports. His predecessor, the late Sir Thomas Haycroft, had issued as occasional supplements to the *Official Gazette* short summaries of some judgments. With little exaggeration it may be said that until 1934 the judgments of the Palestine Courts were preserved as a dark secret not only from the public but also from the profession. There was no regular means of learning what the Courts had ruled, and it was a common thing for arguments and even appeals to be raised which would never have troubled judge or client but for this artificial obscuration of the law. There are even to-day no official law reports,

and the people and the Bar of Palestine have to depend upon the reports appearing in the *Palestine Post*, excellent in their way but a purely private enterprise.

The Turkish legislators laid it down that a judge should always give full reasons for his decision. There exists no more efficacious instrument for securing the observance of this rule than the regular issue of law reports. They are an automatic critic, warning the judge against indolence (a weakness to which he may be as subject as lesser mortals), crudity of thought and crudity of expression. It is a matter of regret that the Colonial Office has not in Palestine insisted upon the regular publication of law reports.

Of recent years there has been a definite strengthening of the British element in the Courts. How far that is due to the retiring Chief Justice and how far to the initiative of the Colonial Office we do not know. It has in part been necessitated by failure to grapple directly with evil practices inherited from Turkish times. Some of the appointments have been admirable and some less admirable, and some of the strongest members of the Palestine Bench have left the country because promotion was or appeared to be blocked in Palestine. A tendency during Sir Michael's tenure of office, which is unfortunate, is represented by regulations rendering difficult the entry of members of the English and other Bars to the Palestine Bar. This is a measure of protection for the pupils of the Palestine law classes, and the advantages to a country of a superior professional training and a high and long-established professional ethic have been ignored.

The Privy Council has on more than one occasion commented with severity on Palestinian judgments coming before it for review. There is a deeper reason for the decisions which excite criticism than personal idiosyncrasy. It would be misleading to call Palestine law a system. It is not even a mosaic. It is a chaos of Moslem law, Turkish civil law, Communal law, French law, legislation and English law. The need is to mould this confusion into a coherent system, and the principle, which can effect it, exists in the doctrines of the common law and equity. Assuredly a jurist of a high order is called for, and such men are rare, but there is little evidence that the need has been appreciated in the Palestine Courts or the task attempted, while the very principle has been starved. It will now be the duty of the Colonial Office to find a successor to Sir Michael McDonnell. If it looks upon this as a matter of routine promotion, we shall witness the spectacle of a worthy Judge passing the closing years of his service in dignity. But we shall be as far off as ever from that essential reshaping of Palestine law. Here is a great opportunity for a great jurist. Cannot Mr. Ormsby-Gore bring the two together?

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 23<sup>RD</sup>.

**A**T a meeting of the Arab Higher Committee the question of the new rivalry of the Tel-Aviv port to Jaffa was under discussion. A sub-committee was appointed to supervise the collection of information and statistics to be submitted to the Royal Commission.

Sharp differences of opinion prevail among the Arab Higher Committee in regard to the attitude to be taken towards the Royal Commission. The followers of the Mufti insist on the presentation only of political demands by the Arabs, such as the abolition of the Balfour Declaration and the cancellation of the Palestine Mandate. The followers of Nashashibi, on the other hand, declare that such a course is calculated to prejudice the Arab case from the very beginning, and they favour the presentation of all Arab grievances.

The Tel-Aviv Port Committee, appointed to deal with all matters relating to the construction of the jetty, reports that during the five months' traffic since the inception of unloading on the Tel-Aviv shore on May 19th forty-seven steamers and twenty sailing ships have been anchored there. It further reports that 16,994 tons of cargo have been unloaded, while 641 tons have been loaded.

The High Court of Jerusalem was transformed on the 21st into a political platform where speeches were made in which the Government was attacked by Arab lawyers. The speeches were delivered on the occasion of the farewell to Chief Justice Sir Michael McDonnell, who is relinquishing his position from to-day. Auni Abdul Hadi and other Arabs praised the retiring Chief Justice for his friendship to the Arabs. Mr. Horowitz was among the few Jewish lawyers that were present, and in his speech he laid stress on Sir Michael's courtesy.

The Government grant-in-aid towards Jewish education last year was £36,000.

Signs of the return of normal life are evidenced by the announcement of the resumption of a full train service.

The Palestine Electric Corporation, of which Mr. Rutenberg is the head, has obtained a concession from the Jaffa municipality to supply the city with electricity.

The Arab Press reports that the troops are removing pompoms, searchlights and other equipment that were kept in the hills for fighting the terrorists.

It is reported from various districts that terrorism has been intensified against Arab merchants who are buying from Jews. Yesterday terrorists smashed an Arab lorry near Hebron because it was suspected that the owner was transporting goods which he had bought from Jews.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 25TH.

The Arab paper *Adifaa* reports that the Premier of Iraq and the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Nuri Pasha, will shortly proceed to Palestine in order to meet the representatives of King Ibn Saud and Emir Abdullah for the purpose of establishing a joint committee in support of the Arab demands before the Royal Commission.

Although a fortnight has passed since the termination of the strike, there is very little traffic in the port of Jaffa. The passenger traffic is practically non-existent, as is shown by the fact that only eight Arab passengers have

disembarked since October 12th, while formerly thousands of immigrants and tourists arrived at Jaffa port every month.

The censorship on foreign newspapers in Palestine which had been in force, has now been lifted.

## Palestine and Syria Compared

THE area of Syria and the Lebanon is about six times as great as the area of Palestine west of the Jordan, and their population is three times that of Palestine. Before the war, Palestine was merely a sub-province of Syria, and the poorest at that. It may be useful to inquire how Palestine has fared under the British mandate and with the Jewish immigration, and Syria and the Lebanon under the French.

Three tests may be applied which, whilst covering only certain sections of the economic field, throw a fairly satisfactory light on the question. These are the amount of currency in circulation, the budgets of the two countries, and the relative growth of foreign trade.

The number of notes in circulation is given below. (*Note.*—In the following tables the rate of conversion used is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Syrian pounds to one Palestinian pound.)

	SYRIA		PALESTINE
	£S 000	£P 000	£P 000
1932 ...	11,980	3,200	2,078
1933 ...	12,935	3,400	2,488
1934 ...	12,875	3,400	3,652
1935 ...	15,040	4,000	4,809

The growth in the note circulation of Syria during this four-year period has been just over 25 per cent., whilst that of Palestine has been over 130 per cent. From being less than two-thirds that of Syria, Palestine's note circulation is now one-fifth larger.

The total of the budgets of the five states under the French mandate, including the accounts for services of joint interest, is shown in the following table for the two years 1933 and 1935, compared with Palestine Government receipts and expenditure for the same two years.

	SYRIA		PALESTINE
	£S 000	£P 000	£P 000
1933:			
Receipts ...	20,690	5,495	3,016
Expenditure ...	19,300	5,126	2,516
1935:			
Receipts ...	20,660	5,490	5,453
Expenditure ...	19,270	5,125	3,230

During these two years Syria's revenue and expenditure has remained practically stationary, whilst Palestine's revenue has increased by 80 per cent. and her expenditure by 28 per cent. From being less than three-fifths that of Syria, Palestine's revenue is now roughly equal.



The disparity between imports to and exports from Palestine has led to more discussion than any other single factor in the economy of the country. It is therefore instructive to examine the foreign trade figures for Syria, Palestine's neighbour.

	Syria £S 000			Palestine £P 000		
	Imports	Exports	Unfavourable trade balance	Imports	Exports	Unfavourable trade balance
1931	57,969	20,892	37,077	6,119	2,227	3,892
1932	48,500	17,125	31,375	7,924	4,131	3,793
1933	45,176	17,383	27,793	11,268	3,801	7,467
1934	36,832	15,564	21,268	15,426	4,400	11,026
1935	34,553	16,954	17,599	18,375	4,697	13,678

Syrian exports exclude oil from Iraq.

A comparison of these two sets of figures shows that the imports of Syria have declined by 40 per cent., while those of Palestine have increased by over 290 per cent. in value in the last five years. Syrian exports have declined by 19 per cent. in the same period, and Palestinian exports have increased by 111 per cent. The total foreign trade of Syria was nearly three times as great in value as that of Palestine in 1931, whilst in 1935 Palestine's foreign trade was nearly one and a half times that of Syria. Syria's total unfavourable trade balance for these five years amounts to 135 million Syrian pounds (i.e. roughly 36 million Palestine pounds) and Palestine's to 39.9 million Palestine pounds.

The relative decline in Syria's unfavourable trade balance has been achieved by special measures designed to protect home-grown agricultural produce from foreign competition, by the founding of new and the encouraging of growing industries, especially the tourist industry, by fostering the transit trade, and by encouraging exports and re-exports to neighbouring countries, particularly to those with which the terms of the Mandate allow special arrangements for trade to be made. Clearly the Palestine Government might usefully pursue a similar policy.

Much of the disparity between Syrian exports and imports is due to the capital investment now proceeding in that country through the medium of long and short-period foreign loans, and the granting of concessions to foreign groups. As was pointed out in these columns last week, the funds thus raised have been used to extend the northern railway from Aleppo to the Iraq frontier, to improve the Syrian section of the desert track connecting Damascus with Bagdad, so that it now serves as an all-weather route, and to raise the barrage on the lake of Homs. This work, which will make it possible to irrigate a large area of land north of the lake, is being pushed actively forward, and two other irrigation schemes, one in the Orontes plain, and the second to reclaim the Amouk marshes, are being begun this year. Work has also begun on the extension of Beirut harbour. The authorities have been busily engaged since 1934 on a five-year

plan of economic reconstruction, which provides for considerable expenditure on public works.

The greater part of the capital for the development of Syria is coming from foreign sources, particularly from France. The growth of foreign syndicates is creating concern in nationalist quarters, and the repayment abroad of interest and amortisation will create problems and perhaps difficulties in the future.

Palestinian economy is in this respect in a much more satisfactory position. The unfavourable trade balance is more than offset by the capital introduced by immigrants. There is no growth of foreign syndicates with a controlling influence on the economic life and future of the country, nor will Palestine be called upon to make large payments abroad in the future.

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## Social Legislation

**I**N spite of the constant outpouring of Ordinances, Proclamations, Regulations and Rules covering many important and a number of unimportant aspects of Palestinian life, the conditions of labour are still regulated, for the most part, under the civil code of the old Turkish Empire, which has since been abandoned by Turkey itself. Some limited provisions have been added on the Industrial Employment of Women and Children, on the Fencing of Machinery, and on Workmen's Compensation, but even these fall below modern requirements in their scope and in the nature of their enforcement.

Little progress is likely to be made in this direction whilst the Administration continues to view the whole field of social legislation as one which can be ignored altogether or dealt with from time to time in piecemeal fashion. What is needed at this moment is a conviction that a change is essential. With the growth of industry and commerce, with the growing recognition that Palestine is leading the Near East along the path of modern economic development, the life and conditions of the workers must become a first consideration for all branches of the Government. With such a conviction will come the desire for a Report, either on the lines of the Report drawn up for the Egyptian Government by the International Labour Office, or by an experienced official of the Ministry of Labour of the Imperial Government. This step, it is true, is not indispensable. The Palestine Government can proceed straightaway to establish a Labour Office to advise them on all labour questions, and to supervise and administer labour legislation. It should also undertake the task, that has now become most urgent, of outlining the necessary development of social insurance.

It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the Administration which has shown so little practical interest in this field in the past, is likely to introduce such substantial changes without the impetus derived from some outside body.

# Palestine

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## The Commission and Immigration

THE Commission has now left for Palestine and whatever Zionists can do to assist its work they will gladly do. They have at all times shown willingness to work with the Government for the good of Palestine, and the only fault, if fault it be, their worst enemy could charge against them, is that they have worked too hard and too zealously. They want no disabilities inflicted on the Arabs in consequence of the rebellion of a minority, and their spirit is certainly not in the least vindictive. They are anxious that the Commission should get at the truth of the situation, and they have proved their zeal for a working arrangement with all Arabs who are loyal to Palestine. For that very reason it is necessary to be quite clear what it is that now stands in the way of a settlement, for if the Commission overlooks the real obstacle all its work is likely to be wasted. The Commission meets in very curious circumstances. For six months certain ambitious Arabs have been engaged in a criminal conspiracy against the welfare of the country and the causes of its progress. The economic life of the country may have gone on during that time without much interruption, a fact which taken by itself shows that the motive power of its prosperity is not with the dissentient majority of the population but with its loyal minority, but there has been regrettable loss of life and grave injury to the fruits of past labour. The rebellion has broken down, but there have been no terms of surrender. The Arab leaders, so far from expressing regret for what has happened and pledging themselves to a new policy, have even pretended that the settlement has justified their action, advertised the genuineness of their grievances, and rallied neighbouring Arab states to their sympathetic support. What they say may be mere face-saving and is recognised as such in Palestine. But it creates no presumption that the findings of the Commission will be loyally accepted. One cannot recall a parallel to an arbitration on the causes of a rebellion, which has failed, without any sort of undertaking from its leaders that they are prepared to accept the only conditions on which any working arrangement, that the Committee may recommend, can possibly succeed.

Everyone knows what the Jews want and what the Government would like, but no one knows what the Arabs will consent to work. No terms have ever been published as coming from them except the cancellation of the Mandate and the cessation of Jewish immigration, which it was the object of their rebellion to obtain. In these conditions it is folly to regard the appointment of the Commission or their findings, however just, as necessarily a settlement in themselves. They will be useless except so far as they can be implemented, and unless Jews and Arabs can agree on a working arrangement, the Report of the Commission may be still-born. Surely it should now

be the first duty of the Government to set about creating a spirit of compromise and some organisation that can be relied on to promote it. The Jews have said over and over again that they are willing to take part in a round-table conference with the Arabs, their only conditions being that the Mandate must not be whittled down further and that the world-wide right of immigration into Palestine given to all Jews by the Mandate should be controlled but not permanently compromised by the capacity of the country to absorb them. Any compromise that fails to satisfy those conditions would be a plain violation of the trust, of which we cannot imagine a British Government being guilty. It follows that it is to the Arabs that the Government must look for a compromise that satisfies those conditions.

But not a single sign of willingness have the Arabs yet given, not a single practical suggestion has yet come from them. On the contrary, the object of the Arab leaders is still to cancel the Mandate, and the nearest approach to a compromise that is offered is that the cancellation need not be retrospective and that the Jews, who are already in the country, should be suffered to remain, provided that no more are allowed to come in. The suggestion made even in this country, at the beginning of the rising, that Jewish immigration should be stopped as a gesture of our friendliness to the Arabs, was too monstrous a concession to murder and rebellion to be tolerated; but it is now being urged on the ground that the whole question of immigration is *sub judice* by the Commission, which would be prejudiced if immigration continued. Just because the details are *sub judice* immigration must continue, for to suspend immigration in advance would be to pass the sentence first and to hear the evidence later.

The anticipatory suspension of immigration would not only be inconsistent with any reasonable reading of the Mandate, but it would also be an implied censure on the Palestinian Government for having granted immigration certificates to more than the country can absorb. There is no reason why the Government should pass such a censure on itself, especially on the morrow of a six months' rebellion. But the delay in the issue of immigration certificates for the current six months is causing much uneasy comment. After what has happened, the very worst thing that the Government can do is to give the Arabs any ground for thinking that rebellion has paid and that it has ceased only because its objects have been at any rate in part secured. It would only be in human nature to infer that leadership, which had led to such a concession, had taken a more correct view of the mood of the Government than might have been supposed. Such a conclusion might well be fatal to the hopes of permanent peace in Palestine, and even if there were a case on economic grounds for the suspension—there is in fact none—a wise Government might well refuse to take a step which would be open to such dangerous misconstruction. Every certificate refused before the Commission has reported would be a certificate of distinction to the present leaders of the Arabs, who have plunged the country into turmoil, and whom it is now clear nothing but our own dishonour will reconcile. If the Government wishes to anticipate the findings of the Commission or to give them a real chance of success, it should set about forming a moderate Arab party which

will meet the Jews in conference and discuss how the two races can co-operate for the good of the country.

## The New Chief Justice

THE Government has been very prompt in appointing a successor to Sir Michael McDonnell, and in selecting Mr. Trusted they have departed from precedent. His predecessors had no previous experience of Palestine, or, save for the fact that Sir Thomas Haycroft had been a judge in Cyprus, any previous knowledge of the local law. Mr. Trusted as Attorney-General knows Palestine law and is very familiar with the defects of the legal system and the legal administration. He knows, as one who has had to plead before and perhaps with them, the personal qualities of every member of the Palestine Bench; he knows where the laws are at fault; he knows where the procedure calls for amendment. He is in the prime of life, he has mental as well as physical vigour, and he deservedly enjoys high prestige in the country. It is definitely a good appointment, but it would be no compliment to him to suggest that he has a light task ahead of him. In saying that we are not referring to politics. Politics should not be a function of the judiciary, and in ceasing to be Attorney-General Mr. Trusted has left them behind. But there is a vast deal of strictly legal work to be done of a kind which touches at many points the life of every Palestinian whatever his racial or political affiliations. We have from time to time referred to this need, and there is no harm on such an occasion in repeating.

In a country like Palestine where there exists no organised Bar the Chief Justice has a special responsibility for maintaining the quality of the legal profession. Mr. Trusted's experience must have taught him that in this respect unfortunate practices have hitherto been pursued. The growing idea appears to have been to look upon the Bar as primarily the interest of the legal practitioners instead of regarding it as a public service. In consequence the entrance of highly trained lawyers from outside Palestine has been made difficult, partly by favouring candidates who have received the very inadequate training of the local Law School and partly by appointing an Advisory Committee of the Bar, not including the most distinguished members of the Bar, but definitely representing the old school of lawyers. One would like to see a return to sounder principles, and among the measures which suggest themselves are a more liberal attitude towards lawyers from abroad and a Bar Council representing the profession at its best and most progressive. It ought not to be impossible for the Chief Justice to compel the Bar to be organised as a whole and to elect a Bar Council. The failure hitherto to constitute such an organisation has been due largely to a complete lack of sympathy or interest on the part of Mr. Trusted's predecessors. As an interim measure a reconstitution of the Advisory Committee is much to be desired. A stricter discipline and standards of professional conduct less open to criticism would then be evolved without too much difficulty.

Those familiar with the Palestine Courts know that they do not enjoy the desired prestige. There are some excellent judges, good lawyers and strong

characters ; there are some of whom that could not be said. Mr. Trusted has practised before them and knows which individuals fall into which categories. He is not responsible for any of the present appointments and technically will not be responsible for any future appointments. But a Chief Justice who enjoys general respect can exercise much influence in correcting past mistakes and preventing future mistakes. But here he can do very little without the collaboration of the Colonial Office. Not a few of the present defects are due to its errors, and it cannot plead ignorance in regard to a matter to which its attention has been directed repeatedly. Palestine needs the best judiciary that can be got.

More difficult but not less important is the systematisation of Palestine law, to the chaotic character of which we have several times referred. There is need of codification, but that is only a part of the trouble. In the youth of any legal system judicial interpretation plays a large part, and the courageous application of large principles can mould chaos into coherence. The Palestine Judiciary has not so far been remarkable for this kind of virtue, but what finer opportunity could a Chief Justice ask than to be in this limited field a compeer of Marshall ?

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## The Rothschild-Hadassah University Medical Centre

**T**HE Hadassah Medical Organisation, a branch of the Women's Zionist Organisation of America, began work in Palestine in 1913 with district visiting and maternity care. In 1918 it sent out its first complete medical unit. Since 1920 it has spent nearly two million pounds on preventive and curative medical work in Palestine. It has now reached the high point in its career with the beginning of work on the Rothschild-Hadassah University Medical Centre.

In this work it is collaborating with the Hebrew University and with the General Council of the Jewish Community to construct a medical centre on Mount Scopus, on the outskirts of Jerusalem. The Centre will consist of three units, the Rothschild Hospital, with 270 beds, the Henrietta Szold School of Nursing, and the post-graduate school of the Hebrew University, which will include clinical and research laboratories, and classrooms.

The foundation-stone of the hospital was laid in October 1934, and now, two years later, with the plans for the entire centre complete, the ground has been broken for the beginning of building operations.

The total cost of the buildings will be about £175,000, part of which will be met by the sale of the site of the present Rothschild Hospital. The Government have contributed £6,200 towards the Cancer and X-ray Department, where work in the laboratories has already begun. The smallness of the Government's contribution is more than astonishing in view of the great national importance of the work which will be carried on at the Centre. The total Jewish budget for medical and health services for the year 1934-5 was £350,000, of which £16,000 (excluding the grant to the Centre) represents

the Government contribution. Here, as in education, the disproportionate burden placed on the Jewish community for social services, in addition to the taxes they pay, has made it impossible to meet fully the urgent needs of the growing population.

The extra accommodation provided by the new hospital will not go very far, but the object of the Centre is rather to provide a hospital and nursing school which will help to raise health standards and serve as a model and an incentive not only for the rest of Palestine, but for the entire Near East, while the post-graduate school will enable doctors and research workers to keep pace with modern developments and to contribute their share to the progress of medical science.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 27TH.

**D**ESPITE the strike and the disturbances, and the serious loss of trade in the country, and notwithstanding the very large outlay for defence purposes, the Government deficit during the half-year April-October 1936, is only £25,000. According to a Government statement, the revenue of Palestine during the six months under review amounted to £1,945,564, while the expenditure was £1,970,612. The total surplus of the Government Treasury at present amounts to £6,240,000.

This afternoon the new Kupat Cholim hospital of the Palestine Jewish labour organisation was opened near Petach Tikvah. The cost of the construction of the building amounted to £40,000, to which the Government contributed only £4,300. The entire building was carried out with exclusively Palestine material.

The curfew has been lifted entirely from Jaffa.

The Managers of the Ottoman Bank and of the Banco di Roma have resigned their seats on the Arab Chamber of Commerce, which was established in Jerusalem and which is organising the boycott of Jews. As a result of their resignation no foreign banks are now represented on the Arab Chamber of Commerce.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 28TH.

The *Palestine Gazette* announces an exchange of notes between the Egyptian and the Palestine Governments which constitute an agreement for one year. According to the agreement the commercial relations between the two countries will be furthered and facilitated, introducing a general policy of a reduction in tariffs on each other's goods with the object of increasing the export trade to their mutual advantage, maximum duties being fixed for soap, citrus, melons and vegetables.

Incitement among the Arab masses to boycott Jews is increasing daily. The Arab newspaper *Adifaa* publishes every day a black list giving the names of Arabs who are not obeying the order to boycott Jews. The boycott must injure the Arab far more than the Jew. The strike proved that economically Jewish Palestine has little or no dependence on the Arab, and the

fact that the Jewish consumption of Arab goods and services is infinitely greater than the reverse makes it clear that the boycott must have disastrous results for the Arab producer. The *Palestine Post* describes the boycott as "a rearguard action designed to cover the retreat of the Arab Committee."

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 29TH.

The first Polish passenger aeroplane from Warsaw to Palestine arrived in Haifa at midday, after a flight of two days instead of one. Owing to the weather conditions it was necessary to halt for a day at Rhodes. On reaching Haifa the plane was met by the Polish Consul, M. Kournikovsky, Government representatives, and a large public.

The Mufti's party is about to organise a Fascist youth movement, known as "The Iron Guards," to be on a military basis with Jamal Husseini as leader.

The events of the past months have caused an increase in the cost of living in Palestine of at least 25 per cent.

The High Commissioner, in his broadcast speech to-night, declared that he was glad that the disorders and acts of violence were now a thing of the past. Referring to the Royal Commission, which he expected to arrive on November 11th, he declared its coming as an event of historical importance. He was anxious to see the peace now reigning in town and village made real, deeply rooted and permanent. He appealed to the people to do their share, and to work for this end in the knowledge that the Royal Commission will help to achieve it. He declared that the Royal Commission afforded a great opportunity for both communities to come to an agreement, neither being forgetful of the other's legitimate aspirations. Referring to the Arab campaign for an anti-Jewish boycott, he declared that this was no time for talk of a racial boycott, which could only harm its initiators in an equal measure as those against whom it is aimed. They must put aside all feelings of rancour and recrimination, and work for the common welfare in the future. He expressed the hope that the proposals submitted by the people to the Royal Commission will encourage the growth of a happy and contented community, as the evidence given by the Royal Commission will be the test of political wisdom. It was the people's task to lay a foundation for peace and prosperity in the future. In conclusion, the High Commissioner appealed for patience, magnanimity, security, quiet, and cultivation of good will, saying that "peace and not chaos shall rule in Palestine."

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 30TH, 1936.

The Arab paper *Al-Liba* reports that two proposals will be presented to the Royal Commission by British politicians. One proposal will be that of dividing Palestine into cantons, and the second proposal will be that of limiting Jewish immigration so as to ensure a permanent Arab majority in Palestine. The Arab propaganda office in London has presented a proposal to the Royal Commission in favour of a federation of Arab States in which Palestine should be included.

A crowd of Jaffa boatmen gathered at the Government office in Jaffa yesterday complaining of their serious plight caused by the Jews refusing to



return to Jaffa port. After having put forward the demand that the Government should take steps to close the Tel-Aviv jetty, the crowd dispersed quietly.

Negotiations are now proceeding with Barclays Bank, which has lately approved a loan of £100,000 to the Tel-Aviv municipality, for an additional loan for the purpose of water supply and drainage for Tel-Aviv.

## Government Grants in Aid of Education

IT is impossible to speak, in any but a formal sense, of an educational system in Palestine before the war, for, as the latest report of the Department of Education points out, although "in theory Ottoman public education was gratuitous and compulsory . . . universal elementary education of Moslems never became a reality in any part of the Empire. Female education was almost entirely neglected. In general it may be said that the public schools in the Turkish provinces were ill organised, and that the methods of instruction were unsatisfactory. The use of a foreign medium (Turkish) even in elementary classes, when added to these initial defects, made the schools very largely ineffective."

Since the British took over the government of Palestine all that has changed. From the £53,000 voted by the Military Administration in 1919, the budget of the Education Department has increased to £233,521 for the year 1935-6.

### *Budget of Department of Education*

	£		£
1919 .. .. .	53,000	1932-3 .. .. .	158,742
1921-2 .. .. .	130,000	1933-4 .. .. .	185,054
1925-6 .. .. .	101,392	1934-5 .. .. .	206,108
1929 .. .. .	144,119	1935-6 .. .. .	233,521

There are in fact not one but two educational systems in Palestine, Arab and Hebrew. The Arab public school system is administered and maintained by the Department out of public funds, while the Jewish system is maintained by the Jewish community, which receives a block grant-in-aid from the Government. The Department exercises control by means of general supervision and inspection.

Since April 1933 the grant made to the Jewish schools has been based on the proportion of the school-age population. This method of calculation has aroused considerable opposition from the Jewish authorities, who claim that the basis should be, not the proportion of Jewish children in the total school-age population, but the numbers actually attending school, since in practice large numbers of Arab children do not attend school, and the *per capita* expenditure of the Government is therefore much higher for Arab than it is for Jewish children in the public schools. For the year 1934-5 Government expenditure on the Arab public school system, attended by 36,005 pupils, totalled £155,193, or over £4 5s. per head, while the grant to the Jewish schools, attended by 34,071 pupils, amounted to £32,000, which is considerably less than £1 per head. The rest of the money required for the

Jewish schools is provided by the Jewish community itself, whereas practically the entire cost of the Arab public school system is met from public funds.

In the same year the Government allocated £133,000 for the erection of Arab school buildings, while no corresponding grant was made for Jewish schools, although they are urgently in need of additional buildings and grounds. In September of the present year, for example, it was reported from Tel-Aviv that many of the schools will be working in double shifts, while numbers of children will attend classes in huts to be put up in the grounds of various schools which cannot afford to enlarge their buildings.

*Finances of Jewish Public School System*

	Budget of Dept. of Educ.	Grant to Jewish Public Schools	Grant as per cent. of Dept. Budget	Total Jewish Educ. Budget	Govt. Grant as per cent. of total Jewish Educ. Budget
	£	£		£	
1932-3 .. ..	158,742	22,222	14.0	101,899	21.8
1933-4 .. ..	185,054	26,627	14.4	194,242	13.7
1934-5 .. ..	206,108	32,000	15.5	249,937	12.7
1935-6 .. ..	233,521	36,000	15.4	—	—

These figures show that the contribution by the Government is a decreasing proportion of the total cost of the Jewish public school system. Roughly 15 per cent. of the Department's budget is given for Jewish education, and the Jewish community, while paying the greater part of the taxes raised in the country, has in addition to provide over 85 per cent. of the money required for the education of its children.

Of the £2,287,000 spent by the Department of Education since 1919, roughly £1,937,000 has been expended on the Arab educational system, while the remaining £350,000 covers the total Government contribution for eighteen years to the education of the Jewish children of Palestine.

The Jews account only for one-sixth of the school-age population, since immigration raises the proportion in the middle-age groups above the average, but for over 48 per cent. of those actually attending the public schools. Contending that this is the significant figure, the Jewish education authorities claim that they are entitled to receive a far larger grant-in-aid from the Government.

The unfairness of the present distribution of grants is due largely to two major defects in the financial administration of the country. Education has not been made the responsibility of the local authorities, to be maintained in part out of local rates, and secondly the local authorities, because they are not responsible for this service, do not borrow for capital expenditure on school buildings, etc. These building costs are instead met out of the current income of the central Government.

It is an altogether unsatisfactory system which gives to the Jews maximum autonomy and responsibility in the field of education, unsupported by grants, and to the Arabs the full costs of education without any say in the administration of their schools.

# Palestine

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## Immigration

FOR some time the Arab leaders, anxious to rescue some fragment of their authority and reputation, have been assuring their dupes that Jewish immigration into Palestine would be suspended while the Commission was at work. The Commission left England on the 5th and on the same afternoon Mr. Ormsby-Gore informed Parliament that "a temporary suspension of immigration would not be justifiable on economic or other grounds." It would involve an alteration in the existing situation and might be held to prejudice the inquiries of the Royal Commission. At the same time the Government had instructed the High Commissioner to take a conservative view of the economic absorptive capacity of the country and a six-monthly Labour schedule of 1,800 certificates had been recommended, of which 300 were in respect of German capitalists who had not succeeded in transferring their capital, owing to exchange difficulties, within the prescribed period of twelve months. This statement has its definitely good as well as its disputable features. The principle of economic absorptive capacity as governing immigration is once again proclaimed and affirmed. How could it be otherwise? some may ask. It is not commonly understood that this principle is in fact and in law embodied in the Mandate as it was approved by the League of Nations, and could not be infringed without violence to the Mandate. The Mandate was submitted to the League for approval in 1922, and the British Government put before the League, prior to such approval, Mr. Churchill's commentary and explanation containing the principle of economic absorptive capacity. That principle is therefore part of the public law of Palestine, an essential element of the title deed by which Great Britain exercises authority over the country.

It is not very clear why Mr. Ormsby-Gore should have directed the High Commissioner to take a "conservative," an exceedingly conservative, not to say a thoroughly jaundiced view of the present economic absorptive capacity of Palestine. The procedure with regard to the determination of the Labour Schedule is the subject of absurd fables by Arab propagandists and regrettable ignorance on the part of most people. A legend is being circulated that the Jewish Agency just fixes the number, gives the intending immigrants passports and enables them to become naturalised in Palestine at an accelerated pace. Most Jewish immigrants into Palestine fall roughly into two classes: capitalists and semi-capitalists, who must possess a certain minimum capital, and workers who need no capital. With the admission of the first class the Jewish Agency has nothing to do. They come in as individuals and make their arrangements directly with the Palestine Government

or its representatives in Europe. For the second class, the Jewish Agency is responsible. Every six months (occasionally supplementary requests are made) it surveys the economic conditions actual and prospective, and makes a detailed estimate of the labour needs, based upon the existing state of employment and the developing requirements of the various branches of agricultural, industry, building and public works. This is justified by reference to specific facts and figures in each, and the details and the conclusions are embodied in a memorandum which is presented to the Government. The Government has its own statistical and labour department, and, on the basis of its own information and the information gathered from the Agency's memorandum and any other available sources, comes to a conclusion as to the labour needs of the country and fixes the schedule. It usually retains a number of certificates in its own hands for special cases or categories and hands the balance over to the Jewish Agency which distributes them through its own agencies in Europe allocated proportionately to the various countries. Practically all the recipients are either skilled craftsmen or men or women who have gone through a special process of training and preparation for Palestine. In all cases the Jewish Agency is responsible that they shall not become a charge on the public funds. It receives and houses them on arrival in Palestine and sees to their employment. So far as naturalisation is concerned they are in precisely the same position as any other person in Palestine.

In the Memorandum submitted by the Jewish Agency on October 11th, it asked for Labour immigration permits to the number of 10,695. It has been granted about one-seventh of that number, and the sole justification offered by Mr. Ormsby-Gore was a vague assertion that "the conditions which had caused the reduction of immigration were the general dislocation of the country and the interruption of industry, commerce and communications." This might be impressive if it were not known that the Palestine Government's own estimate of the labour deficiency in Palestine was in the neighbourhood of 8,000, and if the Jewish Agency's Memorandum had not analysed the actual conditions in Palestine with great precision and in detail. At the end of August 1936 the number of wholly unemployed Jewish workers was 3,000 and of partially unemployed 1,300, equivalent in all to 3,800. In September and October there was a decline of 500 and the total unemployment is less than it was before the disturbance commenced. This represents a bare minimum. It should be noted that in the year ending October, 42,000 Jewish immigrants were absorbed into the country, and from April 5,100 labourers, with a reduction and not an increase of unemployment. This is reflected in another way, in the shortening of the stay of immigrants in the Agency's hostels, which has dropped steadily from eight days in May to two days in September. The "dislocation" on which Mr. Ormsby-Gore relies has, in fact, increased the demand for Jewish labour. After their experience of the strike, Jewish farmers naturally wish to limit their dependence on Arab labour, and similar movement has led to the development of vegetable growing, transport, industries, and roads. The Government, too, has a large programme of road construction and public works for military and

civil purposes. One may get some idea of the zeal with which Jewry is throwing itself into constructive enterprise from a few examples. An irrigation scheme connected with the River Kishon is being started; it will cost £95,000 and benefit 7,000 dunams of land. Not less than £400,000 will be spent this year by public institutions in financing agricultural development. During the year nearly £450,000 worth of industrial machinery has been imported. In Haifa alone building schemes are ready amounting to £300,000. The non-Government road Budget for roads is over £200,000. It would be tedious to offer a longer list of examples, but it is plain that Mr. Ormsby-Gore has pushed his "conservatism" to a point where it loses contact with economic realities.

## The Colonial Secretary's Statement

**I**N the House of Commons on Thursday last, the Colonial Secretary made the following statement:

On June 19th and July 22nd I informed the House that His Majesty's Government could contemplate no change of policy whatsoever with regard to Palestine until they had received and considered the report of the Royal Commission. On July 22nd I also said that, as regards the suggestion that there should be a temporary suspension of immigration while the Commission is carrying out its inquiries, I was not at the time in a position to make any statement as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government beyond saying that their decision would be taken in due course on the merits of the case.

As the House is aware, the Royal Commission is leaving for Palestine to-day, and His Majesty's Government have carefully considered whether or not there should be a temporary suspension of immigration while the Commission is carrying out its inquiries. They have decided that a temporary suspension of immigration would not be justifiable on economic or on other grounds. It is the view of His Majesty's Government that, if any drastic departure from the immigration policy hitherto pursued were now to be introduced in advance of the findings of the Royal Commission, this would involve an alteration in the existing situation and might be held to prejudice the inquiries of the Royal Commission, which will be directed, among other matters, to the very important question of immigration generally.

At the same time His Majesty's Government have thought it right in the present circumstances obtaining in Palestine to ask the High Commissioner to take a conservative view of the economic absorptive capacity of the country. He has accordingly recommended that the six-monthly Labour Immigration Schedule, which was due to be issued last month, should be fixed at 1,800 certificates; this recommendation has been approved by His Majesty's Government. This figure compares with a schedule of 8,000 in April 1935; 3,250 in October 1935; and 4,500 in April 1936.

The new schedule of 1,800 certificates includes a special allotment of 300

certificates to provide for registration as immigrants of the German Jews in possession of a capital of £1,000 already in Palestine who will have been unable as yet to transfer from Germany the qualifying capital within a prescribed period of twelve months. The total increase, therefore, in the Jewish population resulting from this schedule will not exceed 1,500. It will be appreciated, however, that immigration is not confined to those persons who receive certificates under the Labour Schedule. The categories under which other immigrants enter are as capitalists (that is to say, persons in possession of not less than £1,000), and dependents of such capitalists, of persons authorised to enter under the Labour Schedule, and of persons already resident in Palestine. Taking into account all forms of Jewish immigration, it is expected that the total for the six months from October 1936 will be substantially below that for the preceding six months.

Replying to supplementary questions, Mr. Ormsby-Gore said that the conservative estimate regarding the absorptive capacity of Palestine would apply during the sittings of the Royal Commission, the consideration by the Government of their report, and the issue of the Government's policy for the future regarding immigration. The conditions which had caused the reduction of immigration were the general dislocation of the country, and the interruption of industry, commerce, and communications.

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## The Huleh

THE valley of the Huleh is surrounded on three sides by mountains; by the mountains of Upper Galilee on the west, the slopes of Hermon on the north, and the Jaulan mountains on the east. The total area of the valley is some 175,000 metric dunams (a dunam is one quarter of an acre). The concession in the valley granted by the Government to the Palestine Land Development Company covers 56,940 dunams, of which 22,000 dunams are marshland and 17,000 are lake.

The lake, some five miles long and two and a half miles wide at its broadest, reaches a maximum depth of seven to ten feet. In its present state very little of the plain is fit for cultivation, since the greater part of the area is swampland covered by reeds, papyrus and water lilies. The level of water in the swamp varies considerably, parts which are dry during the summer becoming submerged after the first rains.

The plain is traversed from north to south by the River Jordan, which enters the Huleh lake in the north and runs out through a deep gorge in the south. The swamps extending from the lake throughout the valley are caused by the mountain rivers overflowing their banks and flooding the surrounding country, for in the course of years the river beds have been narrowed and raised by masses of earth and boulders. One of the most important tasks of the concessionaires who are to drain, reclaim and irrigate the land, will be to widen and deepen the bed of the River Jordan.

Although famous in Biblical times for its fertility and the number of its

inhabitants, the valley is to-day very sparsely populated, and has up to the present been entirely cut off from the progress and development in the rest of the country. Even the local dialect differs in many respects from the Arabic spoken elsewhere in Palestine. What arable land there is lies in the north of the valley, and is sown with wheat, maize and millet, but ploughing is extremely difficult because of the prevalence of *injeel* grass, which is both difficult to get rid of and capable of starving out other plants. The villagers also keep chickens, geese and buffaloes.

Although the soil underlying the marshland is naturally rich and alluvial, little use can be made of it until the land is drained. The "ground" of the swamp, whether wet or dry, is composed of vegetable debris bound together by the roots of the papyrus. In the dry swamp two feet of good black soil is sometimes found, but the wet swamp consists merely of black mud in which a man can sink waist deep. As it is now, the valley is a source of disease, a "derelict area" housing a few thousand fever-ridden, under-nourished peasants. The population, which has not increased in numbers since the census of 1922, suffers constantly from malaria. A survey undertaken in 1934 showed about 95 per cent. of the children infected, and a wide prevalence of anæmia.

The most important occupation of the local inhabitants is mat and basket weaving. For this the papyrus reeds are used, the collection of which is often attended with great danger. The villagers' huts are made of thick papyrus mats, whilst finer ones are used for decoration inside. Beds, tables and chairs are also made out of these mats, which are woven on wooden looms. The addition of a few extra mats converts the hut from a summer to a winter residence.

According to the terms of the concession under which part of the valley is to be taken over and developed by the Palestine Land Development Company, 15,000 dunams of land are reserved for the local Arab cultivators. This land is to be drained, made fit for cultivation, and irrigated by the concessionaires, who are to bear the full costs of reclamation. This is another example of how the Arab benefits from Jewish enterprise.

When handing the concession over in 1934 the High Commissioner said: "I think that it is for the good of the country that there is now every prospect that about 40,000 dunams of marshy land, of little value at present to anyone, will be drained and made available for cultivation, that the economic position of local Arabs will be improved, that malaria will be greatly reduced, if not wholly eradicated, with the best results to the health and happiness of the inhabitants of that district."

The charge has frequently been made by the Arabs that the Jews are buying up the best and most fertile land in Palestine. They point to the flourishing Jewish settlements to substantiate that charge. The truth is that many of the most prosperous Jewish settlements, in the Emek and at Petach Tikvah, are situated on lands that were formerly waste and desolate, given up as incapable of cultivation, just as the Huleh has for generations been a practically deserted swamp. The Jews have not bought fertile land: they have made land fertile.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 1ST.

THE opening ceremony of the new academic year of the Hebrew University took place this morning in the presence of a large assembly of visitors and students. The Rector, Dr. J. L. Magnes, in the course of his speech, paid tribute to the six students and two lecturers who were killed during the disturbances. He also referred to five students who had been wounded, but have since recovered from their injuries.

Mr. S. Schocken, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University, outlining the achievements of the University during the past year, pointed out that the grant of an additional area of land on Mount Scopus will enable an expansion of the University. The building of the Chemistry Faculty had been extended, a Meteorological Institute had been established, and the construction of the Hadassah University Hospital had already begun. The budget of the Hebrew University for the coming year amounts to £80,000.

Professor Hugo Bergmann surveyed the scientific activities of the University and the great extension effected during the year. Important measures, he said, were adopted to establish a Medical Faculty. The requisite means had been made available for the foundation of the first Chair for Agriculture. A Chair for English Literature, in memory of Moses Montefiore, was also being founded, thanks to the financial aid of the English Moses Montefiore Memorial Committee. One-year courses in Jewish History and Studies on Palestine will shortly be opened to foreign graduates.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 3RD.

The Arab press reports that the new Iraq Prime Minister has stated that King Ghazi's manifesto to the Palestine Arabs, saying that all possible help would be rendered to them, will be observed.

The Arab press further reports that the Iraq Government will send representatives to Palestine to take part in the discussions with Arab representatives of other States in regard to the Arab case to be submitted to the Royal Commission. The Arab paper *Adifaa*, while giving this news, expresses, however, its doubts as to the intentions of the Iraq Government, because the new Ministers are opposed to the idea of a pan-Arab confederation.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 4TH.

Addressing the Rotary Club in Jerusalem to-day, Professor Norman Bentwich gave a vivid review of the position of the German refugees, outlining schemes for resettlement and social reconstruction in various countries. Palestine has already absorbed 35,000 refugees. Palestine, he said, remains



the hope of the German Jews, especially of the German Jewish youth desiring to start a new life. The High Commissioner and the American Consul-General were among those present at the lecture.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 5TH.

An Arab villager was shot dead last night by nine armed Arab terrorists who raided an Arab village near Zichron Jacob for the purpose of extorting money and valuables. When the villagers refused them, some were beaten and others stabbed.

The Colonial Secretary's statement in the House of Commons concerning the limitation of immigration has made a bad impression on the Arabs. The Arabs hoped and perhaps believed that immigration would be entirely suspended during the sittings of the Royal Commission. This was reported to the leaders in Jerusalem by Mr. Emile Ghory, the representative of the Arab Higher Committee in London. The decision not to suspend Jewish immigration, but to grant a labour schedule, however small, has created profound disappointment among the Arab leaders.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency has issued a statement :

"The Executive of the Jewish Agency cannot but express its regret at the extreme smallness of the present schedule which it considers inadequate to satisfy even the most urgent requirement of the economic development. This schedule, however, possesses outstanding significance attested by the fact that the decision in the present instance was not taken by the High Commissioner, but by the Cabinet, the announcement being made by the Colonial Secretary in the House. The question under consideration was not the size of the schedule, but whether Jewish immigration should be continued or suspended.

"Throughout the past six months, we have faced a violent onslaught which had as its particular aim the abrogation of the most sacred right of the Jewish people, namely the immigration into Palestine. In addition to the defence of our life and property, we were obliged to ward off the constant threat of the immigration being suspended under the pressure exerted by terrorists, which would have prejudiced the findings of the Royal Commission.

"The Executive records with gratitude that the Mandatory has remained faithful to its repeated declarations, that there would be no yielding to violence, as it is also expressed by the present decision by the Cabinet not to suspend Jewish immigration. This momentous decision, however, does not signify the end of our struggle in the future ; Jewish immigration as well as our whole work in Palestine are still gravely threatened ; it is therefore imperative that the Jewish people concentrate its maximum forces on the maintenance of its fundamental rights in Palestine. "

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 7TH.

The Arab Higher Committee met this afternoon to continue the deliberations on the proposed boycott of the Royal Commission. The meeting

confirmed the decision to boycott the Royal Commission and decided to publish a manifesto to this effect.

## The Hebrew University

THE foundation stone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus was laid in 1918, while the sound of the guns could still be heard in the Holy Land. The University was opened in 1925, with a staff of 37 and 130 students. To-day it numbers over 600 students, of whom 32 per cent. are women. Forty per cent. of the students are established in the country and 60 per cent. are foreign. Of these 33 per cent. come from Poland, 25 per cent. from Germany, and the remaining 42 per cent. from fourteen countries. An academic staff of 103 includes 24 professors and 30 lecturers.

There are at present two Faculties. The Faculty of Humanities provides instruction in the following subjects: Jewish and Palestine Studies (Bible, Talmud, Hebrew Language and Literature, Jewish History and Sociology, Hebrew Philosophy and Kabbalah, History, Geography and Geology of Palestine), Islamic Culture and Oriental Languages (Moslem and Persian Art and Archæology, History of the Moslem Peoples, Assyriology, North Semitic Inscriptions, Arabic Language and Literature and Persian), Philosophy, Classical and Romance Languages, Ancient, Medieval and Modern History, International Relations and Mathematics. The course of study for undergraduate students extends over a minimum period of four years, after which the degree of M.A. is awarded on the strength of examinations in one major and two minor subjects and the submission of a thesis.

The Faculty of Natural Sciences provides instruction in Physics, Chemistry and Biochemistry, Botany, Zoology and Parasitology, Geology, Climatology and Meteorology, Bacteriology and Mathematics. The course extends over four years, terminating with a degree.

Post-graduate study is pursued by research students who have the degree of M.A. or its equivalent. After two years of study and the presentation of a thesis they may acquire the degree of Ph.D.

The University is housed in several buildings on Mount Scopus. It possesses collections in Botany (the Palestine Herbarium, and the Museum of Biblical Plants and Arabic Plantlore), in Zoology, in Geology, and in Archæology. The Jewish National and University Library, the largest in the Near and Middle East, contains at present close on 300,000 volumes, and houses valuable collections of incunabula and manuscripts.

Changes in the administration of the University were made last year when Dr. J. L. Magnes, formerly Chancellor, was made President, and Professor Hugo Bergmann, formerly Director of the Library, took office as Rector. These changes give the University a greater degree of academic self-government than it possessed before, since the Rector, who is responsible for matters of an academic nature, is elected by the University Senate.

The annual budget amounts to over £80,000. The Government make two grants of £750 each towards research into fowlpox and malaria.

# Palestine

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## Iraq, Syria and Palestine

ARAB leaders in Palestine are disturbed by the military coup in Baghdad, which they fear will leave Iraqis little leisure or disposition to meddle in affairs outside their own borders. There is, however, more in this Iraq business than that. Among other contentions urged by Arab politicians in claiming Palestine independence or a "National Government" are these: that they are able to give secure democratic government; that they can be trusted to rule petty religious and racial minorities; that they will prove firm friends of this country. Iraq happens to be an Arab state free from foreign control, and we see what is happening there. A military leader bombs the Government out of office; the chief ministers have to fly for their lives, and the Prime Minister is foully murdered; the Parliament is sent about its business, and a military dictatorship is set up. So much for public security and democratic government. Who are the leaders of this movement? General Baqir Sidqi has a reputation for ruthless repression and had a portable gallows rigged on a Ford car to expedite executions. Seyyid Hikmat Suleiman, the new Prime Minister, was Minister of the Interior when the Assyrians were massacred and ardently approved that wholesale crime. As *The Times* Cairo correspondent puts it, "the type of Nationalism of these men is intimately connected with their attitude towards minorities and the change of government must be causing anxiety both to Christians and Jews in Iraq."

A number of murders of Jews in Iraq immediately preceded the present revolt, the fruits of an active propaganda. When considering the pretensions of the Palestine Arab politicians, we have to ask whether there is good or any ground for supposing that they differ in aims, passion, temperament or tradition from their compeers in Iraq. We know how they behaved for six months when they organised and sustained murder and arson, and we know that they are always attempting to give both a religious and a racial colour to their programmes. The one substantial difference is that in Iraq they have the freedom to show their real character, and in Palestine that power is denied to them. Can it be doubted that given the power these gentlemen would exercise it in the same way?

Baqir Sidqi is a Kurd and Hikmat Suleiman is a brother of that Shevket Pasha who was one of the leaders of the Young Turk movement which overthrew Abdul Hamid. Neither of them has any particular respect or liking for this country. The young King Ghazi has never revealed the prudence and sagacity of his father, but he has hitherto been restrained by his father's counsellors. That restraint would seem to have been removed by the military revolt. Nor are the racial affiliations of the new rulers to be

ignored. They connect them with Turkey. It is not without significance that promptly after the *coup d'état* in Baghdad, Kemal Attaturk should have publicly claimed the return to Turkey of the area round Alexandretta and Antioch, now a part of Syria but declared to be ethnically Turkish. Are we at the beginning of a forward movement by Turkey to recover her lost Empire? Not necessarily, for that would involve a break with Kemal Attaturk's philosophy of a purely Turkish state. But a movement to bring the neighbouring Arab lands under Turkish influence may well form part of his policy, and Baqir Sidqi, the Kurd, and Hikmat Suleiman, the brother of the late Shevket Pasha, may well work in harmoniously with such an ambition, despite their Arab "Nationalism."

Syrian Nationalists had a relatively easy task when they had merely to get rid of the French. Their real troubles begin when they have to run the country. They are threatened with a loss of territory including the best harbour on the Syrian coast, and they are without either the force to resist external aggression or the means to develop their own country. In all this there is a moral for Palestine and those who bear responsibilities for Palestine.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 9TH, 1936.

THE Arab Press states that a proposal will be made to the Royal Commission for the construction of a joint Jewish-Arab port between Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, doing away with the present port of Jaffa and the Tel-Aviv jetty.

A special meeting of the representatives of the Jewish community called to consider the Jewish evidence to be given before the Royal Commission, was opened this morning at the offices of the Jewish Agency. About 150 representatives were present.

Mr. Ben Gurion, who opened the proceedings, dealt with the scope of the Royal Commission, and stated that the representatives of the Jewish people must make clear to the Royal Commission, to the people of Great Britain, and indeed to the whole world, the position of the Jewish people and their relation to Palestine. They will state before the Commission the case for the Jews, their historic and political rights in Palestine, and their requests to Great Britain. The Jewish demands, he said, are based on three principles: the historic connection between the Jewish people and Palestine, the persecution of the Jews in Europe, and the desolate state of the country and its poverty with no Jews, and its revival by the Jews.

Mr. Ben Gurion proceeded to deal with the fundamental problems, such as immigration and land, which, he said, would form the major part of the investigations by the Royal Commission, and the Jewish demands in connection with these problems.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 11TH, 1936.

In connection with the arrival of the Royal Commission, the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem has issued an appeal emphasising that the solution of

difficulties must be based on a spiritual foundation, which can be attained only in an atmosphere of peace, justice and goodwill.

The Hebrew Press this morning, welcoming the arrival of the Royal Commission, states that the Jews are prepared to present their case before it, pointing out that the Arab boycott of the Commission, which is a new attempt to blackmail the Government, will not affect the Jewish attitude.

Although the Arabs have decided to boycott the Royal Commission, it is believed that the Arab case will be stated by representatives of the Arab Christian communities.

One hundred thousand letters from Jews in Poland addressed to Jews in Palestine were carried by the first airplane to fly direct from Warsaw to Palestine. It is quite clear that it is the Jewish traffic between the two countries which has justified the inauguration of the air service. When the extension of telephonic communication from England to Palestine was considered, it was expected that Jews would make full use of the service. That anticipation has been fully justified, for it is daily becoming more common for London and Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv and Haifa to talk to one another.

Jewish ex-servicemen celebrated Armistice Day to-day at the Menorah Club in Jerusalem. Lieut.-General Dill was present at the celebration. Among others present were Mr. M. Shertok, Colonel Kisch, and many soldiers.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 12TH.

(The Arab paper *Falastin*, the organ of Nashashibi, denounces the decision of the Arab Higher Committee to boycott the Royal Commission. It regards this as a hasty action, but, it says, that there is no other alternative now than to preserve Arab national unity.)

Jewish special constables mobilised during the disturbances are now being demobilised. Three hundred of them have already been dismissed in the Jaffa district, while 100 are remaining. The Hebrew Press, commenting on the fact, declares that the Jewish supernumeraries saved the country from heavy disaster, and now the strengthening of the Jewish element in the police force is essential for the security of the Jewish community.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 13TH, 1936.

The Arab paper *Al-Liwa* reports, and I repeat with caution, that a British group of Arab supporters contemplates forming an Arab bank under the name of "Pan-Arab Corporation," with a capital of £250,000. According to the scheme no Jews will be allowed to participate in the operations of the bank.

Palcor learns that notwithstanding the Arab decision to boycott the Royal Commission, a special Arab subcommittee, headed by the Mufti and by Auni Abdul Hadi, has been formed for the purpose of preparing material to be submitted to the Royal Commission.

It is further reported that the Arab leaders will submit to the Royal Commission a memorandum asking them to begin their investigations with examining documents relating to the promises given to the Arabs, and the correspondence embodied in the McMahan papers. The Arabs insist that

the British Government had pledged itself to the Arabs in regard to Palestine before its pledge to the Jews embodied in the Balfour Declaration.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 14TH, 1936.

A farewell dinner was given last night by the Arab Higher Committee to Sir Michael McDonnel, the retiring Chief Justice of Palestine, who is leaving the country within the next few days. The Mufti delivered an address, to which Sir Michael McDonnel responded.

## The Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra

THE first concert of the Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra, created by the enthusiasm of Bronislaw Hubermann, will take place at Tel-Aviv on December 26th. Arturo Toscanini will be the conductor on this great occasion. The programme will include a composition of Mendelssohn, the performance of whose works is now forbidden in Germany.

The sum of £10,000 has been subscribed for the orchestra's initial capital. During the coming season, ten subscription concerts are to be given in Tel-Aviv, eight in Jerusalem, and eight in Haifa, and the same number of concerts with the same programme will be given in each town at lower prices for the benefit of the working classes. The orchestra, too, will perform in the agricultural settlements wherever there is a large enough hall.

The writer of an article on the Philharmonic Orchestra, in a recent number of the *Palestine Review*, says :

"With all due attention to living Jewish composers, the programmes aim mainly at founding a new home for the cultivation of the great musical literature of Europe. In this case, the mistake made in other places will not be repeated, of attempting to force a national music in a hot-house atmosphere; the young plant will be fostered with loving care, but its development will not be hampered by over-estimation. The alpha and omega of the programme of even a Jewish orchestra is and remains the music from Bach to Mahler, with a certain stress on those composers whose works are no longer performed in Germany. During the last century, the Jews have made this music their very own; they have played a rôle in it quite out of proportion to their numbers; and nobody can question their right to it which is not a particle less than the right of any other nation. It would therefore be almost an avowed acceptance of the Nazi arguments used against Jews, if we voluntarily excluded ourselves from a musical culture which is a part of us and of which we are a part. . . .

"Huberman is of opinion that his orchestra will rank among the first two or three in the whole world. The material is all first-class. The Jews eliminated from the German orchestras were (one is tempted to say naturally) for the most part *Konzertmeister*, i.e. they sat at the first, second or third desks. We have, therefore, brought together a great number of most highly qualified artists—a fact which, at first sight, assures the question of quality. But this very fact of its being an orchestra of *Konzertmeister* gives rise to certain fears. It will not be easy for men accustomed to lead, to be content with a more modest place in the ranks, as it were. There is a danger that the

*esprit de corps* which is the hall-mark of a really good orchestra, may not at first prevail. There is the further danger of a discrepancy between string and wind instruments, it being a well-known fact that Jews are more attracted to the former on which they are more skilled. If the Palestine Orchestra is to acquire an exceptional quality, it will be a most delicate task for Huberman and the conductors to steer clear of these two dangers. There is no reasonable ground to doubt but that they will succeed."

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## The Arab Rulers

IN view of possible eventualities, we put on record the statement made in the House of Commons by the Colonial Secretary concerning the relation of the Arab kings to the Palestine Government. In answer to Colonel Wedgwood, Mr. Ormsby-Gore said:

"No application whatever was made to any Arab rulers either by His Majesty's Government or by the High Commissioner for Palestine for assistance or advice concerning Palestine. Certain Arab rulers, however, spontaneously intimated to His Majesty's Government through the diplomatic channel their willingness to use their influence with the Arabs of Palestine in the interests of peace and were informed, in reply to inquiries as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government in the matter, that His Majesty's Government would raise no objection to the Arab rulers addressing an appeal to the Arabs of Palestine to cease the strike and the campaign of violence provided that the appeal was unconditional. No undertakings or promises, either explicit or implied, were given by His Majesty's Government, and it was made quite clear to the rulers concerned that His Majesty's Government were not prepared to enter into any kind of commitment whatever."

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## British Non-Jewish Zionists

SINCE origins are notoriously elusive, it has become increasingly common to refer to the period immediately preceding the Balfour Declaration as the beginning of non-Jewish interest in Zionism. Few of the older generation recall the offer of the British Government in 1902 to help open up El Arish, or Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's initiative in offering Jewish autonomy in East Africa in 1903. Even those familiar with the recent history of Zionism are rarely aware of the considerable part played in the evolution of the Zionist idea by British non-Jewish Zionists. The continuity and the authority of the work of these dreamers and thinkers are known scarcely at all; but their numbers stretch back in an unbroken sequence so far as the seventeenth century.

The Jews, it is true, preserved the impulse, as was shown in the rise of the pseudo-Messiahs, in the early attempt of Don Judah of Naxos to form a settlement in Tiberias, in the efforts at agricultural settlement made by Sir Moses Montefiore in the early part of the nineteenth century, but it was the British theorists who gave Zionism a certain actuality, and pressed it from

time to time on the notice of the Western world. The interest in Zionism shown by Joseph Chamberlain and his associates was nothing novel; it was a new expression, in perhaps more practical form, of an enthusiasm which had been a familiar phenomenon in England for more than three centuries, and which was in no small measure responsible for the eagerness with which Jewish leaders looked to England for sympathy and assistance.

Before the nineteenth century non-Jewish interest in Palestine was confined largely to religious enthusiasts. There were many who held to the doctrine that the British were part of the scattered tribes of Israel, that the very name Britain was a Semitic word meaning the Land of Tin, a name which had been given it by early Semitic settlers, and that it was the British mission to restore the Jews and so to hasten the Millennium. Apart from these odd people, the whole Protestant community was profoundly interested in the country of sacred history. As the people of the Bible they believed in the fulfilment of Hebrew prophecy.

In 1804 the first English society for the intensive study of the Holy Land was established. In 1837 Lord Lindsay enlarged on the theme of Jewish return in a book, *Egypt, Edom and the Holy Land*. A year or two later the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent Andrew Bonar, an ancestor of the future Prime Minister, to report on the condition of the Jews in Palestine, who then numbered about 12,000 souls. As a consequence a British Consul was appointed to Jerusalem, whose functions included the protection of the Jews throughout the country.

Byron enshrined in English literature the idea of Jewish restoration. In his "Hebrew Melodies" he sings of:

" Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast,  
How shall ye flee away and be at rest!  
The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,  
Mankind their country—Israel but the grave."

And again

" Oh, in the lightning let thy glance appear;  
Sweep from his shivered hand the oppressor's spear!  
How long by tyrants shall Thy land be trod?  
How long Thy temple worshipless, O God?"

But Great Britain's interest in Palestine was not wholly sentimental. Ever since Napoleon's campaign in the Holy Land in 1799, when he dreamed of a march through Asia to India, England realised the importance of this strip of the Mediterranean coast in relation to her Eastern Empire. In that campaign it was English sailors under Sir Sidney Smith who directed the defence of the fortress of Acre, which Napoleon named the "key to the East," and English soldiers who brought about the defeat of the French forces that remained on the borders of Egypt at El Arish.

Perhaps the three best-known non-Jewish Zionists of the nineteenth century were the Earl of Shaftesbury, George Eliot, and Lawrence Oliphant. In 1842 the Earl of Shaftesbury pressed for the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine under British or some other non-Turkish suzerainty. This project



united three ideas, the fulfilment of prophecy, the creation of a political advantage to England, and the providing of a land without people to a people without a land. It was in harmony with Palmerstonian Imperialism, which reached its height during the Crimean War. In 1840, when a serious anti-Jewish riot broke out in Damascus, Lord Palmerston intervened, and demonstrated that Great Britain would not allow the Jews to suffer from religious fanaticism. England thus assumed the role of protector of the Jews in the East.

In *Daniel Deronda* George Eliot set forth in glowing terms the advantages to civilisation of resettling the Jews at the cross-road of the world. The British non-Jewish Zionist propaganda of that period was part of the atmosphere of the Berlin Congress of 1878. In 1881 Lawrence Oliphant struck a more practical note. He proposed to relieve the distressed Jews in Europe by founding a settlement in Gilead which should have some sort of political autonomy.

The Balfour Declaration was not, as is sometimes suggested, the aberration of a particular statesman. It is in keeping with a powerful sentiment which has shown itself for upwards of three centuries, and in harmony with British interests as conceived by her leading statesmen for over a century.

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## Haifa

THE rapid growth in importance of the port of Haifa has added immensely to Palestine's value as a British asset, and it is noteworthy that Haifa was less troubled by the unrest than any other place in Palestine. The Arab municipal authorities declined co-operation with the strike committee, and the normal life of a busy and ever-growing city proceeded, Jews and Arabs working together. Haifa has had none of the magical growth of Tel-Aviv, but it is being developed largely by Jewish capital and Jewish industry, and it is interesting in this connection to note that the importance of Haifa was foreseen years ago by Theodor Herzl, who had an inspiring vision of the future. Herzl wrote:

"Great ships lay anchored in the roadstead between Acre and the foot of Carmel. Cupolas, minarets, and grey old castle walls were outlined in delightful Oriental silhouettes against the morning skies. Nothing had changed much on that side of the gracefully curved bay. But to the south they were amazed to see thousands of white villas in green gardens. The whole scene from Acre to the Carmel was one great park. The summit of Carmel, too, was crowned with beautiful homes. At first, since they were approaching from the south, the promontory obscured their view of the city and harbour.

"A magnificent city had been built beside the sapphire-blue Mediterranean. The massive stone dams showed the harbour for what it was: the safest and most convenient port in the Eastern Mediterranean. Every kind of craft, flying the flags of all nations, lay sheltered there."

The vision has already been partially realised. A great harbour has been

built, and it is already far too small. The slope of Mount Carmel is being covered with well-designed houses with most attractive gardens. But the "delightful Oriental silhouettes" of Herzl's dream are sought in vain, and the whole scene from Acre to Mount Carmel is certainly not yet "one great park." The new Haifa is being developed according to plan, and Professor Patrick Abercrombie of Liverpool is the planner. Professor Abercrombie says :

"The land between Carmel and Acre, Haifa Bay, or the Emek Zebulun, as it may alternatively be called, is the site upon which one of the world's new cities is coming into existence. It is, and will be an integral part of that Greater Haifa which will include Mount Carmel and will stretch south along the plain of Sharon, east along the road to Nazareth and Esdraelon, and north to Acre. Its westward boundary is the sea ; it cannot be a far-fetched thought that this sea-fronting city will become one of the four or five greatest Mediterranean ports, rivalling even Marseilles.

"At length, freed from the paralysing hand of the Old Turk, Palestine becomes the meeting point of East and West and Haifa the commercial centre of the country. It is fortunate that the impulse of its growth has not come before there was time to consider the form it should take, and that the land where the chief industrial and residential development will occur is to be controlled in the interests of the community rather than exploited for individual gain. Here is a great opportunity, for, however compelling the powers of town planning are, they are enhanced one hundredfold when combined with public ownership of the land.

"It has taken over four years to settle certain major preliminaries to planning, including the sites of four great undertakings—the railway workshops, the aerodrome, the I.P.C. storage and refinery—during which time the Haifa-Acre Road has been completed and the first houses (for the railway workers) built. These latter have been a fine piece of pioneering and have proved the site healthy and the ground cultivatable.

"The onrush of growth has now begun, but in the meantime a plan has been prepared and the new town grows upon planned lines. The opportunity is a great one—we might almost risk abusing that hard-worked word *unique*—and it remains for everyone who goes to live and work there to co-operate with the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Economic Corporation in creating a city worthy of the opportunity."

The Emek Zebulun was acquired by the Jewish National Fund in 1928, the directors realising the inevitable development of Haifa and of its importance to the agricultural settlements in the valley of Jezreel, lying to the east and south-east. The land was an oasis of scrub in a wilderness of swamp, uninhabited except by a handful of diseased Bedouins. The work of reclamation, of drainage, of canal cutting and road building cost £50,000, most of it Jewish money, and now the new town is being gradually constructed.

The present population of Haifa is approaching 60,000. The opening of the Iraq pipe line and the development of aerial travel will make it, as Herzl anticipated, one of the great ports of the Near East and by far the most important city in Palestine.

# Palestine

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## Sir Arnold Wilson on Zionism

THE *British Weekly* is to be congratulated on its excellent supplement on Palestine. The quality of the articles in which its progress and problems were discussed from various points of view was admirable and a judicious summing-up would have increased their value. Unfortunately Sir Arnold Wilson, who was called in to sum up, has delivered what is more like an indictment of Zionism. The tears run down his cheeks the while, but it is an indictment none the less. Reversing the role of Balaam called in to bless, he goes on to curse. If it were not for his tears, the curses would matter less, for the way of Zionists is not an easy one and they are used to curses. Let us, then, first wipe away the tears if we can. No one knows better than Zionists how much they owe to the love that—in the last generation more than in this—the English-speaking peoples have for the Bible. Sir Arnold Wilson avows his love and produces evidence of it in sundry quotations to show how much it has become the very fabric of English thought. He even tells us that when he first went to Palestine he was moved to tears at the sight of Jerusalem, and one can well believe him to be sincere. But when he tells us that one of his reasons for disliking Zionism is that he fears that it will destroy the qualities that have made and maintained Jewry he is deceiving himself. If there had never been any Zionism in the past, there would never have been any Jewry or land of Israel. Pharaoh, like Sir A. Wilson, understood Zionism in some moods, for he had to harden his heart before he refused to release the Jews from the House of Bondage. The difference between them is that while Sir Arnold does not mind their coming out of Egyptian bondage he draws the line at their coming out of the modern bondage of the ghetto or the worse bondage of the totalitarian state. Where else but in Palestine is their relief from persecution, their promised land? Sir Arnold Wilson wants them to cultivate the pristine virtues in captivity and go on playing on their harps, by the waters of Babylon, the music that gives him such exquisite emotions. To which the reply of the Zionist is pointed, but it is to be hoped not rude. Do you think that we have suffered these thousands of years merely to keep you attuned to the right emotional key by our sufferings?

There are no doubt some people who might have wished to keep this England of ours in the Chaucerian or Elizabethan or eighteenth-century frame of mind, and there are very many who love Italy as a museum and cannot stand it as a Power. Why should any one think that an arrested development which did not satisfy England or Italy ought to satisfy Jewry? Or indeed, worse than that, that Jews should be satisfied without a chance

of national development at all? Sir Arnold's tears over the religious backslidings of Zionists are, we fear, made of glycerine and do not well up from his heart.

But now we will turn to what he has to say about the Arabs. Now we get genuine emotion even at the expense of his own country's good character. Stating the Arab case, he accuses Lord Balfour of inflicting on them an injustice as bitter as was ever inflicted by victor on vanquished. Its motive, one understands, was to get money out of American Jews for a war which we could not finance without them. We paid at the cost of the Arabs who were doubly tricked by the earlier promises of Sir Hector Macmahon and others. We forced Western civilisation on a race which valued its own "humble but steady culture." Perhaps Sir Arnold will say that these are Arab views, not his own; but he states them *con amore*. And he is speaking with his own voice when he says that the Arabs are as unwilling to exchange their own culture for the sophisticated highly regulated life which we offer them as we should be to exchange our British freedom for Communist organisation under Stalin. We are even asked to weep over the decline of the aboriginal population of Australia and what good our civilisation has done to the Zulus or the Bechuanas. And he goes on later to warn the Jews that the Zionists in Palestine will cease to be a credit to Jewry and will eventually menace the foundation of Jewry itself. The argument though romantic is intelligible enough. But why advance it against the one great race in the world which has lost its country? Why make it a reason why it should never have an identity of its own? Apply it to England and our country would be a fogbound island inhabited by Welshmen who, even if they were no longer dressed in skins, would certainly have been excluded by the argument from ever having an Empire. All North America would be inhabited by Indians, there would be no Union of South Africa, and the Arabs themselves would never have left Arabia, or the Turks Central Asia.

By comparison, it is a small matter that the argument would logically lead to our abandonment of Palestine, for if the Jews have no right there neither have we, except the right of the sword. We certainly conquered it, incidentally with no assistance from the Arabs of Palestine; but our sole juridical right is as mandatories for the National Home. Apart from that, our presence there would be sheer imperialism, unredeemed by any form of international duty, and would expose us to envy and reproach. But no one understands better than Sir Arnold Wilson why we can never leave Palestine.

Sir Arnold Wilson thinks that the two races can never coalesce in a single nationality, and he looks forward to the time when the natural increase of the Arab population will overwhelm and assimilate the Jewish minority, as the Welsh colonists of Chubut have been assimilated by the Argentine. But if he really believes that, surely he destroys the grievance from which he alleges that the Arabs suffer. The Arabs of Palestine on this view are destined to receive a great accession of wealth and ability which they will be able to absorb. That is utterly inconsistent with his view that the higher civilisation is about to crush out of existence a lower civilisation. But if the Arab can absorb the Jew, why should the two not mix and form a common

civilisation? The Jews ask not for mastery, but for co-operation; not for special privileges, but for the right to develop a country in proportion as its economic condition is capable of absorbing them. They claim no monopoly; their sole condition is that the Arabs shall have the same singleminded devotion to the country as they have themselves. Sir A. Wilson seems to have thrown together all the arguments against Zionism that he can think of, without troubling to make them consistent. But the root fallacy of his whole summing-up is that there either has been or is now such a thing as an Arab Palestinian nationality. Before the Jews came under the Mandate, Palestine did not exist as a nation, but only as a part of Syria. It is the Jews who have made Palestine, and apart from the Jews it has never had a separate existence and would cease to have one the moment British authority were withdrawn. The problem for the Government—and incidentally for the Royal Commission too—is to create an Arab moderate movement and a party which will work in co-operation with the Jews for the future greatness of the country. So will the Arabs benefit as England has benefited from the union of the several races that compose our nationality.

## The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

**Y**OUR issue of November 11th had a note about the Hebrew University which gave the bare figures and facts of its growth during the last ten years. At a time when the public attention is directed to the political and economic problems of Palestine, it may be opportune to supplement that account with a description of the work and achievement of the institution, which is the one Jewish University in the world, and which represents the centre and the crown of the Hebrew Renaissance.

The primary function of the University in the minds of its founders was to be research rather than teaching. The demands for higher learning of the young Jewries of Central Europe, largely excluded from the universities of their countries, as well as the growing demands of the young Jewry of Palestine, have compelled a more rapid development than was contemplated of undergraduate teaching in two Faculties, of Humanities and of the Natural Sciences and Mathematics. Nevertheless, research remains the principal activity in both divisions.

Palestine is peculiarly well situated for research into the natural sciences as well as for the study of humanity. It is once again the centre of the earth, even as the Mediterranean Sea, as its name implies, was the centre of the earth for the peoples of antiquity. Its little land is the meeting-place of civilisations, of peoples, of natural species, of geological ages, so that it has been well described as one big laboratory. That fact gives an added importance to the only university in the Near and Middle East where research is the principal activity.

There are three Departments of Chemistry; bio-chemistry, inorganic and physical chemistry, and they are concerned in the study of the chemical resources of the country. The Institute of Microbiology is studying the Mediterranean diseases, particularly those carried by the sandfly; and it is

notable that the Royal Society of England engaged the services of its Director, Professor Adler, and his staff for special research in the Mediterranean regions. The Institute of Hygiene is concerned partly with the study of human and animal nutrition and partly with the study of malaria. The value of its work in the latter field was recognised by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, which chose it with five others as an Institute to conduct the international campaign against the disease. The work done at the university in animal nutrition likewise was recognised by the Empire Marketing Board, which in its heyday supplied part of the cost and of the staff.

This scientific work of the university is of obvious benefit to the whole population. It is notable, too, that the collections of botany, zoology and geology of Palestine and the neighbouring lands, which have been gathered on Mount Scopus, are the most complete in existence; and in the grounds of the University, on the windswept ridge, which is, as it were, the gateway of the wilderness, the botanists of the University have laid out experimental plantations which will be a guide to the afforestation of the country.

A new and important Department of Research has been initiated during the last years in the medical sciences. A special endowment has been given for research in cancer, on which four exiled professors from Germany are engaged; and the construction has begun on Mount Scopus of a University Hostel which will both serve the town of Jerusalem and comprise a post-graduate School of Medicine.

On the side of Humanities the development, while less visible, has been not less remarkable. The Institute of Jewish and Oriental studies has scarcely any rival in the world in that branch of study. Hebrew literature, ancient, medieval and modern; philosophy, ancient, medieval and modern; Jewish and general history, archæology and oriental art, and the Semitic and classical languages, all these are subjects of teaching and of research. The Arabic Department had ten scientific workers till one of them was struck down at his work by an assassin during the recent troubles; and it is making a valuable contribution to the knowledge of Arabic literature and history and the study of Moslem religious sects. The Library, which serves the various sciences and humanitarian studies, grows steadily by the freewill contributions of the Jewish and other Friends of the University by some 30,000 volumes a year; it now comprises over 300,000 books, all duly catalogued in two languages.

The University, unlike most modern foundations for higher studies, gets scarcely any grant from the Government, and has but a small endowment which covers less than one-fifth of its annual budget of over £80,000. It depends principally on the contributions of the Jewish communities in all parts of the world. The Society of the Friends in England, of which the Chairman is Sir Philip Hartog, is now embarking on a fresh effort to obtain more substantial help for the University which has expanded so rapidly since scholarship and science were exiled from Germany. Perhaps some of the readers of PALESTINE may be moved to become subscribing Friends of the University.

NORMAN BENTWICH.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 19TH, 1936.

**D**URING the troubles the Christian Arab community was in active alliance with the Moslems, but this *entente* is now threatened by the serious trouble between Christians and Moslems in Beirut.

The Maronites in Jaffa have issued a statement strongly condemning the outburst of the Lebanese Moslems, and there is considerable tension between Christians and Moslems in Jaffa and Jerusalem. Secret Christian Arab committees have been formed in various towns in Palestine to protect their interests.

It is possible that one result of this development will be some sort of understanding between the Christians, who are, economically and culturally, greatly in advance of the Moslems, and the Jewish community.

The first two twenty-five-ton lighters to be built in Palestine have been launched this week at Tel-Aviv.

It is reported that the Arabs are trying to retreat from the decision to boycott the Royal Commission. It is stated that after consultation with representatives of the Arab kings, they have thought of a way out. It is their intention to present a detailed memorandum of the Arab demands to the Royal Commission through the representatives of the Arab rulers.

The Arab Press reports that the retiring Chief Justice of Palestine, Sir Michael McDonnell, who is regarded by the Arabs as their greatest friend, will appear as a witness before the Royal Commission.

It is announced that owing to the failure of last season's crops in certain areas, the Palestine Government will allocate the sum of £34,000 for loans to needy cultivators.

The Arab paper *Islamia* reports that the High Commissioner, in his evidence, which was *in camera*, told the Royal Commission that the causes of the riots were Arab fears of Jewish immigration and the murder of two Arabs near Petach Tikvah on April 16th. He explained the policy pursued by the Palestine Government during the disturbances, and stated that in his opinion the establishment of a Legislative Council would lessen the animosity between Arabs and Jews. This report must be received with all reserve.

At a meeting of the Agricultural Council of the Labour Confederation at Tel-Aviv, interesting facts and figures were given of the agricultural position of the Jews. Eight thousand Jewish workers and 1,500 Arabs are now employed in Jewish orange groves. Since the beginning of the disturbances 4,000 more Jews have been employed in the groves, the Jewish area of vegetable cultivation has increased threefold, and the supply of milk has been sufficient for the entire Jewish community. The Jewish Agency is beginning irrigation work in thirty different settlements, whilst twenty-five new settlements will be established very soon on Jewish National Fund land in the districts of Beisan, Zebulun, and the Jordan Valley.

A band of Arabs to-day blocked the main street in Beisan and broke into the Mayor's office, where they looted and set on fire the building, causing damage to the extent of £700.

A band of nine armed Arabs made an attempt last night to break into an Arab house in a grove in Beit Degan. An eight years' old Arab boy who, on seeing the Arabs, raised an alarm, was shot dead by the terrorists, who escaped. Another band, consisting of three armed Arabs, attacked a watchman at a grove in Tel Litvinsky, and robbed him of a sum of money.

The Arab paper *Falastin* reports from Baghdad that a meeting took place there which was attended by Kawakji and other rebel leaders. The question of the attitude to be adopted in the event of the Royal Commission not fulfilling the demands of the Arabs was discussed.

## Royal Commission: Important Evidence

**M**R. ERIC MILLS, the extremely capable head of the Immigration Department of the Palestine Government, gave important evidence before the Royal Commission at its sitting in Jerusalem on Wednesday of last week.

Mr. Mills said that the total population of Palestine in midsummer, 1936, was 1,336,000, of which 940,000 were Arabs, and 370,000 Jews. The number of Haurani immigrants from Transjordan was only conjecture, since the Hauranis enter in bulk and cannot be entirely controlled. Such immigration is seasonal, and out of each wave of immigration there remains a residue in the country.

Explaining the methods of determining the absorptive capacity of the country, Mr. Mills observed that his estimate did not satisfy the labour demands during the peak years, because he had to consider at the same time the possible lean years, adding that a labour reserve was necessary in case the expansion continued.

Mr. Mills mentioned the co-operation of the Jewish Agency in determining the openings for labour employment, but there is no such co-operation with the Arabs. While there is some unemployment among the Arabs, it is difficult to give a correct estimate, but the unemployment must be negligible because there are large invasions of Arabs from the neighbouring countries who were able to find jobs. Mr. Mills further explained that in consideration of the general absorptive capacity, and at his discretion, the categories for craftsmen and artisans in possession of £500 and £250 are practically closed. He exercised the fullest control of the *bona fides* of the dependants, who numbered 60 per cent. of the total number of immigrants in 1935. Sixty per cent. of the labour certificates were for unmarried people, which roughly works out at two immigrants for each certificate. The same applies to capitalist certificates. Mr. Mills said that he did not know a single case where the holder of a certificate became a charge on public funds. The Zionists aim at settling Jews on the land, and of late the percentage of Jewish agricultural workers has increased owing partly to the strike. Mr. Mills added that the same immigration laws apply to both Jews and non-Jews. He also referred to the co-operation between the British passport officers and the Zionist Palestine officers, which extends from Shanghai to New York.



Colonel Heron, head of the Health Department of the Palestine Government, in the course of his evidence, which followed that of Mr. Mills, stressed the fact that the Jews have themselves organised health services which are maintained chiefly by themselves through funds from abroad. The Arabs, he said, are, however, dependent on the Government services, which are limited, and on funds from religious and charitable institutions. The Government spend £180,000 annually on health services, while the Jews spend £318,000 for a considerably smaller population, as a result of which the Jews have a complete medical service, while the Arabs are limited only to Government and charity funds, which are relatively inadequate.

He referred to the high infant mortality among the Arabs, in contrast to the low infant mortality among the Jews owing to their most excellent mother-craft services. However, the general death-rate has decreased and the births increased, especially among the Moslems. He referred to the excessive number of doctors, there being roughly one medical man to 600 people. He also alluded to the large number of first-class medical specialists in Palestine.

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## National Resources and Development Capacity

IT is a matter of general agreement that the proper utilisation of the water resources of Palestine, the afforestation of suitable areas, the full exploitation of its mineral resources, the development of a fishing industry, the encouragement of tourist traffic and the use of the spas will provide employment for tens of thousands of additional labourers. The steady expansion of intensive agriculture along the lines worked out during the last decade has shown that, in this industry alone, there is room for the employment of additional thousands of families. But the most astonishing increase in employment in recent years has been in the manufacturing industries. Within a comparatively short time, the value of the output of industry has come to equal, and will soon exceed, the value of the output of agriculture. This expansion has increased the demand for labour in the building trades and in public services, which in their turn have absorbed thousands of new labourers.

Although those who believe in the great potentialities of the country point to specific fields in which the opportunities for further employment of labour and capital can be statistically demonstrated, there are others who adopt a defeatist attitude and ask sceptically: "What new occupations are possible now or in the future? What new industries are likely to develop?"

This attitude is frequently encountered in new countries—in the United States, in Canada and South Africa. The Director of the 1890 Census in the U.S.A. warned the country that the good land that could be had for the asking was nearly all gone. The railroads had nearly all been built, and things were slowing down. But he saw that the country was merely facing new problems. The geographic frontier had been extended at an amazing rate. The new frontier was represented by unsatisfied wants, and new industries began to develop to produce new things to satisfy those wants.

This new frontier extended even more rapidly than the old physical frontier. In that process not only Americans, but millions of workers from other countries, found employment. Immigrants came in larger numbers than ever before, larger even than in the days of free land.

The trouble with the doctrine "our country is all occupied, our industrial plant is all built," in Palestine as in America, is that it leaves out of account the resourcefulness of the human mind. No one was able to foresee the new inventions and the new industries that developed in the United States, and, since they could not foresee these things, small but egotistical minds assumed that no such things were possible. In Palestine the same sort of people assume that what they cannot foresee is impossible. Surely it ought to be sufficient to demonstrate that the expansion of the last four years has brought more prosperity, more employment, and better living conditions than the expansion in agriculture alone had ever brought.

But those who argued in 1930 that "our last frontier has long been reached" and that there was no room for further immigration, have now taken up this cry again. If only they could be made to understand that development capacity consists in finding more things for workers to do—things that are desired and can be paid for at prices which will cover costs of production—they would realise that the immigration process requires capital, managerial capacity, hard work and patience, and it is precisely these qualities and this capital that the Jewish immigrants introduce. An increasing number of labourers can be absorbed into the economic life of Palestine, and have indeed been absorbed, although the details cannot be worked out in advance.

All the evidence goes to show that during the next few years the country will be able to absorb between sixty and one hundred thousand further immigrants each year. This is no airy prophecy, but a reasoned forecast based on a straightforward examination of the real factors in immigration and of the processes of economic development.

## Another New Hospital

A FURTHER extension of the Jewish health services in Palestine occurred in October, when the High Commissioner opened the new hospital of the Kupat Cholim—the Workmen's Sick Fund of the General Federation of Jewish Labour—at Petach Tikvah. Building operations were begun in February 1935. The hospital is designed to serve the needs of the settlers in Southern Judea and the Sharon; there are at present sixty beds, and a staff of sixty men and women.

The cost for land, building and equipment was £40,000, of which the Government contributed £4,300. The rest of the money was raised by loans from co-operative financial institutions, and by a tax on the members of the Fund. The annual budget will be in the neighbourhood of £14,000, of which it is expected that about one-half will be met from patients' fees.

This is the second hospital built and run by the Kupat Cholim, which has in addition two large convalescent homes, and a large number of clinics, dispensaries and pharmacies in towns and villages.

# Palestine

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## Much in a Name

IT is important when we are determining our duty under the Mandate to realise that it is a mandate for Palestine. There is much in a name, and this very name of Palestine negatives some interpretations of the duty that it is sometimes thought to set on the Mandate. Suppose, for example, that we so interpreted our duty that Palestine failed to become or ceased to exist as a separate country, then we should have failed to discharge our Mandate, because, though we might have made people in Palestine happy and prosperous, there would be no Palestine. And a Mandate for Palestine under which Palestine had no existence would clearly be a self-contradiction. Not for nothing was the paragraph inserted in the preamble recognising the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country." That paragraph relates to the past and looks forward to the future, and thus sets up a double test for the discharge of our duty under the Mandate. Our performance of it must harmonise with the past of Palestine and it must provide for the future of Palestine. Let us take each test separately.

It is an historical fact that apart from the Jews Palestine has at no time had a separate existence as a country. When the Israelites first went there, they found not a nation or a country, but a congerie of races without unity or common organisation. On the coast were the Philistines, probably a Cretan people in origin, and formidable enemies to the newcomers because they had command of the sea and barred access to it. It was because they held the coast that the country took its name from them, for Palestine is Greek for the country of the Philistines. But to the Philistines Palestine was never a country or anything more than a collection of trading settlements near the coast; at one time they penetrated to near the Jordan by way of the Plain of Esdraelon, but they never claimed the wall of hill which separates Judæa from the coast plain, and in due time, under the pressure of invasions from the north and the south and of the growing unity of the Jewish Palestine they disappeared from history.

It is an historic fact that Palestine as a separate country was the creation of Jews. Its boundaries might change from time to time, sometimes under David and Solomon and Jeroboam extending to Damascus on the north and Akabah on the south, and at other times restricted to the Judæan highlands, but always it was what the Jews made it and apart from the Jews it had no political meaning whatever. Under the Romans, Greeks, Arabs and Turks, Palestine apart from the Jews was not distinguishable from Syria. Alexander the Great thought highly of the Jews as colonists and used them to found Alexandria in Egypt; it was the military prowess of the

Maccabees that separated Palestine from Syria for a time and the Romans governed Palestine through local kings like Herod the Great, but it was still a part of the Roman province of Syria; it was never anything but a province of Syria after the destruction of Jerusalem under Arab khalifs or Turkish governors. The definition of Palestine in history is in fact that part of Syria, large or small, which was inhabited by Jews, or Judaised Canaanites or Arabs; where there were no Jews there was no country of Palestine, and certainly no Palestinian nationality.

It is therefore of a piece with the rest of history that when the Jews under the Mandate began to resettle in numbers in Palestine, the country of Palestine should again come into existence. The Arabs might greatly outnumber the Jews, but it was the Jews even in a minority that made Palestine a separate country from Syria. When they made the promise of the Home Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd George could not conceive a separate political future for Palestine except in connection with the Jewish people; for the very good reason that it had never had a past except in that connection. The rapid revival of Palestine and its promise of a future greatness out of all proportion to its size gave to the Arabs an interest in the country such as neither they nor any earlier inhabitants except the Jews had ever had before; nor did Jews object to that interest. On the contrary, they wanted nothing better. Never at any time in its history had Palestine been exclusively occupied by Jews; what the Jews did for Palestine was to endow it with a unity composed of other racial elements than their own, a unity which without them it could never have attained. That is their hope for the future, and it does not depend on racial dominance or on any artificial proportion of populations or on anything but the natural development of the country. If Arabs will accept as the sole test what is in the interests of Palestine itself, the differences between Jew and Arab will soon disappear. They persist because the Arabs or some of them persist in thinking of Palestine not in terms of the country itself and of what is best for it, but in terms of a race which is broadcast from Persia to the Atlantic and from the Taurus to Central Africa. That is to destroy Palestine, to deny it its chance of becoming a separate nation and incidentally to make it useless to us as a bulwark of the *pax Britannica*. Has not the very name Palestine then a very definite bearing on the spirit in which the Mandate should be interpreted? The issue between Jew and Arab is unreal and forced. The real issue is whether Palestine is to have a future or no future as a separate country; whether it is to be the salt of the East or to lose its savour and its regenerating power in the future as it has always done in the past apart from the Jew.

## The Royal Commission

DR. WEIZMANN'S EVIDENCE

ON Wednesday, November 23rd, Dr. Weizmann, the President of the Zionist Organisation, gave evidence at an open sitting of the Royal Commission in Jerusalem. The evidence, which lasted for two and a half hours, was a masterly summary of the Zionist case.

Dr. Weizmann said that he wanted to summarise the background and the motives behind the Zionist movement. He explained the position of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe, pointing out that about six million Jews were in a deplorable state, which was neither life nor death. Before the war there was a large Jewish emigration from these countries; now, however, all doors are closed to immigration.

Dr. Weizmann gave a brief survey of the present situation of the Jews in Russia, pointing out that Zionism was prohibited in that country because it was regarded as a handmaid of British imperialism.

Anti-Semitism had at one time stopped at the Vistula, but it had now crossed the Rhine and was threatening the whole of Western Europe. Dr. Weizmann dealt with the economic and the political conditions of Jewish communities who, owing to the breaking up of the Russian Empire, were now forced to live in different States in circumstances of moral disintegration and physical decline. The Zionist movement was the result of Jewish homelessness.

Zionist attempted to normalise the Jewish position. The basic reason for Zionism was the non-absorption of the Jews in the world and their age-long attachment to Palestine. In this connection Dr. Weizmann gave historic instances of different Messianic movements for Jewish resettlement in Palestine. Finally, he cited the offer by the British Government of Uganda for Jewish settlement, an offer which was rejected in 1904. He outlined the main principles of the Uganda offer by the Government, a project, he said, which showed the sympathy of Great Britain with the Jews. British sympathy with the restoration of the Jews to Palestine began with Cromwell, 300 years before the Balfour Declaration.

Continuing, Dr. Weizmann explained that the Balfour Declaration was not a piece of war propaganda, and its object was not to enlist the sympathies of the rich Jews. As a matter of fact, rich Jews everywhere opposed Zionism. The Balfour Declaration was the result of mature thinking and repeated consideration by the British Empire. It was given because the British people desired to make a contribution to the solution of the Jewish world problem. At the time of the Balfour Declaration it was understood that Palestine would in time become a Jewish State; the Declaration promised a National Home, meaning a Jewish life as a nation, and that the Jews should be in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. There was also a second obligation in the Balfour Declaration, that of safeguarding the interests of the Arabs, and the Royal Commission would judge whether the second part had been carried out. The Jews were not responsible for carrying out the second part, but they were happy and proud that their work of reconstruction had been achieved, not only without causing any suffering to the Arabs, but that it had actually conferred benefits on them. He pointed out that, as a result of Jewish improvements in the country, the Arab population had increased. He denied that the good land in the country was taken by the Jews. Such land as the Jews acquired was bad land, which they improved. In this connection he stressed the difficulties which the Jews had encountered in their colonisation work.

Dr. Weizmann said that Arab nationalism and racialism had emerged as a conscious entity since the war. The claim to Palestine as an Arab country had been repudiated by Lord Milner, who had declared that Palestine was traditionally Jewish. Dr. Weizmann added that he had found himself in full agreement with Emir Feisal, whom he had met at the suggestion of Lord Allenby, and whose lifelong friendship he had retained. He referred to the Treaty agreement at the Peace Conference between himself and Emir Feisal, an agreement which was drafted by the late Colonel Lawrence, who acted as interpreter. Dr. Weizmann said that it may be that the Jews had not made sufficient efforts to placate the Arabs, but he declared that the Jews had on numerous occasions sought to explain to the Arabs the Jewish point of view and had endeavoured to come to an understanding on the basis of mutual co-operation. He offered the Royal Commission every Jewish help to solve the thorny problems with which they were faced. He insisted that it was inconceivable that the Jews should at any time not be allowed to enter Palestine freely, in accordance with the absorptive capacity of the country. Referring to the allegations made against the type of Jewish immigrants, Dr. Weizmann gave a full description of the character of the Jewish immigration into Palestine. Immigrants into Palestine differed from immigrants into other countries only in that they were always anxious for more to come.

Dr. Weizmann said that the Arabs emerged from the war with three kingdoms, while the Jews had only the little notch of Palestine within which they had to work out their national destiny. He alluded to Arab-Jewish co-operation in mediæval times, and said that he was still hopeful that co-operation would be established among the two peoples.

Dr. Weizmann was convinced that more room could be found in the country through intensive development. The future progress depended on a dynamic policy of development by the Government. Explaining the comparative small number of Jewish workers in agricultural work, he said that it was inevitable owing to the slowness of agricultural development. The process, however, could be quickened with the help of a constructive Government policy.

Finally, Dr. Weizmann said that the Jewish grievances would be submitted to the Royal Commission in a moderate spirit. The main grievance was the failure of the Government to adopt a positive policy towards the development of the Jewish National Home and the country as a whole.

#### GOVERNMENT'S LAND POLICY

At the second open session of the Royal Commission the land policy of the Government was considered. Evidence was given by Mr. Harris, the Irrigation Officer, Mr. Andrews, the Development Officer, and Mr. Bennett of the Land Department.

It was stated that there were 7 million dunams—the dunam is a quarter of an acre—of cultivable land and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million dunams of uncultivable land, including forest lands, Beersheba not being included in these figures. 682,000 dunams, valued at £7,731,000, had been acquired by Jews since 1920. The total Jewish land is now about 1,332,000 dunams.

In reply to Lord Peel's question how the Government is facilitating close settlement in co-operation with the Jewish Agency, Mr. Harris said that generally speaking such co-operation was the Government policy, but specifically he could only mention road construction, reclamation through draining of swamps, agricultural experimental work for improving cultivation, and grants to the Jewish Agency stations and assistance to the Agricultural Mortgage Bank. He also mentioned large expenditure for public security as a contribution to close settlement.

Mr. Andrews pointed out that the Arabs, being in greater possession of the grain lands, benefited most from the Government policy. Mr. Andrews added that any State domains that may still be used were earmarked for Arab resettlement. Mr. Harris admitted in his evidence that the Government had done almost nothing for the discovery of new watercourses.

Mr. Andrews explained that there were few Arab settlers on some of the land purchased by the Jews, instancing the Emek and the Valley of Esdraelon, where the average Arab holding was about 300 dunams. Consequently the number of displaced Arabs was very small. Mr. Andrews added that, since the inquiry by Sir John Hope-Simpson, there had been more intensive cultivation in Arab lands, thereby providing more employment for the Arabs; thus contradicting the conclusions of the Shaw Commission that more Jews could not be settled without displacing Arabs. He instanced Wadi Hawareth, where the Bedouins who left were given other land by the Jewish National Fund. All of them obtained employment either in the cultivation of neighbouring Arab lands or in Jewish villages.

The official witnesses sometimes corrected each other. Asked whether the exploration for water was carried out by the Jews, Mr. Harris replied in the negative, whereupon Mr. Andrews interrupted, stating that it was known that successful discoveries of water by the Jews had been made in Yavniel and elsewhere.

Some of the points emerging from the evidence are that the Government's definition of cultivable land is land that is cultivable through the resources of the average agricultural labourer, meaning the average of the Arabs and not of the Jews. It also appears that sand dunes similar to those upon which Tel-Aviv is built are regarded as uncultivable, and therefore large State domains are actually still available for urban development. Of the total of 654 displaced Arab families, a number rejected the offer by the Government to be resettled on the Beisan land, on the ground that the land is unhealthy. Mr. Andrews, however, pointed out that the land adjoins Beth Alpha, which is one of the most prosperous colonies in the Emek. It was also stated that the Jews were prepared to appoint a representative to assist in a development scheme, but the Arabs refused to agree.

#### EVIDENCE ON AGRICULTURE

On Friday Mr. E. T. Dawe, Director of Agriculture, stated that there were 153,000 dunams of citrus which had been planted by the Jews, and 147,000 by the Arabs. The area necessary for subsistence from citrus cultivation was ten dunams per family, while for grain cultivation 130 dunams was

needed per family. The present citrus area was capable of producing for marketing 25 million boxes of citrus. Mr. Dawe stressed the need of better conditions for marketing, and said that a considerable area was still available for citrus cultivation. 475,000 dunams of olives were cultivated, and the plans of his department for improvement had been held up by the disturbances.

#### EDUCATION

Evidence was then given by Mr. H. E. Bowman, Director of Education. Professor Reginald Coupland, one of the Commissioners, emphasised that it was of the utmost importance for the development of the country that the Mandatory should give great attention to the education of the inhabitants. He pointed out that Palestine was the only country under British rule where English is not the language of instruction. After referring to various points in regard to Jewish, Arab and Government schools, Professor Coupland asked Mr. Bowman what had been done in the field of education to promote and develop a closer understanding between Jews and Arabs. To this Mr. Bowman was obliged to admit that nothing had been done by the Government. He stated that Arabic was being taught in Jewish schools, whereas Hebrew was not being taught in Government Arab schools. Commenting on this statement Professor Coupland considered it surprising that Hebrew, one of the official languages of the country, was not taught in the Government schools. Mr. Bowman admitted that they had not done what should have been done in the schools in regard to closer understanding between Jewish and Arab boys and girls leaving school. Professor Coupland remarked that it was an unusual thing for secondary school students at the age of eighteen to leave Government schools in a country under British rule without a really good knowledge of English. Mr. Bowman said that higher education was provided by the Jews at the Hebrew University, and an increasing number of Jews were going abroad, especially to England, to complete their studies. The Government granted seven scholarships annually to Arabs for the University in Beirut, but no scholarships were granted to Jews. Mr. Bowman further stated that 5 per cent. of the total budget of the Government was spent on education. It was a very small amount, even though a large proportion of the budget was essential for security. The Government grant towards Jewish education was proportionate to the amount spent on Arab education, taking into account the number of children of school age in both communities.

Owing to the searching questions by Professor Coupland, no other member of the Commission made inquiries.

## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 26TH.

**T**HE evidence given by Dr. Weizmann before the Royal Commission has created a deep impression on the Jewish community. His statement is generally regarded as of immense historical value. His stirring



picture of the tragedy of the homeless Jewish people, the eternal hope of Zion, and his appeal for the Jewish rights in Palestine before a decisive political tribunal had a prophetic ring.

This morning Dr. Weizmann continued his evidence in camera. It lasted for more than two and a half hours. It is believed that Dr. Weizmann dealt with the fundamental causes of the recent disturbances and the attitude of the Palestine Administration. It is also thought that Dr. Weizmann summarised some of the Jewish grievances against the Government.

The Arab Press has angry comments on the address of Dr. Weizmann before the Royal Commission. The papers protest that the Arabs will never allow six million homeless European Jews to enter Palestine. Nor will they allow Palestine to become as Jewish as England is English.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 28TH.

After a stormy debate, the Arab Higher Committee agreed to-day to give permission to Nashashibi to meet the Royal Commission unofficially at Amman, when the members of the Commission visit that city in about a fortnight's time. Nashashibi will state to the Commission the Arab demands. This is, in practice, a complete climb down, taken obviously as a result of consultations with the Emir Abdullah.

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 29TH.

A delegation of the Jewish community, headed by Mr. Ben Zvi, the Chairman, called on the District Commissioner of Jerusalem in connection with another outbreak of shooting. The delegation raised the question of security in general in the old city. The District Commissioner promised to use all means to secure safety. The Council of the Jewish community in Jerusalem also sent a delegation to the District Commissioner in regard to public safety.

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## Arab Wealth

THE main emphasis of Arab propoganda during the last eight months has been on politics, not on economics. The "landless Arab" issue could hardly be raised after the investigations by the Government into this question, and their difficulty in finding dispossessed Arabs willing to settle on land provided at Government expense. The "hordes of Arab unemployed" were left to float about as phantoms by the side of the real living thousands of Hauranis finding highly remunerative employment in Government and private service and with both Jewish and Arab employers. It was clearly easier to stress political issues; but economics constitute the very basis and texture of life, and cannot be altogether evaded.

Two distinct lines have therefore been taken. *Vis-à-vis* the Palestine administration and British public opinion, the line of argument is based on the poverty of the masses of the fellahin in the country and of the Arab working men in the town. No attempt is made to compare their present state with their condition when under Turkish domination. No mention is

made of the fact that their present standard of living is higher than that of the Arabs in any neighbouring country. No reference is made to their better health and education. Nothing is heard but the cry: "In spite of the Jews and the British we are very poor," or, in a more imaginative mood, "The Jews have impoverished us."

The second line, taken *vis-à-vis* the Palestinian Jews, can be summarised as follows: "Why do you claim that you have enriched the country? Have we not our own professional class and our own learned men and our own rich merchants and landlords? We had our own intelligentsia and our wealthy and noble families before you came. You lie when you say that you have enriched the country."

It might have been thought that propagandist argumentation carried to these lengths would make little impression on those called upon to deal with Palestinian problems. Unfortunately the truth is not well enough known. Statistics for Palestine are still in their infancy and the facts relating to the Arab sector of the population are familiar to few. This is particularly dangerous at a time like the present, when the foundations of policy are being re-examined and a sense of proportion is more than ever essential.

In politics, as in science, to overlook even one factor in a problem may lead to a serious misjudgment, and sometimes to grave practical errors. It is necessary, therefore, to attempt some estimate of the wealth of the Arabs, although the detailed material on which it is based cannot be conveniently presented here:

Cultivated land	...	...	£60 million
Equipment on land	...	...	£20 "
Urban land	...	...	£20 "
Houses	...	...	£30 "
Hotels, shops, cafés, cinemas			£ 4 "
Factories, quarries, transport, etc.			£ 5 "
Bank deposits	...	...	£ 4 "
Working capital	...	...	£ 2 "
			—
Total	...		£145 million.

Very little of this wealth existed before the British and the Jews came to the country. The greater part, as will be seen, consists in property, whose value has risen enormously since Jewish enterprise began the era of development. The larger part of the £8 million paid by the Jews to the Arabs for their worst lands has been invested in equipment and housing.

# Palestine

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## Jewish Loyalty

THERE is one line of argument about the rights and claims of Zionists in Palestine which official Jewry has been reluctant to press, and does not press now. Yet it is open to unofficial Jewry and to those who are neither Jews nor bound by any official tie, but seek, as this paper does, to approach the problem of Palestine from the British angle, and it is due to the case that is now being tried by the Royal Commission that it should be put forward. It is this, that whatever strength there may have been at the time in the argument for the original promise of a National Home has been reinforced many times by the loyalty of the Jews since. We are thinking now not of the wonderful work that the Jews have already done for Palestine, but of services more direct to the British Government itself. They have been of a nature that has placed the British Government under what we have no hesitation in calling an obligation of honour. One likes to think of the word of an Englishman as something that stands irrespective of circumstances that may make its discharge more difficult than was perhaps realised when it was first given. It is not to be construed as one scans a legal document with a vigilant eye for possible loopholes through which its plain and surface meaning may slip and disappear, but in a broad generous sense which makes the spirit of the performance of a promise better than the letter. Now the truth about this promise of the Home which the Mandate implements is that it is the Jews who have interpreted it as a gentlemen's agreement, and others who have treated it in the spirit of a pettifogging lawyer. We can think of no other way of expressing exactly what we mean.

The expression National Home is a curious one. It was first used in a Zionist memorandum which was prepared for the British Government's approval in July 1917. It spoke of the principle of "recognising Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people." In that form it was objected to by certain non-Zionist Jews who feared that if you made Palestine *the* National Home for the Jews it might damage their right to a National Home in their respective countries as English, French or American Jews. And, therefore, it was that the National Home of Palestine became a national home *in* Palestine, the reason for the change being to make it clear that the National Home in Palestine should not detract from the claim of Jews to be good and complete English or French or American citizens as the case might be. The first declaration in favour of Great Britain as the guardian of the Home was made at a gathering in the United States representing three million Jews. They translated National Home into "Jewish Commonwealth." The British Foreign Office did not like the word Commonwealth, but when Dr. Weizmann at Versailles defined National Home as

meaning that Palestine should be as Jewish as America is American and England is English, he was expressing what was in the minds of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour when they made the promise. We are prepared to produce indisputable proof, if we are challenged, that Mr. Balfour in particular regarded the National Home as the preliminary of a Jewish State.

The problem of the Home for many reasons turned out to be not quite so simple as may have been thought at the time. For one reason, certain promises were made to the Arabs which might be held to be inconsistent with a Jewish National Home in this sense. The British Government held that the promises made to the Arabs never applied to Palestine proper. Nevertheless, they influenced its policy. On the strength of these promises not only were all Arabs freed from the Turk, but Feisal, whose family ruled in the Hedjaz, was put on the throne in Syria, and when the French expelled him was made King of Irak, truly an immense consolation prize. In addition, Palestine was dismembered, and all beyond Jordan—including the Biblical Gilead and Moab—was made an Arab preserve under the Emir Abdullah. For another reason, there were difficulties with the Arabs in Palestine this side of Jordania, which were greater than had been expected and to a nation sick of war and anxious to execute the Mandate as cheaply as possible seemed greater than they really were. Had the Jewish Zionists then said, "You have spent hundreds of millions of money and thousands of lives in Irak to establish a great Arab Empire there and you are dismembering Palestine to redeem a promise to Arabs which you admit has very doubtful validity; we must therefore hold you to your promise to us, which was made in face of the whole world, has given you certain Imperial advantages of vast importance to you, and in addition has spared you all cost in the development of Palestine"—they would have been well within their rights.

They did not say that. "We trust you" (was what they did say in effect); "we do not press words and phrases; we are anxious to get to work; and so far from asking for racial ascendancy at this stage, we want co-operation with the Arabs. We see your difficulties; we will give you all the help we can." And so they accepted the new definition of the Mandate in the White Paper which whittled away the old interpretation of the National Home by emptying it of all its political content and making the National Home, no longer political but cultural and economic, dependent on the economic capacity of the country to absorb the Jews. That was a generous—perhaps unwisely generous—action in view of what happened later, on the side of the Zionists, for which they have never been given due credit. In common fairness it demanded a return sometime from the mandatory government. One would not have thought it possible that the British Government, having obtained acceptance of less than it had promised, should then proceed to whittle even that down.

Yet that is what it tried to do. One need only mention the Shaw and the Hope Simpson Reports after the murderous riots that followed the disorders at the Wailing Wall; and the new declaration of its Palestinian policy by the last Labour Government which drew down from elder statesmen of

both the Conservative and Liberal parties an indignant rebuke which forced the Government to expunge the most discreditable features of the new policy. Meanwhile the Zionists went on with their work with such energy that Palestine became the only prosperous country in the world, and that at the time of the great trade depression. Then came the last Arab rising with all its incidents of shame, and now a Royal Commission is sitting to inquire and report on the administration of the Mandate. We have no apprehension of a Report like those which followed the troubles at the Wailing Wall. But full justice cannot be done to the Jews except in the light of the facts which we have set out in outline. On the one hand, you have a people who have made modern Palestine and who alone can make it a nation, who have poured wealth of men and money into Palestine, and who have abated of their full rights to meet the convenience and difficulties of the Mandatory, and are now and at all times ready to sacrifice all questions of form and legality in their eager love of the country. On the other hand, you have a people who have abated nothing, have never accepted the principle of the Mandate in any form, who have repeatedly rebelled not against Jews but against the conditions on which we have any right to be in Palestine at all. The question has become not so much what we owe to the Jews in Palestine, but what we owe to our own honour as faithful observers of our promises and to our prestige in the East as a governing people.

## The Moral of Syria

THE wholesale murder and destruction of property by which Syrian Moslems have sought to achieve a political purpose in the Lebanon have their moral for students of Palestine affairs. Here there has been no pretence of trying to overthrow an alien Government or prevent immigration. It has been a coarse unveiled movement of Moslems against Christians, and it has come after the establishment of a "National" Government has been secured. It is our practice to talk of Arabs and Arab nationality and Arab States, and by that blanket term to cover up the enduring fact of sectarian differences. Your Arab-speaking Christian may flatter himself with the notion that he is just as good an Arab as any Moslem, and in an Arab State will have perfect freedom and a career open to talent; and in that pleasant fancy he may join with the Moslem against the Jew. You may even see, not merely simple-minded shopkeepers or peasants taking this course, but even the heads of Christian sects. The lightning flash in Syria ought to illumine their darkness; and indeed it is difficult to understand how the delusion arose.

It would be unjust to say that Islam as a religion has a worse record for persecutions than other religions; it may, indeed, have one less bad, and the Islamic countries have in the past provided a refuge for the oppressed and persecuted of Western lands. But since its earliest days, the principle has run through Islam that full citizenship in a Moslem country belongs only to Moslems, that it is the function of Moslems to rule and the duty of non-Moslems to obey. The Turks used to call the non-Moslems *rayah*, or cattle;

and an old inveterate tradition like that becomes an instinct and is not easily cast out of the system by theory or ratiocination. That is why, at the mere prospect of being ruled by Christians, the Lebanese Moslem has taken to murder and arson; and that is why the word is running round in Palestine "after the Sabbath comes Sunday"; or after the turn of the Jews will come the turn of the Christians. Toleration, the appreciation of men as equals, is everywhere a matter of slow growth. It has never come into being in the Moslem lands (except to some degree in Égypt, where foreign influence has counted heavily); and the anti-Jewish movement has created in Palestine no atmosphere favourable to it. Palestine Christians, whose memories are crowded with bitter recollections, might well be anxious as to the associates whom they have chosen or with whom they have suffered themselves to be linked.

If it be asked why they have trodden this road the answer would seem to be with some hope, with many fear. Some of the young people doubtless have persuaded themselves that the leopard has changed his spots; their fathers think that it would be more dangerous to appear not to believe than to appear to believe. But Syria is a hard recall to reality; it is a summons to Palestine Christians to reconsider the course they have been pursuing these latter years. It has its moral for others who are engaged with Palestine problems. But for the dogma of self-determination, about which we are accustomed to feel but not to reason, there would be no Arab case in regard to Palestine which would stand a moment's examination. What is happening in Syria should force even the most credulous to ask what this alleged right of self-determination really rests upon, whether Government be not at least as much a duty as a privilege, and whether it can be estimated independently of its relation to civilisation and the welfare of humanity.

## The Royal Commission

### Jewish Immigration into Palestine

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 30TH, 1936.

**A**T the open sitting of the Royal Commission to-day, Mr. M. Shertok, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, described the Agency's immigration policy.

He said that before submitting the request for a new labour schedule, the Jewish Agency takes a complete census of the position of agricultural work, of industries, and of building. Upon the basis of these statistics it arrives at an estimate as to the labour needs for the forthcoming half-year. The Agency, he said, is in possession of a complete card index of all the Jewish citrus groves, and employs special men to obtain figures in regard to the labour market. The Agency works in close co-operation with the Jewish Farmers' Association, the Jewish Manufacturers' Association, and with the Jewish Labour Organisation. The figures of the Jewish Agency also include an estimate of the Jewish share in public works. But, Mr. Shertok added,

though the Agency fully accounts for the figures it submits, it is the grievance of the Jews that the Government disregards these figures, without stating the reasons for reducing them.

It is essential to impress upon the Government that the certificates requested by the Jewish Agency are urgently required for relieving Jewish distress abroad. The figures given by the Jewish Agency are not primarily because of Jewish distress in Europe, but because they are essential for the economic life in the country. At the same time, they would remind the Government that it is not purely an economic matter, but that large numbers of unhappy human beings are affected, and therefore have to be considered in relation to the obligations of the Palestine Mandate. Dealing with the discrepancies between the estimates of the Jewish Agency and those of the Government schedules, particularly the latest schedule, which does not meet the labour requirements of the country, Mr. Shertok recalled the fact that the Government itself has admitted the difficulty of procuring Jewish labourers for road building, and that a number of plans of the Jewish Agency in connection with roads have had to be postponed because of the labour shortage.

Dealing with the question of Arab unemployment, Mr. Shertok said that it does not exist. That is best proved by the fact that there is a large influx of Arabs from the neighbouring countries, and by the advertisements in the Arab papers that Haurani workers are wanted.

Mr. Shertok said that it is the essence of the Jewish work in Palestine not to displace Arabs, but to create new work. He added that the Arabs benefited directly in that they secured employment through the Jews, and more so indirectly, as is demonstrated by the fact that Arab citrus cultivation has greatly increased owing to the capital secured from the sale of land to the Jews.

#### ILLEGAL JEWISH IMMIGRATION

Replying to Lord Peel in regard to illegal Jewish immigration, Mr. Shertok said that the Jewish Agency has never approved of illegal immigration. On the contrary, they did their utmost to prevent it. But Jewish illegal immigration was due to distressing circumstances, the immigrants did not enter the country illegally out of pleasure, but because they knew that there is a labour shortage in Palestine, where they have an opportunity of saving themselves from the poverty and misery they experience in other countries.

Mr. Shertok said that the Jewish Agency has frequently warned Jews abroad through their Palestine offices against illegal immigration. But it is unthinkable that Jews should give information to the authorities leading to the deportation of unfortunate people back to countries of persecution and distress.

#### JEWISH EVIDENCE RESUMED

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 1ST, 1936.

The evidence of Mr. Shertok was resumed at to-day's session. He described the widely ramified landworker movement, consisting of about 250,000

members. 24,000 young men and women are being trained physically and spiritually at 365 centres in twenty-four different countries. Mr. Shertok said that the far-reaching transformation of the Jew involved in immigrating to Palestine begins really in the country of his origin. Mr. Shertok added that in Soviet Russia Jewish training centres are banned, because they are regarded as counter-revolutionary.

Mr. Shertok said that most of the training centres are self-supporting, and that the Agency grants annually £10,000 towards them. He particularly mentioned the special training of port workers in Gdunia (Poland), Riga, and Alexandria, and also training for railway workers in France. Mr. Shertok concluded by referring to the growing importance of seafaring and port workers among the Jewish immigrants.

Dr. Senator, member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, in his evidence, described the various provisions that are made by the Jewish Agency for immigrants, such as hostels, first aid, sick insurance, medical examinations, protection against exploitation, and the provision of cheap travel. He also indicated the manner in which the labour certificates are distributed according to the various classifications, and also according to the countries. A third of the certificates, he said, go to Poland. During the last three years a quarter of the total number of certificates have been allocated for German Jews.

Referring to the capitalist category, Dr. Senator stressed its importance, because the capitalist category provide fresh sources of employment. For the three years 1930-2, the total number of capitalist immigrants was 1,138; for the three years 1933-5 the number of these immigrants grew to 14,683, which meant an increase from 6 per cent. to 11 per cent. of the total Jewish immigration. Most of this class of immigrants invest money in a productive way and do not live on their capital.

Dr. Senator said that a large percentage of the capitalist immigrants were German.

#### JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 2ND.

Evidence was continued to-day by Jewish witnesses at the open session of the Royal Commission.

Dr. Senator, continuing his evidence from yesterday in regard to youth immigration, submitted as a grievance the Government change of policy, in that youth certificates are now included in the labour immigration schedule instead of their being special grants, as was the practice before.

Mr. Shertok, supporting Dr. Senator, said that the only chance that German Jewish youth have for their salvation is Palestine. This only chance, he said, is threatened by the Government's new policy. He went on to describe the manner in which the German Jewish youth is being trained for Palestine, and how essential it is that they should proceed to the country as quickly as possible, especially so as it would also be greatly to the benefit of Palestine.

Dr. Senator then dealt with the dependants of immigrants. He said that the average now is one dependant for each immigrant. He complained that brothers and sisters under the age of eighteen are no longer included



in the category of dependants. The result is that large sums of money are being exported from Palestine for the support of dependants abroad, which is obviously very harmful to the economic position of the country. He noted this as a grievance on the part of the Jews.

Sir Horace Rumbold asked about the immigration of Communists into Palestine. Mr. Shertok stated that the Jewish Agency do their utmost to prevent Communists from entering the country, adding that the number of Communists in Palestine is very small.

#### NON-JEWISH IMMIGRATION

Mr. E. Epstein, who, on behalf of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, has made an extensive tour in the neighbouring Arab countries and studied conditions there, was the next witness, and dealt with the immigration into Palestine of Arabs from Hauran, Transjordan, and elsewhere. He cited facts showing that immigration of Arabs from neighbouring countries into Palestine is neither temporary nor seasonal. It is not only, he said, because Palestine has a particular attraction for them, but also because of the conditions prevailing in the countries of their origin. He estimated that during 1934 and 1935, 25,000 Hauranis entered Palestine. As the conditions in Hauran are not improving, there was no prospect of the immigration into Palestine decreasing unless strong measures are taken on the frontier. Of the total of the 25,000 Haurani immigrants into Palestine during the period mentioned, he estimated that 8,000 remained in the country illegally.

## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 3RD.

IT is reported from Arab sources that, following instructions from Moscow, the Palestine Communist Party has opened negotiations with the Arab national extremists, including Fakhri Nashashibi, Hassan Sidky Dajani, and Izzat Darwaza, with the view of intensifying the campaign against the Jews and against Great Britain.

It is reported from Jaffa that a movement is on foot among Moslem Arab merchants to extend their economic boycott, hitherto directed only against the Jews, also to Christian Arabs. The movement is still of a secret character, but young Moslems are picketing near Christian Arab shops and urging Moslem Arabs to buy only from Moslems.

At to-day's meeting of the Executive of the Jewish Agency the distribution of the 1,300 labour certificates for the current six months was decided upon. Of that number 600 will be for Poland, 300 for Germany, and 400 for various other countries.

A recrudescence of violence is being experienced in different parts of the country. There has been a great deal of looting by armed bands of Arabs, as well as attacks on the police near Lydda. An attempt made to secure the release by force of arrested Arab suspects in connection with the shooting at the Lydda police station failed.

According to reports from Beirut, the Lebanese police have confiscated near the Palestine border 250 rifles that were hidden in sacks of flour and were being transported to Palestine for Arabs.

The Palestine Jewish mercantile fleet now consists of seven ships, and the Jewish Maritime League has been formed to train Jewish youths as sailors, to develop fishing along the Palestine coast, and to train Jewish maritime workers in the ports of Haifa and Tel-Aviv.

The total number of births in Palestine during the third quarter of 1936 was 11,578. Of these births over 8,000 were among Moslems and over 2,000 were among Jews. The birth-rate was highest among Moslems (41.8 per thousand) and lowest among Jews (24.7).

Of the 11,578 births, 2,200 Moslem births, or about 27 per cent. of all Moslem births, took place in the eighteen towns, as compared with about 1,800 Jewish births or about 77 per cent. of all Jewish births.

The total number of deaths returned in the third quarter of 1936 was 4,781. There were 3,445 deaths recorded among Moslems, 898 among Jews. The death-rate was 17.4 per thousand among Moslems and 9.5 among Jews.

The population of Palestine, including travellers in the country, but not including members of His Majesty's Forces or the nomadic population, was estimated to be 1,279,410 at September 30th, 1936. This population was made up of 784,771 Moslems, 376,786 Jews, 106,595 Christians, and 11,258 others. The estimated Moslem population increased by 2,982 during the third quarter of 1936, the Jewish population by 6,303, and the Christian population by 121.

#### JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 4TH.

The Jewish members of the Jerusalem municipality, who constitute half the members of the Council, have submitted to the Government a request to take steps against the action of the Arab Mayor, Dr. Khalidi, for disregarding the rights of the Jewish Vice-Mayor. Meanwhile the Jewish Councillors decided, as a protest, not to attend a meeting of the Municipal Council called yesterday, in consequence of which the meeting had to be given up as there was no quorum without the Jewish members. The Jewish Councillors now ask that the rights of the Jewish Vice-Mayor should be guaranteed by the Government.

A dastardly attack was made last night on the Jewish children's village of Ben Shemen. A group of armed Arabs approached the village and fired several shots at the houses, the bullets penetrating the walls near the children's beds. Fortunately none of the children was harmed. The assailants, who escaped, were traced to the neighbouring Arab villages.

Trees were uprooted in the Herzl Forest, which is situated near Ben Shemen. The Jewish watchman opened fire, but the marauders escaped.

Wolf Sherman, a Jewish watchman who was stoned by a group of Arab shepherds on Jewish National Fund land at Haifa Bay to-day, opened fire in self-defence and slightly wounded one of the Arabs. Mr. Sherman subsequently reported the incident to the police and was arrested.

# Palestine

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## The Wandering Jew

IS there to be no place in the world where the Jew can have a home of his own as of right and not on sufferance, in numbers sufficient to make a distinctive civilisation to which his brethren all over the world can look as a centre as the Australian or Canadian looks to England as the homeland, and where his corporate future will depend on his own efforts to make or mar, and where he will not be at the mercy of movements and accidents for which he has no responsibility? That is the real subject before the Royal Commission on Palestine. It is the tragedy of the Wandering Jew, and how this country having promised to mitigate it can best succeed and win another title to fame in history. For this history of the Jew spans the world from east to west, and from the most remote times to the latest modernity. Of no other race can that be said. When Mr. Balfour made his promise, he was following in the footsteps of many of the world's greatest men—Cyrus, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, the best of the Popes and of the Caliphs, Charlemagne, Cromwell, Napoleon and Disraeli. There never was so marvellous a canvas for the creative gift of British statesmanship. It is hardly too much to say that as anti-Semitism is the sure sign of a second-rate mind, Zionism of one kind or another has been one of the surest hall-marks of constructive political genius among great Gentiles.

From Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan, and from Egyptian bondage to the Promised Land, then to captivity again to the waters of Babylon, back to Palestine and a wonderful flowering time of spiritual genius, and then the destruction of Jewish nationhood that has lasted until now, these are only the beginnings of the Jews' wanderings. The Jew thrived in a material sense under secular Rome; it was not until Rome adopted Christianity as its official religion that racial and religious persecution was added to national extinction. When the barbarians destroyed the Roman Empire the Jew went down with the rest of the Mediterranean civilisation. His spiritual centre was once more in the East, and especially in Mesopotamia.

It is an interesting speculation what might have happened to the world if Mahomet had converted the Jews of the Hedjaz, as he hoped. But the resentment of Islam was not lasting or continuous. The Arab conquests opened up a continuous settled pathway to the Jew from Mesopotamia all along North Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar and the Saracenic Empire in a Spain which perhaps has never been so prosperous since.

Again, under the Caliphs of Spain there was another flowering of the Jewish genius, alike in politics and in learning. For long they were to the Caliphs of Spain what the Greeks were to the Romans, or the Baltic provinces to the old Russian political service. Later, with the decay of Arab power in

Spain, came persecution, but it was not continuous either under the Arabs or under the Christians in Spain. But presently came a second Diaspora, when the Jews expelled from Spain returned to the East and to Turkey. Meanwhile the Jews had spread over from Spain through Provence into Eastern France and the German Rhine provinces, and a few found their way into England. England was the first to carry out a wholesale expulsion; in France and Spain there was persecution, but expulsion was not yet.

Then came the Crusades. Pope Urban's speech at Clermont was one sheer tragedy for the Jews, for it led to the wholesale massacres in the Rhine countries and to the immense Jewish settlement in Poland and later in the adjacent provinces of Russia and Rumania. On the Black Sea they had nearly come the full circle round in their wanderings from the Near East to Spain, from Spain back to Turkey one way, one to Germany the other, and so farther east again. And in these wanderings the Jews had been doctors, philosophers (the Middle Ages knew Aristotle through Latin translations of Hebrew versions made by Jews for their own use in the schools of Cordova), diplomats, Grand Viziers, commercial travellers and money-lenders. They would have been farmers in England if the jealousy of the landed classes had allowed Edward I to have his way; and they took to trade because they were the only internationals apart from the priests of Rome, and to finance because the Church of Rome forbade usury among Christians, But however distinguished and prosperous members of the Jewish race were, they were always at the mercy of forces outside themselves over which they had no control—whether bigotry or Crusades, or a feudal organisation or economic system which found no place for them, or of borrowers anxious to extinguish their debts by organising a massacre in the name of religion. They owed their welcome into Poland to the fact that invasions had extinguished everyone else in the country except peasants, and nobles and enlightened kings wanted trade and other functions of civilisation which are ordinarily performed by the middle class. They are not wanted to-day in Poland because a new middle class is rising.

It might well have seemed that, when Liberalism in the nineteenth century become the dominant creed in politics, the Jew might find rest at last. To a citizen of a nation in which liberty flourished, yes; but not as a Jew; as a member of a religious sect, but not as a race. With other peoples, race and nationality become synonymous; but not with the Jew. Self-determination meant something for every race except the Jewish; and the Great War, fought for the rights of nationality, was for him a terrible civil war in which Jew fought Jew. Worse still, the nationalism for which the war was fought became for him a scourge; it became an epidemic disease which gave him a double dose of suffering. He was denied his liberty as Pole or Rumanian or German citizen, and then as Jew was relegated to a helot class below that of citizenship. And now, even in the country of Palestine in which he had hoped to find a home in which he could dwell as of right, he finds his aspirations blocked by prior occupation. With every other nation, prior occupation must be beneficial occupation. The whole history of the world is a history of the triumph of beneficial over prior occupation, a triumph often resting

on nothing but superior force. The Zionist in Palestine does not ask that force should be the test of beneficial occupation; only that there shall be no artificial impediments in the play of economic forces that all the time are benefiting the Arab as much as himself.

It is possible so to whittle down the idea of the national home in Palestine that it shall be a mere perpetuation of the injustice from which the Jewish race has suffered elsewhere throughout his history—to help to make countries for other people but never to make one for himself, or even to be associated on equal terms with others in the making of the land which he was promised. That is the tragic note of Jewish history. The Commission can prolong its agony or it can resolve it into a chordal harmony. One small corner of the world can redress the balance of injustice over two millenniums and over half the circumference of the earth.

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## The Royal Commission Illegal Arab Immigration

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 8TH.

MR. L. EPSTEIN of the Jewish Agency continued his evidence before the Royal Commission to-day. He stated that illegal Arab immigration from Syria is responsible for many social and economic evils. The Arab immigrants introduce a low standard of living into the country. Cheap Arab workers are paid 70 mils daily for their work, but only spend 30 mils a day, and live in the most insanitary conditions. Both the Government and the Government contractors employ Haurani labour on public works, and in that way they are encouraging illicit immigration. It paid the Arab peasants to hire Hauranis as farm hands, while they themselves find better-paid work in the Jewish groves.

Mr. Epstein referred to the participation of the Hauranis in the disturbances of the country; they played a serious part in the riots of 1933 and 1936. He also referred to the petty crimes and disorders for which they are very frequently responsible.

Mr. Shertok urged the desirability of exercising more effective control on the frontiers. He also stated that, if Jews were employed by the Government instead of Hauranis, the cost to the Government would eventually not be increased, because the work would be done better and quicker. Palestine is the only country in that part of the world the development of which acts as a magnet, attracting Arabs from such remote countries as Sudan, Hedjaz, and Yemen.

In reply to Lord Peel, who asked whether Article VI of the Mandate was interpreted to mean that immigration into Palestine should be limited to Jews, Mr. Shertok answered in the affirmative, and stressed the fact that Arab immigration into Palestine is due to Jewish development.

In summing up, Mr. Shertok formulated five main Jewish grievances

in regard to immigration. The labour schedules granted by the Government are inadequate and do not satisfy Jewish labour demands. The restrictions on the immigration of dependants are unduly harsh, and he submitted that relatives abroad, supported by residents in Palestine, should be admitted into the country. The category of artisans and specialists in possession of £250 and £500 respectively should be renewed. Youth certificates should be granted separately, and not be included in the labour schedule. The illicit Arab infiltration, which reduces the absorptive capacity of the country, should be stopped.

#### JEWISH AGRICULTURAL WORK

Dr. Ruppin, the well-known sociologist, pointed out that 45 per cent. of the money the Jews have spent in Palestine since the war has been devoted to the buying of land and to agricultural development.

The Jewish national funds have invested £4,900,000 in agriculture. This amount does not include the money invested by private Jewish individuals. The citrus investments by individual Jews amount to over ten million pounds. The German immigrants have lately invested several million pounds in agricultural work. At one time the cost of settling a family on the land was £1,200, but now it is much less. Dr. Ruppin mentioned that in Australia the cost to the British Government of settling a family on the land was £2,840. Collective settlement yielded in 1935 a profit of £25,000, out of which interest was paid on the loans advanced by the Jewish funds. The agricultural settlement by the Jews in Palestine showed a world record of low infant mortality.

Dr. Ruppin submitted documentary proof showing how grossly erroneous were the conclusions of the Hope-Simpson report, and pointing out that the Government's own investigations destroy the legend of the existence of landless Arabs as a result of development by Jews. He referred to the discovery by the Jews of water in places hitherto unexpected. He said that apart from Beersheba there are 1,500,000 dunams (a dunam is a quarter of an acre) of land which can be irrigated, and that this is a conservative estimate. In addition to the 3,500,000 dunams already irrigated, it is possible to make Palestine a greater country without any extension of boundaries. He added that the population which is now supported on 7,500,000 dunams of unirrigated land could be supported on only 1,500,000 dunams of irrigated land.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 9TH.

Dr. Arthur Ruppin continued his evidence to-day. He said that the Arabs sell more of their produce to the Jews than the Jews to the Arabs. Consequently, if Jews were to retaliate in the economic boycott the Arabs would suffer most. There were very few cases of Arab tenants being displaced by the Jews. Compared with the number of Arabs that have lost their holdings through foreclosure by Arab usurers, their displacement by Jews was negligible.

Dealing with the position of the Arabs, he said that their condition can

be improved not by laws restricting the sale of land, but only through a comprehensive land plan by the Government providing for a better living through more intensive cultivation on smaller holdings. Dr. Ruppin concluded his evidence by pointing out that the Arabs have surplus land without resources for its development.

#### JEWISH NATIONAL FUND LAND

Dr. Hexter, the next witness, explained that the underlying principle of the Jewish National Fund is that Jews shall be settled on the soil and that they shall themselves work on the land. He declared that Jews are prepared to employ Arabs if the Arab labour market is equally open to the Jews on a certain standard of wages and other labour conditions.

Dr. Hexter said that differences exist between the Government and the Jewish Agency in regard to definition, interpretation and judgment. Discussing the Government's estimate of a cultivable area, he declared that it is not just or wise to exclude numerous types of land, such as marshes, forest land, rocky land, and dunes, from the category of cultivable areas. He cited Huleh and other swamps, the cultivability of which is certain after amelioration has been carried through. He also gave instances of forest lands that have been converted into plantations, and rocky and sandy lands which have been turned into flourishing fruit areas. He criticised the methods of the Government, which do not take into consideration the possibilities of irrigation and ignored certain vital factors.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 10TH.

Resuming his evidence, Dr. Hexter dealt with the small amount of State domains leased to the Jews. Since 1920 only 3,850 dunams of cultivable land within the Government's definition of cultivable land, have been leased to Jews. He submitted the request that the Jewish Agency should co-operate with the Government in investigating and in determining what State lands might be leased to the Jews.

Dr. Hexter mentioned well-boring by twenty Jewish companies which, with fifty-nine machines, have made 473 borings, 396 of which proved successful. The Jewish companies have made forty borings on behalf of Arab clients. Water was found in places that were previously regarded as waterless. As a result it is possible to irrigate 300,000 dunams of land, and there are other large areas where irrigation could be effected. With regard to Beersheeba, Dr. Hexter stated that there are stretches in that area where the soil is better than in the north.

#### PALESTINE LAND LAWS

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 11TH.

Mr. S. Horowitz, a leader of the Palestine bar, gave evidence before the Royal Commission to-day in regard to the land laws of the country. He said that the Government had not introduced a new land system, as provided in Article XI of the Palestine Mandate. The landowners pay heavily for registration, but do not receive security of title deeds. Trespassers cannot be

evicted by the owners, notwithstanding their possession of title deeds. Prior possession must be proved through lengthy and costly litigation, the onus of proof being put on the title holder. The courts function very slowly, and meanwhile new trespassers appear, against whom in turn a new court order must be obtained through the same lengthy process of litigation.

Mr. Horowitz suggested the application of the English law, which provides police aid for the protection of owners.

He said that fictitious claims are being manufactured, and mentioned that the Moslem Wakf is encouraging trespassers in Haifa bay, with whom it has an agreement to share the spoils. The Arabs, he said, started to build on Jewish land, and had even commenced to put up small mosques on it, which would ultimately have become the irretrievable property of the Wakf, had it not fortunately been stopped in time by the land settlement officer. He mentioned also Arab claims, through which the Jewish irrigation schemes are prevented. He urged that land questions should be referred, immediately to a British magistrate.

Mr. Horowitz concluded his evidence with a plea for a decrease in the excessive number of tribunals and to increase the efficiency of the court system. He also stated that there were too few judges.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 6TH.

ACCORDING to reports from various parts of the country, Moslem Arabs are actively engaged in organising a campaign against Jewish and Christian landowners. Already there has been a clash between Moslem Arabs and Christian Arabs in a village near Herzlia.

Clashes occurred between Moslems and Christians in two different places in Jerusalem to-day. Young Moslems picketed Christian shops in the old city of Jerusalem near the Y.M.C.A., and created a disturbance there, preventing Arabs from entering the building.

Two new settlements are to be established on land belonging to the Jewish National Fund on the hills near Jerusalem. The settlements will be chiefly for Jewish quarry workers, the object being to develop the Jewish production of stone for building purposes.

Owing to a shortage of Jewish labour for orange-picking, the Jewish labour organisation has secured 500 workers from Tel-Aviv to assist in the work in the settlements. An additional thousand workers will come from Haifa, Jerusalem, and Tel-Aviv.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 7TH.

The Arab Higher Committee has begun to tour various towns with the object of strengthening its connection with the local committees and also for the raising of funds. At a meeting which took place last night at Jaffa and which was attended by a number of Arab notables, the questions of the Jaffa port, the establishment of an Arab bank, and the boycott of Jews,



were discussed. At the same meeting an attempt was made to conciliate wealthy Arabs who appear to be reluctant to respond to the appeal for funds. It is the intention and hope of the Arab Higher Committee to raise a sum of £50,000 for "war by every means against the Jews and the English."

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 8TH.

The income of the Jewish National Fund during the year ending October 1936 amounted to £405,000. This total income in one year is a record in the history of the Fund. The United States heads the list, having contributed during the year the sum of £111,000. England is the second on the list, followed by Palestine, South Africa, and Germany respectively.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 9TH.

It is rumoured that the Arab Higher Committee has decided to rescind their former resolution to boycott the Royal Commission. This decision was arrived at at a meeting which took place late last night, and it is expected that evidence will be given by the Arabs a week hence, after the month of Ramadan. The proposal to change the attitude towards the Commission was opposed by the extremists.

It is also reported that a delegation consisting of four leading Arabs, headed by Auni Abdul Hadi, is proceeding to-day to Iraq and Hedjaz, with the object of consulting the Arab Kings as to the nature of the Arab evidence before the Royal Commission.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 10TH.

The Arab Higher Committee now denies the report that it contemplates appearing before the Royal Commission. Despite this denial, I learn that the Committee has already prepared material which will be presented to the Commission. It is also understood that the Mayor of Gaza, who is a relative of the Mufti, has already submitted a memorandum and that the Arab Higher Committee took no exception to it.

With the coming of the rains there has been the gathering of large quantities of vegetables and an increase in the production of milk and eggs. During the six months of the disturbances many of the Jewish settlements enlarged their production and extended the areas under cultivation, in order to ensure the cities a sufficient supply of essential foodstuffs. This increased production is now looking for buyers.

Unfortunately the growers are now faced by the competition of Syrian products that come into Palestine duty free. The Syrian prices for vegetables are often lower than the prices asked for similar goods by the Arabs in Palestine. The competition is especially difficult for the Jewish settlements which had plans for increasing their share in supplying the towns and had obtained various special credits for this purpose. At present they supply about 25 per cent. of the total consumption of farm products in the towns.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 12TH.

The Arab paper *Islamia* states that a Moslem conference is to be convened in Mecca during the time of the pilgrimage for the purpose of dealing with Palestine questions.

It is reported that the Colonial Office has approved the grant of £15,000 for the construction of a village for Arabs whose houses were demolished in the old city of Jaffa.

## Illegal Immigration

**T**HE question of illegal immigration into Palestine requires to be cleared up. Confusion is evident.

The Jewish Agency is opposed to illegal immigration, for it has aimed to bring into the country only those who have been selected and trained in its recognised centres in Poland, Germany, Rumania and other countries. Illegal entrants are entirely outside its jurisdiction, and they may or may not be suitably trained and of the most desirable age. Clearly the Agency prefers to give precedence to those who have received a technical and mental training of a kind which has been demonstrated by experience as likely to make them the most suitable type of citizen.

It is wrong to assume that the illegal immigrants who enter the country are an addition to those approved by the Government under the labour schedule. The Immigration Department has for years taken the most drastic steps to prevent the total number of Jewish immigrants from exceeding the number there would be if there were no illegal Jewish immigrants at all.

The Report of the Department for 1935 points out that "deductions are made from the semi-annual estimates of the absorptive capacity of Palestine for Jewish labour immigrants equivalent to the estimated number of Jewish travellers who will remain illegally in Palestine during the following six months." The result of illegal immigration is to lessen the number of certificates available for distribution by the Jewish Agency. This is unjust to the large number of fully trained young men and women waiting at the centres, and creates difficulties and frictions of various kinds. There can be no question that it is in the interest of the Agency to be given the total number of certificates granted under the labour schedule for distribution among those whom it regards as the most suitable candidates.

Notwithstanding the Agency's eagerness to co-operate with the most efficient of the Government Departments, and its own interests in the matter, it is clear that in Palestine as elsewhere Government decisions must seem reasonable if they are to carry public sympathy and win general support. Two factors have hitherto militated against this in regard to the Government's immigration policy.

The labour schedules granted by the Government have repeatedly been considerably below the figure that can be regarded as reasonable. The detailed evidence of labour vacancies submitted by the Agency is not discussed but a decision is taken, granting as a rule about half the number of certificates requested and for which solid evidence is produced, and no reasons are given for not accepting the evidence submitted. A second most disturbing factor is the admitted lack of effective control on the Syrian, Transjordanian and Lebanon frontiers, through which many thousands of Arabs from other countries enter as illegal immigrants.

# Palestine

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## Arab Initiative

ALL the available evidence goes to show that the material condition of the Arabs in Palestine has improved considerably under the British administration. Unfortunately it cannot be maintained that the improvement is due except in very small part to the efforts of the Arabs themselves. In most cases the progress has been achieved by the direct action of the Government, as in education and sanitation, or under the stimulus of Government persuasion and encouragement, as in the case of village co-operative societies.

In purely economic matters, it is true, the Arabs have benefited greatly from the example of their Jewish co-citizens, and have established numerous undertakings in industry, building and finance, which are now operating successfully and show good prospects of expansion. It is in the so-called social services that the very marked advance which has been made owes practically nothing to Arab initiative.

This is due as much to the policy of the Government as to any lack of social consciousness on the part of the Arab population as a whole, although it is impossible to refrain from attaching some blame to the wealthy leading Arab families who have devoted their energies exclusively to political affairs instead of, at least in part, to an effort to raise the social standard of the Arab people. In this they are carrying on the practice of the old Turkish empire. Such private Arab schools as exist (i.e. schools which are not included in the Government's educational system) are relics of the pre-war days. The Arabs themselves have built no hospitals and established no medical or social services, although in the last two decades the resources at their command have greatly increased. Schools, hospitals, medical and social services have been provided by the Government out of State revenues, which derive largely from Jewish sources.

The position of the Arabs is in striking contrast to that of the Jews. For the Arabs, services are provided out of national funds, but they have no say in their administration, which is carried out by the respective Government Departments. The Jews, on the other hand, who themselves pay the costs of their health and education services, with the assistance of very small Government grants, enjoy, under general Government supervision, maximum autonomy and responsibility for their administration.

The problems raised by such a state of affairs concerns more than considerations of financial equity, though these are urgent enough. The experience gained from the establishment and administration of, say, rural and urban elementary schools would do much towards developing among the Arab people that sense of responsibility for civic affairs which is essential

to the successful operation of local self-government. Arab political leaders have for years demanded a greater measure of self-government, but so far they have done nothing to acquire the training which would make them worthy of the task and capable of its execution. Nor have they shown any understanding of the obligations of wealth; they have left the task of bettering the condition of the poorer sections of the population entirely to the Administration. They have been content to accept spoon-feeding by the Government, and the Government, by adhering to this policy, have failed to arouse among the Arabs that sense of civic responsibility and practical knowledge of real problems which represent the enduring foundation of normal political development and social progress.

## Ain Harod

**A**IN HAROD is the largest workers' co-operative settlement in Palestine. Situated in the eastern part of the Vale of Esdraelon, it was founded in 1923 and has to-day a population of two thousand. It covers seven thousand dunams (the dunam is a quarter of an acre) and cultivates an additional seven thousand.

The settlement has transformed the landscape. Intensive modern agriculture has taken the place of primitive farming. Trees and buildings are seen in the place of the earlier barrenness. A thriving, active community has replaced the former desolation. Before the settlement was founded the stretch of soil that it occupies was inhabited by three families, tenants of their absentee landlord, the Sursuch family of Beirut. Living in abject poverty, these tenants paid at least a quarter of their annual harvest in rent, another quarter in interest to the moneylender, existing miserably on the remainder. With the large sum of money that they received as compensation from the Jews they cleared themselves from debt and settled on good land in the neighbourhood.

The settlement was started first on a small scale with a few families. Everything had to be learned, every step had to be carefully investigated and the results tested. The working of the land, the organisation of sales, the building of houses, sheds and stables were at first in the nature of experiments, unhindered—and unassisted—by tradition or experience. The work was hard, and the practical difficulties of the first years were aggravated by fever and sickness. But the lessons of early errors and troubles were not lost, and the settlement is to-day one of the most flourishing in the whole of Palestine. The most recent estimate gives a net income per family of £120 a year, and the colony has begun to repay the loans raised for providing stock and equipment.

Ain Harod's chief characteristic—and in many respects each settlement is peculiar to itself—is that the farming and auxiliary activities are constantly being intensified in order to provide an opening for further Jewish immigrants. Until 1932 most of the newcomers to the settlement came from Eastern Europe; since that date about 150 German Jews have joined.

The land, which is held on a long lease from the Jewish National Fund, is

cultivated on a co-operative basis, each settler contributing according to his ability and all sharing in the fruits of their joint labour. The settlers receive no money, except for travelling expenses on their occasional vacations, or for sending remittances to aged dependants in Europe. Food, clothing, and lodging are provided for all, and such other necessities, amenities and services as the settlement can at different times afford. The work, for men and women alike, continues to be hard, but the voluntary discipline and spirit of willing co-operation which inform all the activities have brought with them a happy content.

The settlement endeavours as far as possible to satisfy its own needs. Wheat is grown in its fields, ground at its mill, and the bread baked in its kitchens. Barley, maize, clover and lucerne are also grown, as well as vegetables. Fruit-growing is well developed and includes olives, plums, pears, quinces, grapes, oranges and grapefruit, while cypress and eucalyptus have been planted for shade. There is a high yield of milk from the cows, averaging 4,000 litres a year, and sometimes reaching 7,000 litres from the cows reared on the settlement. On the average their hens lay 120 to 150 eggs a year.

The building work is done by the inhabitants, who also run their own laundry and printing shop. Other members of the community act as tailors, dressmakers, carpenters, blacksmiths and wheelwrights, but this practice is not pushed to any fanatical extreme. The settlement sells its surplus produce and buys the articles which cannot easily be produced at home. The earnings of any member who does work outside the settlement are added to the general fund.

The crèche and the school attached to the settlement receive the greatest attention. Indeed, in the early days many visitors regarded them as extravagant for such a poor community, but to-day the income not only maintains both crèche and school at an admirably high level, but has also enabled the settlers to build a very fine hall which is used as dining-room and as the chief social centre for the community. The wooden shacks in which the settlers lived for ten years have now been replaced by well-built houses. But perhaps the most interesting feature of Ain Harod is the open-air theatre, its unchanging background formed by the lovely hills of Gilboa.

## The Royal Commission The Question of State Lands

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 14TH.

DR. HEXTER, member of the Jewish Agency Executive, explained to the Royal Commission to-day the position in regard to State lands. The Commission drew attention to the fact that the Government offered to the Jewish National Fund 294,000 dunams (a dunam is a quarter of an acre) of State lands, but that the Jewish National Fund declared that it is interested only in 9,000 dunams of that offer. Dr. Hexter stated that repeated representations have been made by the Executive of the Jewish

Agency to the Government, as a result of which the Government Development Officer discussed the question in March 1936 with the Jewish National Fund representative, who was shown maps covering only a part of Beisan State lands, an area of approximately 12,000 dunams out of a total of 70,000 dunams in the area. The Jewish National Fund was interested in the 12,000 dunams, but it was subsequently informed by the Government that 4,000 dunams of that total must be excluded, while as to the remaining 8,000, the Government would let them know. So far, the Jewish National Fund has not received any further communication, nor has it received any data in regard to other State lands which the Development Officer undertook to supply. Dr. Hexter stressed the fact that the figure of 294,000 dunams of State land was never mentioned, nor was there any indication given in regard to the total State area available for Jewish settlement. The Jewish Agency has persistently made representations about the position of State domains, but has hitherto been unsuccessful.

Dr. Hexter said that cultivability is not inherent in the quality of the land, but is determined by the interaction of economic and other forces, which vary from time to time. He said that it is necessary to have a speedier land survey so as to expedite land settlement. Under present conditions it will take about thirty or forty years before settlements can be completed. Another obstacle to progress is the system of joint ownership of land. He recommended Government loans for the Jewish agricultural co-operatives, more active drainage of swamps, and more support for agricultural and experimental work. He thought that the rate of 8 per cent. charged by the Government for agricultural loans is too high. He further recommended a more comprehensive policy in regard to roads, a closer understanding with the Government in regard to State lands that are available, and also Government assistance in determining the water resources in Beersheba.

Dr. Hexter declared that the Zionist aim is that a third of the Jewish population in Palestine shall be engaged in agricultural work, and if, as Dr. Ruppin stated, 1,500,000 dunams of irrigable land is available, that means that there will be room for 60,000 more Jewish families on the soil. He quoted the view of Professor Flinders Petrie, who found evidence of an extensive system of irrigation in ancient times. Through modern science, work which took generations to accomplish can be achieved more rapidly. The Jews had faith, and they only ask the Government for its assistance.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 15TH.

Dr. Bernard Joseph, counsel to the Jewish Agency, in his evidence to-day, supplemented some of the evidence given by Dr. Hexter in regard to State lands. He said that the Government does not take adequate steps to preserve its State lands. He cited figures from Government reports showing that besides the million dunams of registered State land, there exists from two to three million dunams of additional waste land. He also stated that the Ottoman Land Code is still in force, under which a fellah who claims that he has cultivated State land for ten years has the right to the title.

A fellah has only to bring a certificate signed by a mukhtar and two notables to prove that he has cultivated land for ten years, to obtain a clear title

to his claim. The witness said that this process had been going on for years and is continuing to-day.

In regard to the Government's statement that the Jewish purchases of land has increased fourfold during 1931-5, the witness showed that the Jewish purchases of land during that period have been on the same average as during the last fifteen years. The Jewish land purchases are only 5 per cent. of the total area of Palestine, and if such purchases are to continue at the same rate it will take 150 years to purchase half the area of Palestine, excluding the Beersheva district. Dr. Joseph said that according to Government information, less than 200 Arab smallholders have been made landless during the last fifteen years. While it is the Government's contention that 17 million dunams of land are uncultivable, the Jews have been nevertheless unable to effect any purchases of that land. This is beating the Jews with both ends of the stick. If the Government believes that this 17 million dunams of land is valueless, then let it be given to the Jews, and they will make it valuable. The proposed restriction of land sales is a negative measure leading to demoralisation and to the holding up of development.

The Arab fellah in Palestine is a hard-headed, shrewd business man and does not require pampering protection. The Arabs are well able to take care of themselves. He said that the Jewish smallholders are unanimously opposed to Government protection, because it tends to destroy credit facilities. He pointed to the numerous objections to the policy as embodied in the proposed land sales restriction, and said that the Government ought to help the fellahin to get rid of their debts and enable them to develop their land, which could be achieved through selling part of their land to the Jews, and with the money they obtain, developing the remainder.

#### THE CITRUS INDUSTRY

Mr. S. Tolkowsky, chairman of the Jaffa Citrus Exchange, pointed out that although he was speaking for the Jews, he was sure that the Arab growers and shippers would agree with him. He complained of the inadequate Government help for the advancement of the citrus industry and for dealing with the problem of transport and marketing. The Government railway policy is a hand-to-mouth policy, instead of a carefully prepared and well-worked-out scheme. He referred to the inadequate roads, and mentioned that the Jaffa high road has not been completed.

Dealing with the citrus industry, Mr. Tolkowsky said that in 1936 there has been a crop of 9 million boxes of citrus fruit, and that in a few years this will be increased to 22 million boxes. He stressed the need of harbour development in Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, an area in which two-thirds of the citrus crop is produced. He said that by developing these harbours they could eventually become one deep-water harbour. In that way the problem of Jewish-Arab co-operation in regard to this matter would be solved.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 16TH.

Mr. S. Tolkowsky, continuing his evidence before the Royal Commission, dealt with the marketing of citrus fruit, and stated that the general world export of oranges consists of 45 million boxes annually, which within a

decade will be increased by an additional 30 million boxes, half of which will come from Palestine. The European markets, he said, could absorb an increased supply of oranges without any difficulty, providing trade restrictions could be overcome. He said that Article 18 of the Palestine Mandate, which forbids discrimination, could be interpreted in such a way as to allow Palestine to adopt a differential reciprocal tariff system. He appealed for the inclusion of Palestine in Imperial Preference.

#### THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

The next witness, Mr. Hoofien, general manager of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, said that there are great potentialities for industrial development in Palestine. Arab rural economy is dependent upon Jewish urban economy, because it finds markets for its produce, and the future well-being of both sections of the population depend to a considerable extent on parallel interests. Dealing with the proportion of the Jewish population settled on the land, now 14 per cent., he said that the Jews wish to increase this agricultural settlement, not necessarily for economic reasons, but for the national reason of being rooted in the soil.

The witness dealt with the adverse trade balance, which, he said, is compensated by the balance of payments. The position is quite sound, because of invisible factors, as, for example, the imports of capital. He presented a memorandum showing the industrial growth and development and the soundness of the general Jewish economic structure. Mr. Hoofien was assisted by Mr. Joseph Shapiro of the Palestine Electric Corporation, and Mr. David Horowitz of the Economic Institute of the Jewish Agency.

Professor Reginald Coupland, one of the Commissioners, summing up the case presented by Mr. Hoofien, said that, in the light of the industrial development, the economic absorptive capacity of the country is elastic, and expanding.

## The Situation

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 15TH.

**T**HOUGH the Arab Press strongly denies that there is any friction between the Moslem Arabs and the Christian Arabs, the continued propaganda by the Arab Higher Committee for unity is generally regarded as proof that there is a lack of harmony among them. This is further proved by the continued quarrels between Moslem and Christian Arabs that are reported daily.

Moslem drivers have, for example, circulated manifestoes to-night in the old city of Jerusalem in which they attack Hassan Dajani, prominent Moslem leader, head of the Arab Drivers' Association, and head of the National Omnibus Company. They accuse Dajani of being an agent of a foreign government, and they reiterate their boycott of the National Omnibus Company, because that company discriminates against Moslem drivers. The company against which they protest belongs to Christian Arabs.



JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 16TH.

The lighter harbour of Tel-Aviv was completed last night. This will facilitate the loading of oranges, which will begin on the 22nd of this month.

According to figures presented yesterday at a meeting of the Jewish Labour Organisation in Tel-Aviv, the Jewish population in Palestine by the end of 1936 will be 410,000. The membership of the Labour Federation is 100,000. Jewish investments in Palestine amount to 6 million pounds, of which 3½ million pounds is invested in agriculture. Ten thousand new Jewish workers have been absorbed during 1936, and the labour market has considerably improved.

The Hebrew Press sharply criticises the omission, from the newly published volume of Palestine laws, of certain vital laws relating to the Jewish National Home. A striking instance is the omission of the law enacted in 1920 establishing three official languages in the country. It is also pointed out that the Treaty between America and Great Britain, in terms of which the former recognises the Mandate, is not included in the volume.

The *Haaretz* publishes an unconfirmed report that the Government has instructed its various departments not to employ Hauranis in public works, and also to take measures to deport them. This, it is believed, is apparently the result of the discussions before the Royal Commission in regard to the illegal Haurani immigrants.

On the occasion of a Moslem holiday to-day, the Arab papers have appeared in larger form, containing unusually strong incitement against Jews and Great Britain. The papers also print manifestos from Kawakji and the Mufti appealing to the Arabs to continue their struggle.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 17TH.

The Hebrew daily *Davar* publishes details of Arab preparations for a renewal of disturbances. It is stated that a considerable amount of arms has been smuggled into Palestine lately from the neighbouring countries, especially from Iraq, under the leadership of Kawakji. Large funds have been raised from wealthy Arabs by intimidation and also by a special tax on Arab citrus exporters. It is also believed that money is coming from foreign sources.

It is further reported that new bandit bands are being organised in Transjordan, and that every recruit is promised a monthly salary. The bands will become active immediately upon the departure of the Royal Commission, with the view of influencing its conclusions. *Davar* protests editorially against this unrestricted agitation, and urges the Government to take immediate action.

The financial statement of the Palestine Government for the half-year ending October 1936, published to-day, shows a surplus of 6¼ million pounds, which is only £14,195 less than it was at the end of April, before the disturbances.

According to reports from Amman, Kawakji, the leader of the Arab terrorists, has sent a memorandum to British officials in London, Palestine and Transjordan stating that he stopped fighting in Palestine in deference to the appeal by the Arab Kings, but that he is prepared to renew the war

in the event of the Royal Commission arriving at conclusions not in accordance with the Arab demands. His memorandum concludes with threats against Great Britain unless a change of policy is effected.

The insurance companies in Palestine are refusing to insure citrus groves on the ground that the risk is exceptionally great owing to insecurity and to the lack of satisfactory investigations following criminal attacks and the destruction of property.

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## An International Problem

RECENT events in Arabia, Iraq and Syria have drawn attention to the instability of the new Arab States created by the post-war settlement, and have provided their own comment on the unfortunate policy which tolerated, if it did not encourage, the intervention of the Arab princes in the affairs of Palestine. Arabia is shaken by dynastic and inter-tribal rivalries; Iraq completed a military revolution with a cold-blooded political murder; while Syria has inaugurated a new era by a murderous outbreak of religious strife which bodes ill for the future of self-government in that country. Yet what has been described as "the patient diplomacy" of British representatives has encouraged the intervention of foreign Arab politicians in the discharge of a British trust.

The visit of Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, has served to remind the Foreign Office that Palestine is not a mere Near Eastern problem. We do not underrate the importance of its Near Eastern aspects, but the political centre of gravity of the problem is in Europe. There are three and a half million Jews in Poland. The great majority of them live under conditions of indescribable poverty and hopelessness; a million of them eke out an existence under the starvation line. The million Jews of Roumania are in scarcely better case. In Austria and Lithuania the Jewish position is steadily deteriorating; whilst in Germany the Jews have been reduced to the status of outcasts. For all these communities there is virtually only one hope; and the name of that hope is Zion. Nor is it a mere hope; for that hope has been recognised by the Mandate and to that recognition the Mandate owes its distinctive form and character.

Here is a European problem to which no British Government can be indifferent. Public opinion in this country sanctioned the assumption of the Mandate with all its responsibilities because it represented a creative attempt to repair an ancient wrong. That generous impulse has, we are convinced, not yet lost its virtue. The same holds good of America, with whom we signed a treaty embodying the terms of the Mandate, a point often overlooked. A certain restlessness over Palestine which has recently manifested itself in Congressional circles is doubtless due to the fear that ephemeral considerations of political expediency will be allowed virtually to nullify a great act of policy. We are convinced that the fear is unfounded, but that it exists is not without its significance. It reinforces our contention that the problem of Palestine cannot be regarded as merely a problem of the Near East.

# Palestine

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## Christmas and Zionism

THAT wonderful Jew, St. Paul, stated Christianity in a form that made it a religion of Europe rather than of Asia, but the early Church still found it necessary to prevent confusion between Christianity and Judaism; and it did it by persecution. The barbarian invaders who broke up the Roman Empire adapted its Christianity to that of its former masters, and on the Jews was reflected some of the odium of the Aryan heresy which was nearer to Judaism than the orthodoxy of Athanasius. Thus the Jews became a people apart, disliked at first on religious grounds; and then their separation produced causes of dislike on other grounds which had nothing to do with religion. They could not be fitted into the feudal system unless the Emperor took them under his special protection. They are reproached for avoiding labour on the land; but that was of necessity, not of choice. The Jews are excellent farmers in Palestine, and if Edward I had had his way they would have been on the land in England to-day. They took to other occupations because they were all that were open to them. So long as the doctrine of the Church set itself against interest, the Jews were the moneylenders; they were the money capitalists because that was the only form of wealth they could hold; and international trade was in their hands so long as they were the only linguists and internationalists. When industry sprang up in the towns, the Jew could not be a member of the guilds. His whole history has forced him to specialise in activities that were not already covered, with the result that he has always tended to fasten on certain professions in which there was a career open to talent, or on new industrial openings of which the film industry is a familiar modern example. Almost every charge made against the Jew is referable to some disability in his past history, of which religious persecution was the original cause. And the Jew all through his history has been made the whipping boy of historical events with which he had nothing to do. Probably the cause of the worst travail that the Jewish race went through was the sermon of Pope Urban II at Clermont, which started the Crusades and led to the Diaspora into Poland and Eastern Europe after the massacres in the Rhineland. That a race which had been ejected from Palestine a thousand years before should be massacred because others were minded to eject their successors was the perverse malignity of fate, but it is a type of the injustice that has pursued the Jews throughout their history.

These considerations are very relevant to Palestine and to this season of peace on earth and goodwill among men. For what more than any other cause made the Jews through history the sport of causes and events which they had no hand in shaping was the fact that they had no country of their own. The Moorish mercenary is allowed to shape history in Spain

to-day in spite of his race and his religion, because, even though he has no independent national status, he is definitely identified with a part of the world where he is of right and not on sufferance. Thus Zionism and the hopes of the Jew in Palestine definitely cut across the causes alike of his past and his present miseries. They give him what he has never had for nearly 2,000 years, something which (if not a national status) is at best a geographical centre in a land which he loves and whose destinies he may take a hand in shaping, not as in free countries like France or the United States or England, because he is also an Englishman, a Frenchman or an American, but simply and solely because he is a Jew. That is the whole basis of Zionism as a world movement and lends to it an historical grandeur such as hardly any other single cause in the world to-day possesses. Palestine is a small country and, at the most extravagant computation of the numbers it will support, can never be the whole corpus or more than the heart of Jewry. Even so, Zionists recognise that it must be shared with Arabs, with whom they have no racial or religious antagonisms and with whom they wish to co-operate for the good of a common country. In what racial proportion they should co-operate is not now the question, for unfortunately the Arab leaders have not allowed matters to progress to that point. The issue is much more elementary—whether Jews shall be in Palestine at all as of right. That a Royal Commission should twenty years after the promise, be sitting to decide how far it can be honoured and whether further restrictions shall be added to it is intensely disappointing, though one has hopes that better things than that will come of its labours. The problem is not one of detail but of historical imagination. That with an extensive home of their own the Arabs should grudge even partnership in a corner which is, as Naboth's vineyard to a royal domain, is little better than a misprint on the majestic and tragic page of thousands of years of history. Nor should we deceive ourselves into thinking that the issue is really one between Jew and Arab. Rather is it between Arabs and the British Empire, not all Arabs but only an ambitious local clique which abuses the ignorance of the peasants against the interests of Palestine which the majority would wish to serve. The Jew is not the cause of latter-day untoward events, but (as so often has happened in his history) the scapegoat of his own virtues in quarrels which he did not make.

Christmas came out of Palestine. Is there not a sense in which we may wish that it may return to Palestine? To think of Palestine as a mere venerable antique and to oppose whatever changes would make it anything else in addition is fair neither to Jews, who have brought the twentieth century into the country, nor to the country itself, nor to the solicitude which those who drafted the Mandate showed to protect the Holy Places and to preserve for faith the things that are of God.

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## The Sanjak

**I**N the years before the War the "Sanjak," for students of affairs, meant the Sanjak of Novi Bazar and untold leading articles were written about that obscure geographical area of which no man now speaks. Perhaps the Sanjak of Alexandretta may take its place, which the God of

journalists and statesmen forfend. Nevertheless this dispute between Turkey, France and Syria does raise some interesting issues, practical and theoretical. Alexandretta, by agreement between Turkey and France, though part of Syria has been under a special régime, because of the large Turkish element in the population. The Turks are claiming that it was ceded to France, that it does not come under the Mandate for Syria, that if Syria is given independence, the Sanjak should be given either independence or autonomy or (presumably) be returned to Turkey. The French, on the other hand, maintain that the Sanjak is under the Mandate and is a part of Syria, and that no change in its status can be effected without the assent of the League. Here is a nice little legal problem, but it should not cause too much heat. If the directly interested parties cannot settle it, there is the Hague Court to give a ruling.

But why has the question been raised and what is behind it? It looks like a plain instruction that Turkey, while prepared to respect the authority and power of France, has no such respect for a Syrian Government. This is the raising of the flag of Turkish Imperialism. It is true that hitherto the policy of the new Turkey has been directed towards consolidating a homogeneous Turkish national State; but there never was an assurance that this once achieved Imperial ambitions would not revive. Alexandretta is largely Turkish in population and therefore constitutes a favourable point at which to initiate a new policy; but it would be facile optimism to presume that the policy would stop there. The new Arab Syria and the new Iraq, left to their own resources, would be at the mercy of an ambitious Turkey. We must be prepared, with these developments, for a period of unrest, disease and disequilibrium. Those persons who dream of a stable Arab Federation, self-dependent, able to defend itself and to treat the Mandatory Powers with contempt, are living in a world of illusion. The Arab lands owe their redemption and their hope of freely developing their civilisation to the efforts of the Allies in the Great War and not to their own energies. Their liberties are still bound up with France and England.

One would not expect Turkey to base her case upon her own Imperial ambitions, and the ground she has selected is significant. She cannot trust the welfare of a Turkish minority in Syria to an Arab majority. Who dare say that she has not good cause? Whether the difference be race or religion the record of these Arab States, at the very moment when they are setting their pretensions at their highest, does not inspire confidence. We have in these last weeks seen Syrian Moslems murdering Syrian Christians; a few years ago Iraqis were massacring Assyrians, and the Kurds tremble for their security; while in Palestine the rift between Moslem and Christian is developing. Toleration and mutual respect between majority and minority grow slowly even in countries which have long experience of self-government, and as we all know they can wither very quickly even there. To predicate them of lands which have not ruled themselves for many centuries, and at no time in a spirit of liberty and understanding, is political blindness, not political breadth. And assuredly it is not even political expediency. The error of wilful self-deception always avenges itself.

## Recrudescence of Violence

*(From our own Correspondent)*

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 24TH.

THE inquiry of the Royal Commission is nearing its end, and the departure of the members is expected to take place within a fortnight. Meanwhile large numbers of the troops that were drafted into the country during the disturbances are leaving, and though it is believed that about eight divisions will remain in the country, there is a growing sense of insecurity. While the presence of the Royal Commission and the troops has not entirely prevented terrorist acts and has not deterred the Arab Press from conducting a continuous campaign of agitation, the effect has nevertheless been restraining.

Within the last week, however, this restraint has disappeared. The Arab Press, unchecked by the authorities, has published special editions on the occasion of the Arab festival containing articles of a most venomous character against both Great Britain and the Jews, and sinister manifestoes have been issued by the Mufti of Jerusalem and Kawakji. This has been too much for the indulgent authorities, who have suspended all the Arab papers, some for a few days, others for three weeks. However, the incitement appears to have had the desired effect. Acts of terrorism have increased and hardly a day now passes without shooting, highway robbery, and other outrages, and there is no doubt that these attacks are carefully organised.

In the south of Jenin, where there was shooting during the week, a military search failed to discover the assailants. A Jewish truck passing through Nablus was attacked. Meshek Haotzar, a settlement near Kfar Saba, was attacked by an Arab band, and the settlers, unable to telephone for assistance because the telephone lines had been cut, succeeded, with the utmost difficulty, in repulsing the assailants. In the same place a second attack was made, when Jewish labourers were shot. In the village of Tireh, near Ramleh, a group of Arabs attacked an Arab villager on the ground that he had acted as a land agent for the Jews. In a subsequent fight four villagers were seriously wounded and twenty arrests were made. In a citrus grove in the district of Hedera Jewish labourers were attacked while at work by armed Arabs and robbed. Shots were fired from an Arab taxi at two Jewish labourers standing at the roadside near Kfar Saba. A group of Jewish children leaving school at Kfar Malal was fired upon by Arabs.

On the Jericho-Jerusalem highway four Arabs armed with rifles held up seven cars and lorries that were being driven by Arabs. All the passengers were robbed of their belongings, and a Jewish Government official and his wife had a narrow escape from being killed, thanks to the Arab driver's declaration that they were Italians. Only half an hour before this incident, Lord Peel, the Chairman of the Royal Commission, passed that route. Another Arab hold-up took place at Tulkarm, when the occupants of cars were robbed of their money and belongings. A Jew walking on the railway tracks near Rehovoth was attacked and robbed by Arabs. In a village in the neighbourhood of Safed, Jewish houses were raided. In Galilee an armed

Arab band attacked a camel caravan. In a clash that took place in Beit Dajan eight people were seriously wounded.

Other outrages during the week have been the desecration of a number of tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Safed; shooting during the night in Safed; two Jewish cars stoned near Yazur, a village between Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv; and nails strewn on the Tel-Aviv-Jerusalem highway.

It is significant that the Jewish special constables who, according to earlier arrangements, were to have disbanded at the beginning of January, are now to remain mobilised, and that some of the arms supplied to Jewish settlements are not to be taken away.

That a number of wealthy Arabs have, according to reports, informed the Arab Higher Committee that they will leave Palestine if the extortion of money from them for terrorism continues, indicates that the gravity of the position is realised by Arabs as well as by Jews.

The Hebrew daily *Davar* reported on Christmas Eve that at a secret conference of Arab terrorists which took place in Haifa it was decided to increase terrorist acts against rich Arabs who refuse to contribute towards the funds of the bands. It was also decided to enrol new villagers in the terrorist bands and to intensify the boycott against the Jews.

Incidents of stoning of cars are increasing. A motor bus belonging to the Egged Company was stoned this afternoon when passing Nablus. The windows of the car were broken and some passengers were slightly injured.

For the first time since the end of the Arab strike, an attack was made last night on a group of Jewish labourers in Ein Harod. Shots were fired at them from the Gilboa hills. The workers took cover in a grove and escaped unhurt.

*Haaretz* reports that many Syrian extremists, forced to leave the country as a result of the Syrian-French Treaty, are crossing the Palestine frontier in large numbers and that many of them are joining the local armed Arab bands. The Palestine police are aware of the identity of the Syrian leaders, and efforts are being made to apprehend them.

The Arab Workers' Club in Haifa, which is affiliated to the Arab-Jewish Workers' Confederation, has issued a manifesto in which the incitement against the Jews is denounced because, it is pointed out, such activity "is ruining the country." The manifesto appeals for peaceful life and work.

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## The Royal Commission

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 21ST.

**T**HIS morning the representatives of the Agudath Israel, an orthodox body, gave evidence before the Royal Commission. The witnesses gave their evidence in Hebrew, which had to be translated to the Commission. Rabbi Duskinsky said that the Jews do not come to Palestine as aliens. The Bible granted to the Jews indissoluble rights in Palestine. The Jews do not want to occupy the country by force, nor do they desire to

dominate others living in the country. The Rabbi appealed for unrestricted Jewish immigration.

The representatives submitted a written declaration to the Commission in which they emphasise that they fully support the demands submitted by the Jewish Agency in regard to Jewish immigration into Palestine and relating to land questions. It is pointed out in this memorandum that the Agudah remains outside the Jewish Agency mainly because of the latter's secular policy. It is, however, emphasised that all Jews without exception stand behind the efforts for Jewish restoration to Palestine.

## The Situation

(From our own Correspondent)

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 22ND.

**M**ICHEL MITRI, a Christian Arab, Chairman of the Arab Labour Association in Jaffa, who was in Sarafend concentration camp, was shot to-night and wounded in a street in Jaffa by an Arab who escaped.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 23RD.

All seats for the opening concert of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra on Saturday evening, December 26th, at which Bronislaw Huberman will play and Signor Toscanini will conduct, are completely sold out. After rehearsal to-day both Toscanini and Huberman expressed the opinion that there are few orchestras in the world that can compare with the Palestine Symphony Orchestra.

To-night Toscanini attended a performance of *The Merchant of Venice* in Hebrew at the Habimah Theatre. After the performance he said that the Habimah playing, as everything else he had seen in the country, had made an indelible impression on him. Both he and Huberman visited yesterday the Tel-Aviv jetty, where he was accorded an enthusiastic reception by the workers. Signor Toscanini was profoundly moved by the warm welcome. Subsequently he visited a number of Jewish settlements.

It is reported that at the request of Yacoub Farraj, a Christian member of the Arab Higher Committee and once the Vice-Mayor of Jerusalem, a meeting of that body was convened to consider the Moslem and Christian Arab conflicts, which have been increasing recently.

The Arab paper *Falastin* states that the Arab rulers are dissatisfied with the Palestine Arabs for boycotting the Royal Commission. Consequently a delegation of Palestine Arabs has been despatched to Baghdad and Riyadh to explain the reasons prompting the boycott.

JERUSALEM, DECEMBER 27TH.

The opening of the season of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra last night in Tel-Aviv, conducted by Signor Toscanini, attracted the attention of all parts of the country. Leading men from all over Palestine came to the



performance and great enthusiasm was displayed in the spacious hall in the Levant Fair grounds. The High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, was present. The appearance of Toscanini and Huberman was the signal for long and vociferous applause. The programme of the concert consisted of a Rossini Overture, Brahms's Second Symphony, Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, and Mendelssohn's Midsummer Night's Dream. The concert concluded with the Oberon Overture. It is Signor Toscanini's considered opinion that the orchestra is one of the most accomplished in the world. Mr. Bronislaw Huberman, in a brief speech, expressed gratitude to Signor Toscanini, stressing his firm stand for justice and liberty.

The first consignment of oranges was shipped from the Tel-Aviv jetty to-day. The consignment includes cases of citrus fruit for His Majesty King George VI, for the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, for Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and for the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, Dr. J. Hertz. Mr. Hoofien, addressing representatives of the national institutions in connection with the shipping ceremony, stated that what they were witnessing there to-day was nothing compared with the comprehensive plans they have in mind in regard to the Tel-Aviv port of the future.

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## Poverty

ONCE a convenient myth has been created, it is hopeless to ask people to look behind it and examine the underlying reality. What use is it attempting to give the statistics concerning the position of Jews in the different countries and in the different categories of the population, and to make a realistic estimate of their wealth, when your sceptical opponent knows all the time that your only object is to wriggle out of the well-known and universally accepted fact that all Jews are wealthy? True, he may be magnanimous enough to concede that they are not all Rothschilds, Monds or Swaythlings, but he will add with sweeping conviction that they are everywhere the richest people in the world.

If he could be brought to hear the facts, even the most violent anti-Semite would hear a number of things that would give him pause. He would learn that two-thirds of the Jews of the world are living in countries where the prevailing standard of living is abysmally low. About one-half are living in Eastern Europe, most of them in conditions far worse than those of the unemployed in this country. He would learn that the great majority of the Jews in the world as a whole are wage labourers, with their chances of employment, even in tolerant America, smaller than those of the non-Jew. In Germany their chances of finding work have been legally destroyed; in other countries their opportunities range from near-zero upwards, but are never so great as those of the non-Jewish workers. As a rule they are prevented from entering the better-organised and better-paid occupations. It is true that large numbers own small shops or market stalls, or sell goods off barrows, but the majority of these have an income smaller and less secure than that of the employed workman.

The popular myth of the rich Jew is now being reinforced by the picture of a Palestine made prosperous by the introduction of capital contributed by wealthy Jews from all parts of the world.

No one who has visited a Zionist Congress, which meets biennially and represents the members of the Zionist Organisation, could make the mistake of imagining that this is a rich man's movement. He would see that the largest delegation came from Poland, where one quarter of the Jews of the world now live in a state of wretched and gloomy poverty. He would find large delegations from Rumania, Yugoslavia, Austria, Hungary and the Baltic states, where the level of existence is about as low as in Poland.

A small but substantial delegation represents the Jews of America, but there is not a rich man, let alone a millionaire, among them. Few of the rich Jews of America, or indeed of any other country, showed any real interest in the movement in its early days, and even to-day not many support it, though they are less hostile. The capital of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the main financial instrument of the Zionist movement, amounting to some £300,000, was subscribed by over 100,000 shareholders. In hundreds of small towns and villages slate clubs were formed to help their members to purchase one-tenth of a one pound share each over a period of one or two years.

It is not sufficiently appreciated to what an extent the collections for the Foundation Fund, which assists the work of colonisation, and for the National Fund, which is the land purchasing agency, are made up of the halfpennies, pennies and sixpences of the Jewish masses, who are themselves amongst the poorest of the inhabitants of their respective countries. Nor is it realised how poor are the majority of the Jews in Palestine to-day. It is true that within recent years some 15,000 Jews have entered the country as capitalists, i.e. as possessing at least £1,000. But five times their number have gone in on the labour schedule, possessing as a rule nothing but their clothes, their training and their spirit. It is as mischievous to confuse the Jewish masses with their few millionaires as it is to confuse the 350,000 hard-working Jewish labourers and their families in Palestine with the 50,000 business men and their families who possess £1,000.

The wealth of the Jew and the international influence of the Jew are both constantly exaggerated. The character of the Jew is constantly misrepresented. He suffers, not for what he has, but for what he is, quite falsely, supposed to have. He is persecuted, not for what he is, but for what he most certainly is not. And so stubborn is the refusal to understand, that facts may be reported a thousand times and false charges completely refuted without destroying prejudice.

That the myth of Jewish wealth should be exploited by avowedly anti-Semitic governments is bad enough, but that it should be used as the very foundation of its financial policy by the Government of Palestine is far worse. Yet it is admittedly on this ground that the Government use the national revenues for Arab education and health services, whilst refusing grants to Jewish schools and hospitals.

# Palestine

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