

of the Allies, the Allied victory brought forth a new occupation by a power that had promised the Zionist movement a Jewish national home in Palestine through the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917. The British occupation and rule in Palestine marked a new fateful era in the country's history which forms the subject of the subsequent chapters of this study.

On reviewing the reactions of the various socio-economic groups to Zionism, i.e. Jewish immigration and Jewish settlement between 1881 and 1914, certain patterns emerge. These patterns of reactions were related, by and large, to socio-economic factors.

The big landowners who were willing to sell their lands to the Zionists were mostly absentee landlords from outside Palestine proper, e.g. the Sursuqs or city merchants who had minimal contact with the peasants and no sympathy for their plight. Besides, these two categories of landowners did not derive their social power from land ownership. The traditional landowning families whose social standing depended on their land holdings and who constituted the 'notables' were reluctant to sell their lands to the Zionists for fear of undermining the base of their status. Some, like Nassif Khalidi, were disturbed by popular agitation and sought accommodation with the Zionists. However, in as much as Zionism aimed at taking over the country, the notables recognised the threat to their existence and position and sought to combat the Zionist peril by performing their role as intermediaries between ruler and ruled. The notables sought to fight Zionism by appealing to the authorities, the *Mutasarrif*, the central Government and Parliament, to restrict Jewish immigration and prohibit land sales to the Zionists. This role could only be effective, or indeed feasible, as long as the authorities were willing to respect the notables' appeals and maintain their position in society. Following the Young Turks Revolution, the notables' position and importance in articulating political demands was undermined.

The middle classes, professionals, artisans and literary groups were apprehensive of the professional competition and the political challenge introduced by Zionism in Palestine. Newspaper editors and students belonged to these classes and were instrumental in mobilising the public against the 'Zionist peril' as well as forming the backbone of political and semi-political organisations established to combat Zionism. It was the vocal and active groups of newspapermen and students that were outbidding the notables in the fight against Zionism.

The reaction of the peasants was less sophisticated and more violent as they were the direct victims of Zionist land acquisitions, especially

after the second *aliya* and the introduction of *Kibush Avodah*. Almost all attacks on Jewish settlements were undertaken by destitute peasants who were evicted as a result of land sales to the Zionists.

Thus, within the ranks of the nationalist movement in Palestine, the notables performed the role of the diplomats, the educated middle classes that of the articulators of public opinion and the peasants that of the actual fighters in the battle against the Zionist presence.

Notes

1. Neville Mandel, *Turks, Arabs and Jewish Immigration into Palestine 1882-1914*, pp.164-65.
2. H. Frank to Antébi, 8 November 1908, AIU VIII E.25, quoted in Mandel, *op. cit.*, p.168.
3. For clashes between the peasants and the colonists, see Mandel, *op. cit.*, pp.171-9. J.C.A. stands for Jewish Colonisation Association.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The Manuscript is presented under the custody of Professor Walid Khalidi. The authorship is not definitely known though it is almost certainly that of Ruhi al-Khalidi, a leading politician and intellectual in Palestine in the first two decades of the twentieth century.
6. Interview with Haj Amin el-Husseini, Beirut, Summer 1966.
7. The prefix (al) before family names is henceforth eliminated wherever convenient. It is possible that withholding of these Muslim notables' names was an act of political prudence on the part of the author.
8. *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, 18 June 1909.
9. Mandel, *op. cit.*, p.204. *Al-Karmal* was founded in Haifa.
10. *The Jewish Chronicle*, 18 June 1909.
11. *Al-Ahmed*, 7 October 1909.
12. Albert Antebi to Frank, 18 October 1909, AIU IX E.27 quoted in Mandel, *op. cit.* p.214.
13. *Le Jeune Turc*, Constantinople, 7 May 1910.
14. Mandel, *op. cit.*, pp.209-10.
15. 13 June 1910, FO 195/235, Minute on folder to No.25.
16. For Nassar's influence see *Falastin* (Palestine), 2 April 1914.
17. Arthur Ruppin (Jaffa) to ZCO, 31 March 1911, CZA Z2/635, quoted in Mandel, *op. cit.*, p.251.
18. 21 June 1911, JCA 268/ enclosure No.195. *Ibid* pp.268-9.
19. Arthur Ruppin to ZCO, 31 March 1911, *op. cit.*,
20. The Red Passport was a measure initiated to stem the flow of immigrants posing as tourists. The original passport of the tourist was retained at the point of entry and a red slip was issued as a receipt which would entitle the owner to redeem his passport on leaving Palestine.
21. *Ha'olam*, vol.V (1911), quoted in Moshe Pearlman, 'Chapters of Arab-Jewish Diplomacy', in *Jewish Social Studies*, 1944.
22. See Mandel, *op. cit.*, p.300.
23. Arthur Ruppin to ZAC, 2 May 1912, CZA Z3/144 8, quoted in Mandel, *op. cit.* p.296.
24. *Falastin*, 24 November 1912, accused the Zionists of sowing the seeds of Muslim-Christian strife through publishing letters, under Muslim names, designed to cause ill-will between the two communities.