

seems extremely probable that there were *agents provocateurs* intermingled with them here awaiting their opportunity.<sup>129</sup> According to Darwaza, anti-Zionist and anti-British slogans were shouted in the procession.<sup>130</sup> Isa as-Sifri, a Palestinian Christian, recorded that the Palestinian Christians participated in the procession calling for Arab unity and independence and declaring their opposition to Zionist immigration.<sup>131</sup>

After hearing the speeches and as the procession was passing through the Jaffa Gate, an explosion occurred:

"The exact incident which caused the explosion has not been clearly ascertained — possibly there were more than one. . . there is some evidence to show that the attitude of the Jewish spectators was in certain cases provocative, but it appears much more likely that the mine was deliberately fired by some *agents provocateurs* raising the cry of an insult to the banner by a Jew. . . It is quite evident, however, that in the excited condition to which the pilgrims round the Nadi el-Araby Club had been wrought by the speeches of the political orators and the exhibition of Emir Feisal's portrait, the most trivial incident would be sufficient to cause an outbreak."<sup>132</sup>

The explosion led to stone-throwing at the shops in the vicinity of the incident. Several Jews were also beaten and at least one stabbed. The crowd then passed down into the city looting Jewish shops and assaulting Jews. There is some evidence to show that a few of the Jews were armed and occasionally retaliated by firing on the mob.<sup>133</sup>

The outbreak lasted sporadically from 4 to 10 April. Fighting and looting took place despite the declaration of Martial Law. This was partly due to the narrow alleys of the old city of Jerusalem as well as to the state of exasperation and excitement prevalent among the Arabs at that time. The total casualties reported amounted to 251, of which 9 died, 22 were seriously wounded and 220 slightly wounded. Of these casualties, the Jews sustained 5 killed, 18 seriously wounded and 193 slightly wounded, most of which resulted from Arab attacks with knives, sticks and stones. Seven British soldiers were reported wounded — all apparently at the hands of the Arab mob. The Arabs sustained 28 casualties, 4 of which were killed by firearms. The Court suspected that 'a number of fellahin suffering from slight wounds may have escaped to the country'.

From all the evidence available the Court concluded that 'the attack was entirely against the Jews'. Nevertheless, the Court admitted that, in

Palestine; the British were

faced with a native population thoroughly exasperated by a sense of injustice and disappointed hopes, panic stricken as to their future and as to ninety per cent of their numbers in consequence bitterly hostile to the British Administration.<sup>134</sup>

Before coming to the Court's conclusions, two phenomena stand out in the report under discussion relevant to the Anglo-Zionist convergence in Palestine and the nature of Arab opposition to that alliance during the disturbances of 1920. The first was the emergence of Jewish 'Self-Defence' units, the Hagana, raised by V. Jabotinsky, who served as a lieutenant in the British Army during the War, and Mr Rutenberg, who was a prominent Russian official under Kerensky (1917). The Court's report stated that these units were raised without the Administration's approval or knowledge, but nevertheless were openly drilling at the back of Lemel School and on Mount Scopus,<sup>135</sup> a fact that was familiar to the Arabs during the month of March. Of greater significance was the Administration's decision to use the illegal Jewish units.<sup>136</sup>

The other phenomenon was the divergence of views between the Zionist leaders and some British officials, including the members of the Court, as to the real causes of Arab unrest in Palestine.

It has been said by the Zionists that the popular excitement is purely artificial and largely the result of propaganda by the effendi class, which fears to lose its position owing to Jewish competition. It is sufficient to quote the evidence of Major Waggett with which the Court finds itself in full accord, when he says: 'It is very important to realise that the opposition is by no means superficial or manufactured, and I consider this a dangerous view to take of the situation'.<sup>137</sup>

In their final conclusions the members of the Court pointed out that 'The Administration was considerably hampered in its policy by the direct interference of the Home Authorities'. They also found it necessary to warn that 'the situation at present obtaining in Palestine is exceedingly dangerous, and demands firm and patient handling if a serious catastrophe is to be avoided'.<sup>138</sup>

Various prison sentences were passed against twenty-three individuals for complicity in the Jerusalem disturbances.<sup>139</sup>

The Easter troubles brought to a head the question of the Mayoralty