

peaceful demonstrations and the closing of shops in all Palestine on 13-14 July against the British policy, and the communication of protests to the League of Nations from all societies and representative bodies in Palestine. In case the Mandate was ratified, it was resolved to call the Delegation back 'for work in Palestine and among the Eastern nations'.¹¹² Delegations were to be despatched to Mecca and to the Vatican to obtain the sympathy of the Christian and Muslim worlds. 'Secret' resolutions called for hoarding some funds, dissemination of anti-Zionist propaganda and keeping a close eye on the Government.

An incipient change of an important character in the Palestinian strategy become discernible at that point:

Hitherto their opposition has been confined to the National Home policy and the terms of the Mandate but now that it is realised that the Mandate is likely to go through, there is a tendency to believe that the only way of successfully opposing the obnoxious clauses is to oppose the British Mandate as a whole and to move for the total independence for a united Syria and Palestine.¹¹³

As a corollary to this reluctant shift from anti-Zionist to anti-British orientation in the Palestinian national movement's strategy, it was reported that the number of people prepared to run greater risks in their effort to promote disorders and conflict against the Government's authority was on the increase. Furthermore, Palestinian students issued an appeal to fellow students in England to support the Palestinian struggle against the Zionist clauses in the Mandate which could only lead to revolution in Palestine. Villagers and Mukhtars refused to accompany government commissioners for the demarcation of *mawat* (waste) lands as a demonstration of their lack of confidence in the Administration and its intentions. Protests against land concessions granted to the Jews in Beisan, Birah and Caesarea, and against the dismissal of Arab and pro-Arab officials in the Government were lodged.¹¹⁴ The tone of the press was also becoming more and more anti-British.

During 13 and 14 July a general strike was observed in the large towns throughout Syria and Palestine as a protest against the British Mandate based upon the Balfour Declaration. The Arab Executive Committee was occupied with organising the collection of funds through the local Muslim-Christian Societies.¹¹⁵

As the Palestinians were becoming more militant in their anti-British attitude, a growing solidarity between the nationalist bodies of Syria,

Palestine and Egypt developed and the agitation for the complete independence of Syria and Palestine was renewed. The villagers were urged not to pay tithes to a non-Muslim Government and prayers declaring Palestine to be in danger introduced in the Friday prayers at Jaffa.

The Governors of the various districts reported during July that there were two schools of thought, the one favouring a non-violent negative and obstructionist attitude towards the Government, the other favouring rebellions methods and advocating 'enlisting Beduin assistance to promote guerilla warfare'.¹¹⁶ The latter were encouraged by Mustapha Kemal as an example of how recognition was to be obtained at the hands of the European Powers. The Arab Executive Committee preferred non-violent methods, and the High Commissioner even reported that they were actually cooperating with the Government in maintaining order.¹¹⁷

The Fifth Congress

The Delegation left England at the request of the Arab Executive Committee in Jerusalem, arrived at Haifa on 21 August 1922 and proceeded to Nablus the same day to attend the Fifth Palestinian Congress. The Delegation was met with popular enthusiasm at Haifa, Nasra (Nazareth), Jenin, Silat-al-Daher, Burka and Nablus. In his first speech at Haifa, Musa Kazem assured his audience that the doors of England were still open for negotiations and that there were many supporters of the Arab cause in England and France prepared to further the Arab cause at any time.¹¹⁸ The H.Cr. reported that the cry of 'Long Live Palestine', down with the Mandate, the Balfour Declaration and Zionism' was repeated by many of those present, but Musa Kazem refrained from agitating against Britain and discouraged any tendency to resort to violence as a means of fighting Britain's Zionist policies, in spite of the fact that the Declaration was, in his opinion, incompatible with independence.

The sessions of the Congress commenced on the following day, 22 August, and continued until 25 August. The report of the Delegation to the Congress summarised the accomplishments of the lengthy visit and recommended that greater cooperation between the Arabs of Palestine and the rest of the Arabs by practical means of economical and educational movements and 'to send Delegates to Arab Amirs and potentates to inform them of the real situation and injustices in Palestine and to discuss means of agreement and of an understanding'.¹¹⁹

Eighteen resolutions were adopted, the most important of which