

acceptance of the Balfour Declaration on the one hand, but also refused to promote or condone any revolutionary course against the Anglo-Zionist convergence on the other. The latter stand could be attributed to the dread of British military might, as well as to belief that revolution would inevitably be detrimental to their own interests. Their failure to adhere to a revolutionary platform did not lead to the emergence of a revolutionary leadership from among the middle-class militant nationalists. Thus, the 'lower strata' of the Palestinian society, which was potentially willing to revolt was left leaderless and a long period of stagnation ensued.

### Notes

1. Palin Commission Report, 1 July 1920, FO 371/5121, p.37.
2. Allenby to Lloyd George, 6 May 1920, Lloyd George Papers, Beaverbrook Library.
3. Weizmann, *op.cit.*, p.352.
4. See 'Petitions of Protest', between 2 and 10 May 1920, FO 371/5120 and FO 371/5114.
5. *Al-Karmal*, 13 May 1920.
6. See Memorandum by Eder, 5 May 1920, Hagana Archives (HA).
7. A report addressed to Eder, 30 May 1920, Hagana Archives (HA).
8. Bols to FO, 1 June 1920, FO 371/5114, p.2. In an effort to counter the advantages enjoyed by the Zionists through their accessibility to the British public, the Palestinian Arabs published a paper in English in *The Times*, under the name of the *Jerusalem Gazette*. Its first number on 22 June was full of bitter attacks on Zionism and Sir Herbert Samuel. See Paper submitted to the FO, 26 June 1920, FO 371/5120.
9. See Bols to FO, 7 June 1920, FO 371/5114.
10. Walter Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East*, London, 1961, p.79. The author covers communism in Palestine throughout the Mandate period, pp.73-119.
11. Allenby, Cairo, to FO, 9 June 1920, FO 371/5120.
12. GHQ, Egypt, to WO, 23 June 1920, FO 371/5120. Also see Bols to FO, 24 June 1920, FO 371/5120 and 25 June 1920, FO 371/5114.
13. Situation in Palestine, FO Minute, 31 May 1920, FO 371/5119.
14. Şamuğl, *Memoirs*, p.154.
15. In order to make sure that the Palestine Government was in sympathy with the JNH policy Samuel asked Syndham Deedes, of Allenby's Intelligence Staff, to become Civil (later Chief) Secretary and Norman Bentwich to become Legal Secretary, both of whom were pro-Zionist. *Ibid.*, p.155.
16. See Bols to FO, 25 June 1920, FO 371/5114.
17. Samuel to Curzon, 12 July 1920, FO 371/5121, p.1.
18. *Ibid.*, pp.1-3, *passim*.
19. See 'Report on the Arabic Press', July 1920, FO 371/5188.
20. Edwin Montague, who was a minister and head of the India Office, protested vehemently to Lord Curzon against the placing of the Muslims in a minority position on the Council. See Montague to Curzon, 26 November 1920, FO 381/5124.
21. Deedes to Tilley, 10 October 1920, FO 371/5124.
22. Same to same, 1 November 1920, FO 371/5124.

23. For the English text of the resolutions see Matiel E.T. Mogannam. *The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem*, London, 1937, pp.125-7.
24. According to the political report for December 1920, there were forty-three Muslim-Christian Societies with a membership of around 3,000 by June 1920. See Samuel to Curzon, 1 January 1920, Enclosure, FO 371/6374.
25. See *Falastin*, 20 and 27 March 1920.
26. Monthly Political Report, January 1921, Samuel to Curzon, Enclosure in No.1, 1 February 1921, FO 371/6374.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Deedes to Tilley, 14 January 1921, CO 733/17A.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Monthly Political Report, February 1921; H.Cr. to Curzon, 1 March 1921, FO 371/6375.
31. *Ibid.*, also see Samuel to FO, 19 February 1921, FO 371/6375.
32. Until then Palestine's affairs were the responsibility of the Foreign Office.
33. For a general study on Churchill's favourable view of Zionism see Oskar Rabinowicz, *Winston Churchill on Jewish Problems*, London, 1956. Also see an article by Winston Churchill 'Zionism versus Bolshevism', *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, 8 February 1920.
34. For a general account of the Conference see CAB 24/126.
35. *Ibid.*, p.108.
36. Monthly Political Report, March 1921, Deedes to Churchill, 8 April 1921, CO 733/2, p.6.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, p.2.
39. Cairo Conference, CAB 24/126, p.150. For another copy of the memorandum see 'official Report' attached to the Monthly Political Report, March 1921, *op.cit.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, p.151.
42. Monthly Political Report, April 1921, Deedes to Churchill, CO 733/3, p.1.
43. Report by C.D. Brunton, 13 May 1921, presented to the Cabinet in a memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 'The Situation in Palestine', 9 June 1921 CO 733/13.
44. *Ibid.*, p.5.
45. *Ibid.*, p.3. For a critical account of Samuel's attitude on the appointment of Hajj Amin to the Muftiship of Jerusalem see Kedourie, *Sir Herbert Samuel*, *op.cit.*, pp.48-59.
46. On 7 May 1921, Samuel appointed a Commission of Enquiry headed by Sir Thomas Haycraft, Chief Justice of Palestine. For the findings of the Haycraft Commission see 'Palestine Disturbances in May 1921. Report of the Commission of Inquiry with Correspondence relating thereto'. Cmd. 1540. 1921.
47. Brunton, 9 June 1921, *op.cit.*; The text of the original Arabic leaflet is quoted in my documentary, *Watha'iq al Muqawama al-Falastiniyya al-Arabiyya dida al-Ihtilal al-Baritani-wa al-Sahyuniyya (Documents of the Palestinian Arab Resistance Against British Occupation and Zionism)*, Beirut, 1968, pp.22-5, hereafter referred to as Documents.
48. Brunton, 9 June 1921, *op.cit.*
49. *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.
50. *Ibid.*
51. See 'Interim Report of the Commission of Enquiry' (Haycraft), forwarded by Deedes to Churchill, 16 August 1921, CO 733/5, p.24.
52. Samuel to Churchill, 8 May 1921, CO 733/3, p.1. For other reports on the