

42) For more on settlers' attacks on the Arab villagers of Zubeidat, see, FO 371/18957, E 1311. Also, "Periodical Appreciation Summary" 13/35 in FO 371/18957/ C.I.D.

43) The "Haganah" was not a secret military force, nor the representative of an anti imperialist settler community, as some authors claim (Emmanuel, 1972). In fact, many members of the "Haganah" have received their initial training as British army and police service men. Moreover, various "court cases" gathered from the British Archives strongly suggest that the government was aware of many cases of arms smuggling conducted by the "Haganah". Equally important is the revelation made by various reports to the effect that the government itself was active in militarizing the "Haganah" by placing arms in various settlements. See a C.I.D. report, dated, Dec. 1934, in FO 371/18975/ E 1325.

During the Palestinian revolution of 1936-39, the Haganah played an important role together with the British army and police in suppressing the anti-imperialist indigenous revolution.

Only in the latter part of the 1930s and early 1940s, when it began to see itself as "the foundation for an effective defense ...for a sovereign people...and moved toward the institutionalization of a shadow nation-state" that this force began to assume certain degrees of independence from the British colonial power.(Rayman, 1981: 37-38)

During this period the "Haganah" began to direct its attacks against both the indigenous Palestinians and the British government. It defied British policies stated in its "White Paper" of 1937, partly by bringing illegal immigrants to Palestine and partly by "stocking" illegal settlement (Criden and Glebb,1974:233; Tabenkin,1985:62).

Despite all this, however, it must be pointed out that during the