

were: to reject the New Palestine Constitution and boycott the coming elections of the Legislative Council; to establish a Palestine Arab Bureau in London, to provide means for enlightening the *fellaḥ* on national affairs, to boycott Jewish goods and the Rutenberg (electricity) Scheme, to prevent the sales of immovable property to Jews and to carry out a 'finance scheme' for the collection of funds. A 'Palestine Covenant' was adopted and the oath committed the delegates to a certain line of policy:

We, the representatives of the Palestine Arab Nation in the Fifth Palestine Arab Congress held at Nablus, pledge ourselves to God, History and the Nation that we shall continue our endeavours for the independence of our country, and for achieving Arab unity by all legal methods, and that we shall not accept the establishing of a Jewish National Home nor Jewish immigration.<sup>120</sup>

The efforts of the Palestinian political notability to prevent violence as a means of expressing opposition to the Mandate and Jewish immigration were not a total success. During August it was reported that

The recent murderous attacks on Jews at Jaffa by small groups of Arabs together with the retaliatory assaults on Arabs by Jewish mobs, has resulted in a decided increase of racial animosity in the Jaffa District.<sup>121</sup>

A very illuminating and interesting letter from Deedes to Shuckburgh sought to describe the political situation in clear and intelligible terms. The members of the Delegation, Deedes reported, 'seem to have come back very pro-British',<sup>122</sup> and all with the exception of Tawfiq Hammād were moderate and reasonable. They would not have approved of the resolutions of the Fifth Congress had they not been rushed into it by their local organisation. Since the attitude of the Congress was one of boycott to the elections, there were signs that a new party would gradually emerge and which would be willing to cooperate with the Government and to put up candidates for election. The emergence of the moderate party was not only influenced by political considerations but also by very acute and generation-long family antagonisms, between the Husseinis and the Nashashibis.

The difference in the attitude of the two parties towards the Government was demonstrated on the occasion of the Ceremony for

Taking the Oath; i.e. when Samuel was sworn in as High Commissioner, on 11 September. The Husseinis, the Hajj Amin included; and the Muslim-Christian Societies called for a strike in the country at large and boycotted the Ceremony while 'Abdullah and the Nashashibis attended.'<sup>123</sup>

During September and October the Governors of some Districts reported a growing belief among the peasants that the causes of their numerous disabilities were chiefly political. Police severity during a series of operations conducted in certain villages of the Samaria District in search of arms was strongly resented by the people. In the Hebron villages the peasants' anti-Government attitude was reinforced by 'their difficulty in disposing of their crops at a reasonable figure and their consequent embarrassment when called upon to pay the tithe redemption price'.<sup>124</sup> The agitation against the proposed Government census and the Administration's counter-measures and arrests strengthened the prevalent anti-Government feeling. The Arabs later modified their attitude and the census proceeded without further obstruction.

In September 1922, news of the Kemalist victories were 'received with jubilation by the Moslem population'.<sup>125</sup> Turkish victories raised the prospect of the revision of the Treaty of Sevres which covered the Palestine Mandate and encouraged fresh hopes that a radical change in the situation in Palestine would result from such a revision. A delegation was nominated to attend the forthcoming Lausanne Peace Conference and relatively big sums of money were collected for the Red Crescent to help the Turks of Anatolia.

The idea of contacting the Turks to obtain support for the anti-Zionist movement in Palestine gathered momentum. It received added impetus when 'Abdul Kader al-Muzaffar' returned from Turkey in the middle of December and reported that the Turkish leaders promised to back the Palestinian National aspirations and Arab independence. A group of Palestinians cabled Mustapha Kemal pleading support for Palestinian independence under a Turkish Mandate.<sup>126</sup>

A further strong stimulant to Palestinian hopes for a change of policy was provided by the news of the resignation of Lloyd George's coalition Government.

While external factors gave rise to fresh hopes, the agitation against the proposed new Constitution and the proposed Legislative elections — stipulating acceptance of the JNH policy — encouraged bolder tactics inside Palestine.<sup>127</sup> The Executive Committee occupied itself with protests and representations over land concessions to the Jews and the necessity of safeguarding the interests of the Muslim