

the processions the police came in contact with the crowds when attempting to arrest a number of marchers who were shouting provocative slogans.

Many were wounded, others were arrested, and the incident was looked upon as an example of police brutality. Protests were received from all parts of Palestine, and the incident gave rise to a fresh wave of ill-feeling against the Government.

The approaching Nebi Musa celebrations provided an opportunity for the Executive Committee to force the hand of the Government by a display of militancy. Instead they devised 'general arrangements for the control of the crowds and of the processions'. Earlier on Jamal Husseini, Secretary of the Executive Committee, was reported to have told Deedes, in a private interview, that there were two alternative methods for the attainment of full political rights in Palestine:

either by constitutional means or by revolution; that the first was to be preferred though the second would give them what they justly claimed in six months.<sup>133</sup>

In the following month Jamal Husseini had an interview with a member of the Administration during which he reported that pressure from many quarters was being exerted with the object of convening the Arab Congress and of defining and laying down the attitude to be adopted by the country at large towards the Government. Furthermore,

A strong body of opinion was in favour of non-payment of taxes as the next step to be taken without making any more appeals to England and the British Government. He himself, he said, was not in favour of plunging into a non-payment policy. He preferred to make another appeal to England.<sup>134</sup>

Following the successful Arab boycott of the elections Samuel announced the suspension of the Legislative Council clauses of the Constitution and proposed to establish a new Advisory Council.<sup>135</sup> The Executive Committee took strong exception to the new measure and maintained that nothing but more chaos without the least benefit could result from it.

During the month of May, pressure by the Executive Committee was exerted on the nominees for the Advisory Council to refuse to serve. The Arab members were faced with popular agitation and after hesitation had to resign before Samuel's set date for the Council's first sitting.

A télégram from King Hussein to the Arab Executive Committee dated 17 May caused the circulation of rumours that the Balfour Declaration had been revoked. The télégram was paraphrased and published by the Arab Executive accompanied by advice to the people to avoid anything that might disturb peace and tranquillity in Palestine. A week later the Arab Executive Committee resolved to postpone convening the Sixth Arab Palestine Congress until after the publication of Hussein's treaty with Britain, better known as the Anglo-Hijaz Treaty.

### The Sixth Congress

The Sixth Palestine Arab Congress was held in Jaffa between 16 and 20 June 1923, under the chairmanship of Musa Kazem. The Anglo-Arab Treaty, one of the major topics of the Congress, was rejected and declared to be contrary to the rights and interests of the Arabs of Palestine. Furthermore, it was resolved that a new Arab Delegation, again headed by Musa Kazem, proceed to London immediately and contact members of Parliament and the Colonial Office before the new Treaty was definitely signed.

The other major issue that preoccupied the Congress was the question of non-payment of taxes to the Government. The discussion on this vital issue, which preoccupied public opinion before the Congress was convened, was opened by Jamal Husseini, who argued in a lengthy and well reasoned speech for the adoption of a policy of non-payment of taxes. The Government he said obtained taxes and distributed them to Zionist Societies and Jewish immigrants. Owing to Zionist pressure the Government refrained from extending agricultural loans to the Arabs thereby causing the economic death of the *fellah*. The High Commissioner was granting lands and concessions to the Jews without consulting the Arabs. He concluded by specifying that the Economic Committee should consider the non-payment of taxes on the basis of the principle 'No taxation without representation'.

In the Economic Committee sharp differences of opinion arose, and it was decided to refer the matter to the Executive Committee who 'should study the question of refusing to pay taxes to the Government and put it into force when the occasion arises'.<sup>136</sup> Opposition to this resolution was expressed in the general meeting on the basis that it was impossible to implement this measure without causing a revolution and in a country as small and poor as Palestine it was futile to hope that a revolution against the British Government would succeed.<sup>137</sup>