

The Nakbah, Hasan Hammami's Presentation in the Zoom Presentation on May 15, 2023

PARTS I, II AND III- Historic and Personal Experiences.

Part I, Five Real Episodes in the Immediacy of the Nakbah

Original shared with Jewish Currents , May 2, 2023, (9minute read) -
Nakbah Day , 30 April 1948,(*1), less than 4 months after the bombing of the Serail on January 4, 1928, the Old Governor's Building in the center of Jaffa which had been turned into an Orphanage with nearly 100 Orphans in it, all killed and the Barclays bank building next door levelled, and 3 weeks after the terrible Massacre of Deir Yassin on April 9, I was fifteen years old, well aware of the multiple daily attacks by Jewish Gangs against Palestinians and the British administration. Our whole family was forced to leave Jaffa; our home, our garden and its fruit and flower trees, my friends, school, neighbors, neighborhood beach and the short cut we took to get to the beach, though the cemetery by my grand parents' graves, and my country and escape to safety. Jaffa was bombarded 24/7 from three sides by the Haganah, Irgun and Stern gangs and the Deir Yassin Massacre terrorized us. We got tickets on the SS Argentina, but she was forced away from Jaffa by shelling from Tel Aviv. I could see terror on my mother's face, she did not want to wait, she was afraid for all of us, especially the girls in their teens. So we found our way to a nameless wooden cargo sailboat moored about half a mile from the inner port. We were a family of ten among 3,000 escapees, packed like sardines, headed to Sour (Tire), Southern Lebanon. During the 3-day journey, we ran out of water, survived a wild storm, had a woman a few feet away abort her baby, was surrounded by a group of other women for privacy, a prayer, and gave the baby a burial at sea.

Overnight we became stateless refugees, quiet in a wild sea, not knowing when we would land, yet firm we'd be back home before summer was over. Not one of us has yet returned.

-45 years and 3 Diaspora months later, July 1993, after an active life in which I made 23 country moves in three continents, seeking work, education, a living. I retired, recast, no longer a Palestinian refugee, but a US Citizen, a retired Executive of a top ten Multinational Firm. Barbara and I went to visit my daughter Rema, who had chosen to work for Palestine, got her Ph.D , founded several Women's Development Centers, and started as a College Professor; and my sister Fadwa in Jerusalem. I had Great Expectations of my first visit to Jerusalem, Palestine, Jaffa and Home. I wanted to revisit my home, my city, school, my neighborhood, my roots. Rema and Fadwa warned me Our Home had been converted to an Old People's Home operated by an Israeli company running Old Peoples' homes. Actually, it had been turned into an assembly line with over sixty geriatric residents. Every room, every veranda had been divided in two, all the fruit trees and flowers were gone, the house was packed with Old incapacitated Eastern European Jewish people mostly with Alzheimer's disease. The airy and lively spaces were gone. Instead, a fetid smell of urine and unclean, old uncared for people pervaded (*2).

I shut the pain, ran through and headed for the Beach. I headed for the usual short cut through the Muslim Cemetery by my Grandparents' graves to get to the Hanna Syriani beach café where my Father taught me to swim at age five. The Gate of the Muslim Cemetery was closed, so we headed to the Orthodox Cemetery nextdoor, which was open. The Gateman was welcoming. He told us to head South, warned us to be careful of thistles, overgrown cacti and fallen graves. I thanked him and found my Grandfather's Grave exactly where I remembered it was. I recited the first Surah of the Quran, "Al Fatiha", with one hand on the

grave, eyes closed and facing the Heavens. As I looked around, I realized my Grandfather's Grave had been damaged (rampaging Jewish boys), and later repaired with a protective wall around it (*3). Grandmother's grave didn't survive. As I looked around, I noticed a new large Green Building, a Bomb Shelter built on part of the cemetery. It was the Peres Peace Center. Why build a forbidding Bomb Shelter for "The Peace Center"? A not so subtle message: Peace Center-Bomb Shelter (*4)! The abuse of one Grave, the destruction of another in the shadow of a Large Bomb Shelter standing as a Peace Center shook me.

We worked our way back to the Orthodox Cemetery.

In the Orthodox Cemetery, not far from the Guard, I noticed several new Graves with brand new head stones all with messages in sparkling gold Cyrillic (Russian) writing. My natural curiosity would normally drive me to read them, to learn their story. But I did not know Cyrillic. So I asked the Gateman about them. "Russians, all of them. They came to Israel as Jews, but when they died, they chose to die as Russian Orthodox (*5). A short pain shot to my heart: Several hundred thousand Russians had the right to move to my Country and live as first class citizens, they claimed they're Jewish, while many were not. Yet neither I nor any Palestinian original inhabitant of this Holy Land have The Right of Return.

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PART II HOW DID WE GET TO THIS POINT , THE HISTORIC BASIS OF THE NAKBAH (This part includes most of my research , including but limited to what I shared in the Zoom Session)

1. 1878- Disraeli, (The British Prime Minister who was the favorite of Queen Victoria, and a non practicing Jew), Saved Istanbul from Russian and European dismemberment of the Ottoman empire in a secret deal with Sultan Abdul Hamid II for supporting the Ottoman Empire during the Berlin Congress while the Berlin Congress was going on: On his return to London, he reported to Queen Victoria: **“We Got from the Sultan: “Administrative Control over Cyprus”** (meaning a British base for the Royal Navy, to protect Istanbul being taken over by the Tsar of Russia and Turned back to Constantinople) **and 30,000 European Jews to Palestine”**
2. Theodor Hertzl was born in Pest (Budapest in 1860). He became a journalist and the founder of Zionism
3. 1878, In Congress of Berlin, a gathering of the great European powers to settle problems concerning the Balkans and Near East arising after the war between Russia and Turkey in 1877. It was held between June 13 and July 13, 1878, it was attended by representatives of Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, with some participation of representatives of the Balkan states (Greece, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia). Among its most influential members was the head of the British delegation, Benjamin
*Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield).

The question of the future of **Palestine** was also touched upon by the congress indirectly. In June 1878, a group of European Jews submitted a

memorandum to the Congress (addressed to Bismarck and Disraeli- Lord Beaconsfield) requesting that the Jews in Palestine should be given their independence (in the same manner as had been restored to the Balkan peoples, Bulgaria, Rumania etc.) and permitted to establish a constitutional Jewish monarchy in that country. This memorandum was listed in the protocol of documents submitted to the congress but was not discussed on the floor. Before the congress assembled, there were discussions in the English press concerning the political resurgence of the Jews in Europe, which had been rife with Anti-Semitism, about Palestine

4. Hertzl 1896, published *Der Judenstat*, Literally the State of the Jews..It contained a "Proposal of a modern solution for the Jewish question") . It was originally called "***Address to the Rothschilds***", referring to the [Rothschild family](#), the banking dynasty.

Herzl planned to deliver it as a speech to the Rothschild family. [Baron Edmond de Rothschild](#) rejected Herzl's plan, feeling that it threatened Jews in the Diaspora, in terms of their Residence, Business activities, Citizenship and being considered a part of the countries they were in, rather than Jewish Aliens. Hertzl argued that the best way to avoid [antisemitism](#) in Europe was to create this independent Jewish state: "***Therefore I believe that a wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence. The Maccabeans will rise again.***" He added:

"Let me repeat once more my opening words: The Jews who wish for a State will have it.

We shall live at last as free men on our own soil and die peacefully in our own homes. (His Journalist's message to get Jewish support)

The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness. (His Journalist's message to the Gentiles to get their support)

And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity.^[7]

[Theodor Herzl: The First Zionist Congress](#)

Herzl went to London in an effort to organize the Jews there in support of his program. Not all the Jewish leaders in England were happy to see him, because his political approach was not in tune with their ideas, especially their continued presence, businesses, influence, naturalization and residence of the Rothschilds and other families.

Before he died, he tried to convince Sultan Abdel Hamid to consolidate Ottoman debt in exchange for Zionist access to Palestine. Sultan Abdel Hamid turned him down ...

Hertzl died in 1904 His Leadership was taken over essentially by Chaim Weissman.

5. 1897-1921 The Zionist Congresses. Twelve Zionist Congresses met, in Basle, London, The Hague, Hamburg, Vienna, Carlsbad (Czechoslovakia). The open use of the term "Zionist Congress" and its regular meetings indicated that the Zionist Plan was being developed and gained support of more Important and larger numbers of European Jews

Chaim Weizman was a constant figure, particularly after Hertzl died

The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were printed in [Russia](#) in abbreviated form in 1903 in the newspaper *Znamia* ("Banner") and subsequently (1905) as an [addendum](#) to a religious tract by Serge

Nilus, a Tsarist civil servant. Russia was the home of the largest and poorest number of European Jews, the Country with most visible anti-semitic practices and the location from which more European Jews wanted to emigrate to other parts of Europe and the US .

They were translated into [German](#), [French](#), [English](#), and other European languages and soon came to be a classic of anti-Semitic literature. They remain to this day as a Document which alludes to Freemasons and Jews creating a New World Order. Israel and her friends have been working with great success to discredit them as Anti-Semitic.

6. 1905 Henry Campbell Bannerman became the first PM of G Britain after Lord Balfour's Conservative Government failed. Bannerman Leader of the Independent Party who was followed by Lord Asquith and Lloyd Geoge, all three of them openly self-declared Zionists.

Campbell Bannerman appointed Three Secret Royal Commissions to direct British Foreign Policy specifically focused on the Ottoman Empire and the Arab Muslim Worlds.

1. How to Divide and take up parts of the Ottoman Empire,
2. How to take over Newly discovered Oil fields for the Benefit of Britain, (for the Royal Navy to protect and supply the British Empire and convert the Royal Navy from Coal to the recently discovered Oil), and
3. How to plant a Foreign Body (State) in the middle of the Arab Countries to protect British interests, sow the seeds of discord between them and **allow Great Britain to "divide and rule" their new possessions in the Near East.**

"Imperialist Britain called for forming a higher committee of seven European countries. A report submitted in 1907 to British Prime Minister Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman emphasized that the Arab countries and the Muslim-Arab people living in the Ottoman Empire presented a very real threat to European countries, and it recommended the following actions:

1. To promote disintegration, division, and separation in the region.
 2. To establish artificial political entities that would be under the authority of the imperialist countries.
 3. To fight any kind of unity—whether intellectual, religious or historical — and taking practical measures to divide the region’s inhabitants.
 4. To achieve this, it was proposed that a “buffer state” be established in Palestine, populated by a strong, foreign presence that would be hostile to its neighbours and friendly to European countries and their interests.”
- Dan Bar-On & Sami Adwan, THE PRIME SHARED HISTORY PROJECT, in Educating Toward a Culture of Peace, pages 309–323, Information Age Publishing, 2006.

In 1907, Campbell Bannerman wrote the following in support of his plans:

<https://politicalislam.wordpress.com/2009/04/14/campbell-bannerman-report-1907/>

Campbell-Bannerman Report, 1907

“There are people (the Arabs, Editor’s Note) who control spacious territories teeming with manifest and hidden resources. They dominate the intersections of world routes. Their lands were the cradles of human civilizations and religions. These people have one faith, one language, one history and the same aspirations. No natural barriers can isolate these people from one another ... if, per chance, this nation were to be unified into one state, it would then take the fate of the world into its hands and would separate Europe from the rest of the world. Taking these considerations seriously, a foreign body should be planted in the heart of this nation to prevent the convergence of its wings in such a way that it could exhaust its powers in never-ending wars. It could also serve as a springboard for the West to gain its coveted objects, including countries with their markets and the new Oil Fields discovered in Northern Iraq and Iran.”

From the Campbell-Bannerman Report, 1907

This was followed by more determined plans by Campbell Bannerman and his European partners outlined here;

<https://kashkool.livejournal.com/245478.html?>

As the Campbell Bannerman report was strategically important it was suppressed, and was never released to the public up till August 2015 nearly 100 years later. But lawyer Antoine Canaan referred to it in a lecture entitled "*Palestine and the Law*," which he delivered in 1949 in the universities of Florence and Paris, and in 1957 the Union of Arab Lawyers published it under the same title. Arab historians' and researchers' points of view differed on whether the document actually existed until the matter was confirmed by the well informed Egyptian writer Muhammad Hasanein Haikal. Haikal mentioned the final recommendation in his book "Secret Negotiations Between the Arabs and Israel" (Page 110). It seems that the report had never been officially released before now due to its importance and gravity.

At the time the Arab homeland was divided into European colonies and Ottoman territories, while the Zionist movement had already achieved considerable success in immigration to Palestine and colonizing parts of it, especially with the unlimited British support extended to the Zionist movement in this and other fields, and the collusion of the ruling Turkish group of "Unity and Advancement" in the Ottoman Empire at the time; after their deposition of the Ottoman Caliph Abdul Al-Hamid II in 1908, and appointing Muhammad Rashad to replace him as Sultan, but in name without powers. A specialist in the British Ministry of Colonialism, Sir Percy Cox, decided that there is no better choice than the Jews to perform this colonialist task, because (the British were not ready to perform the task as they did earlier in Canada and Australia).

Along with supporting Jewish emigration and colonization in Palestine, the United Kingdom and France concluded the "Sykes Picot Agreement" in 1916 dividing the Fertile Crescent into four states, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq as England's share, and Syria and Lebanon to be France's share (The French wanted to have Palestine, but the British insisted on it, of course for establishing a Jewish homeland in it – *translator's note*), to be followed in 1917 by the Balfour Declaration which was approved by President Wilson along with the French and Italian governments and the Vatican, thus making it an international promise, and not simply a British promise. Palestine was later put under a British mandate and a deed in this regard was issued by the League of Nations, which was unanimously passed. The deed stated that Palestine shall be put under British political and economic administration, which shall insure the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. There was no consideration of Palestinian Arabs as a people that have political rights; they were considered merely religious sects with only civil and religious rights.

The British government, from 1917 to 1947, did not allow the establishment of a constitutional system in Palestine, while it granted Zionists autonomy and a role in the decision making along with the mandate authorities on all levels; while it was stirring controversies among Arab cities' dignitaries and rural Arab clannishness, and making use of its relations with Arab regimes to abort the Palestinian Arab patriotic movement, as was the case during the great 1936 Palestinian Arab strike. And since the establishment of the League of Arab States in 1945 it monopolized, within its territorial regimes, the upper hand in relation to whatever concerned the Arab Zionist struggle. When Great Britain referred the problem to the United Nations

in 1947, both the capitalist camp under the leadership of the United States, and the communist bloc under the leadership of the Soviet Union supported the partition of Palestine and provided Zionists with fighters and arms. Then it is clearly evident, that there was a continuous international decision to put into effect Bannerman's suggestions to abort any efficient Arab activism in this strategically important region of the world.

7. As soon as GB declared war WW- I , The War Cabinet started discussing the Future of Palestine. Viscount Herbert Samuel was a member of one or two of the Royal Commissions. **He was the first nominally-practicing Jew to serve as a Cabinet minister and to become the leader of a major British political party.** Herbert Samuel had promoted Zionism within the British Cabinet, beginning with his 1915 memorandum entitled *The Future of Palestine, a secret document addressed to the British Cabinet in the first year of WW I (attached at the bottom of this precis)*

His Secret Paper, The Future of Palestine was released nearly 100 years later. It laid out the Zionist push to take over Palestine after WW I

In Herbert Samuel's Words, "keep Palestine for a new Jewish National Home that, I am assured, will be annexed to the British Empire". In his Paper to the British Cabinet, he set forth the benefits for Britain to follow his plan. He argued against all other options for Palestine that were considered, including:

- a. Annexation by France,**
- b. Internationalization,**
- c. Annexation to Egypt under Britain,**
- d. Keeping it with Turkey.**

And he closed with the following Argument, quoted verbatim:

“The gradual growth of a considerable Jewish Community, under British Suzerainty, in Palestine, will not solve the Jewish Problem in Europe. A Country the size of Wales, much of it barren mountains and part of it waterless, cannot hold 9,000,000 people. But it could probably hold in time 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 people and some relief could be given to the pressure in Russia and elsewhere. Far more important would be the effect upon the character of the larger part of the Jewish race who must still remain intermingled with other peoples, to be a strength or to be a weakness to the countries in which they live. Let a Jewish centre be established in Palestine; let it achieve, as I believe it would achieve a spiritual and intellectual greatness; and insensibly, but inevitably, the character of the individual Jew, wherever he might be, would be ennobled. The sordid associations which have attached to the Jewish name would be sloughed off, and the value of the Jews as an element in the civilization of European peoples would be enhanced.

The Jewish brain is a physiological product not to be despised. For fifteen centuries the race produced in Palestine a constant succession of great men – statesmen and prophets, judges and soldiers. If a body be given in which its soul can lodge, it may again enrich the world. Till full scope is granted, as Macaulay said in the House of Commons, “let us not presume to say that there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendents of the Macabees”.

The tone and language of the language by Herbert Samuel , of Henry Campbell Bannerman and before them Theodore Hertzl show the racist, supremacist and arrogant nature of the Zionists who cooked up this project. This tone continues into today's Zionist and Israeli Government leadership's practices and laws of Israel.

(The Complete Secret Paper by Herbert Samuel is at the end of this write-up.)

8. Herbert Samuel's Paper to the British War Cabinet was followed by the Balfour Declaration in 1917, signed by Lord Balfour, and addressed to Lord Rothschild, leader of the British Jewish Community for transmission to the Zionist Federation of GB. **Actually, the Balfour declaration was drafted by four people, Lord Walter Rothschild, Alfred Balfour, Leo Amery and Lord Milner. It was followed by the Sykes Picot Plan to divide the Middle East between Britain and France.**

9. **1917. Britain entered Palestine through the South, Bir Al-Sabe' (Beersheba) and in the East, through the Jordan River at the head of an Arab Force and immediately broke all promises they made to the Arabs, including Sherif Hussein, his sons Abdullah and Faisal, and the other Arabs who fought with them to end the Ottoman Empire.**

Britain also allied itself with Saudi Arabia's King Abdul Aziz, who drove the Agents of the Ottoman Empire in Central and Eastern Arabian Peninsula and appointed a British Spy/Representative H. St John Philby, (father of the late Kim Philby) who armed and

funded Abdul Aziz to also throw the Hashemites out of Mecca. Philby, changed his lifestyle, dress, and habits to those of the Arabian Peninsula and spent most of his life next to King Abdul Aziz.

10. In 1920 Herbert Samuel was appointed the first High Commissioner for Palestine, in charge of the administration of the Country.

He was the first High Commissioner to make Jewish an official language of Palestine along with Arabic and English, increased the number of European Jewish Immigrants to Palestine, introduced a number of preferences to the newly arrived illegal Jewish Immigrants to Palestine while he suppressed Palestinian appeals for the promises made to the Arabs when they were asked to join the Allies to fight the Ottoman Empire and the Axis Powers

11. 1922, four years after the end of WW I, Britain wrote for itself the articles of the British Mandate of Palestine, labeled Mandate First Class, and had it approved by the League of Nations. It stipulated that Palestine would be prepared for and given its independence within a period of ten years. An act of Perfidy, they had no intent to apply.

12.-13-14 The Palestinians tried to have Britain stand by its promises, and had several uprisings, after every one of which Britain appointed a new Commission, all of which were followed by broken promises right up to the 1936-1939 rebellion which was put down by brutal military Force. The worst of these was in 1939 as WW II was first started. During that period they arrested and sent to exile scores of Palestinian leaders who had questioned their occupation, led political parties or led the rebellions with the largest number of Palestinian exiles sent to Cyprus and the Seychelles. Haj Amin Al Husseini, Mufti

of Palestine, escaped to Germany via Iraq and avoided British Exile and imprisonment.

PART III, HOW THE NAKBAH TOUCHED MY LIFE IN VERY PERSONAL WAYS.

Now, we can move on to the different Personal Ways and times the Nakbah touched my life

1. 1948.Jaffa, Fellow student and first aid volunteer Muhammad Mughbrab1, !st aid, Manshiyyeh, was shot in the head by Zionist armed terrorist, while doing first aid service in Manshieh, he was sixteen years old, a young first aid volunteer.
2. The bombing of the Serail with over 100 Orphans and their caregivers by two Zionist Gangs,in three Jeeps, which took place in January 1948, nearly four months before the complete depopulation of Jaffa took place at the end of April 1948
3. Panic leaving home, less than 10 days after the massacre of Deir Yassin in which almost the whole village was massacred inCold Blood by the three Zionist Terror groups (the Haganah, which became the Israeli army, the Irgun, which became the Likud party, and the Stern Gang which joined the Likud Paty)
4. My and my siblings' Childhood turned into a nightmare
5. The nameless cargo sailing ship with 3000 escapees, the dead baby, burial at sea
6. The hope of returning home dashed, exile became permanent

7. Broken College education, 4 yrs in a desert labor camp in Saudi Arabia
8. Broken family (Father in Iraq, Mother Beirut, Faizeh Amman, Me Nottingham, Hussein Cairo, Mustafa Germany, Leila Austria)
9. Expropriation of family Wealth, illegal take over by Custodian of Enemy property, later named Absentee property: home, business, bank accounts, accounts payable via Palestine Citrus Export Board, a complete home, business, property and wealth
10. The subsequent Grand theft, All Personal, Family and National wealth taken over by Jewish National Fund "in perpetuity".
11. My marriage alone in the UK, no one from my family
12. My work in Saudi Arabia, Father in Iraq, Mother in Beirut, Hussein in Jordan Diplomatic Service, Leila in Austria, Nahidah in Kuwait, Faizeh in Jordan, Fatima in Kuwait then Arizona, Leila in Austria, Fadwa in Jerusalem, Said in Beirut then Amman.. .
13. Continuing diaspora, Fawzia, Rema growing away from grandparents and cousins ,
14. Working as 3nd class citizen with Aramco
15. Iraq Experience, year near father, problem with Revolution
16. Father's Death in diaspora, died alone, missing his funeral
17. Working in Jeddah, no good girls' schools, Boarding school at 10 and 6 years of age
18. 1967 war, Did we lose our girls? 21 days of crisis?
19. Barbara's Nervous breakdown, attempted suicide, giving up career work to pull family together.
20. Missing my brothers' weddings , my sisters' weddings, children growing up away from cousins
21. Visiting Amman, Barbara Israeli border soldiers Barbara forced to undress and stand naked for male soldiers' inspection.

22. Missing my mother's funeral
23. US experiences: Fesces in mail-box, car tires slashed, car keyed 3 times for displaying "Free Palestine"
24. Cousin Ihsan's funeral in Chicago, over 400 People in his funeral
25. Denial of free speech addressing Christian and Jewish audience at Lazarus home in Cincinnati
26. Experience with the Rainbow coalition, & Jewish colleagues coup to get me in trouble, disciplined or fired at Procter and Gamble.
27. 1982 Arab Community in Cincinnati, under attack & Town Hall meeting
28. First return trip to Jaffa, Tel Aviv airport Dr Abdel Shafi 1993, 94, Senior member of the Madrid Peace Conference treated by Israeli Airport Security like dirt, humiliated in front of his wife.
29. Letter threats in Florida,
30. 12 Years of Interfaith (love-hate and total absence of support with Catholic Monsignor in Venice)
31. 13 years of LLI and Jewish Threat to Edison State College to deny me Freedom of Speech
32. Subsequent trips to Palestine, Israel - threatening treatment, first out of the plane-last out of the airport
33. Normal seeking directions in Beisan, bad language from Ordinary Israeli in return
34. South African Zionist in Jordan Valley, chased from Palestinian Citrus grove taken by settlers.
35. Sleepless nights about the safety and security of my Sister Fadwa and daughter Rema in Jerusalem. **And it goes on**

Attachment next 3pages:

'The Future of Palestine, Secret Document

by Herbert Samuel , 1915

Outlining the Zionist Plan for Palestine

By the British Zionist who 3 years later was appointed

High Commissioner of Palestine

Submitted to the British War Cabinet,

First Released in 2015 (One Hundred years later).

To read the attachment , double click to the largest magnification

That your Computer or Handheld device can reach. Use other

Computer apps if you need to get even larger. I have extracted the

important paragraphs of this Secret document in the body of my notes.

Printed for the use of the Cabinet. January 1915.

SECRET.

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE.

THE course of events opens a prospect of a change, at the end of the war, in the status of Palestine. Already there is a stirring among the twelve million Jews scattered throughout the countries of the world. A feeling is spreading with great rapidity that now, at last, some advance may be made, in some way, towards the fulfilment of the hope and desire, held with unshakable tenacity for eighteen hundred years, for the restoration of the Jews to the land to which they are attached by ties almost as ancient as history itself.

Yet it is felt that the time is not ripe for the establishment there of an independent, autonomous Jewish State. Such increase of population as there has been in Palestine in recent years has been composed, indeed, mostly of Jewish immigrants; the new Jewish agricultural colonies already number about 15,000 souls; in Jerusalem itself two-thirds of the inhabitants are Jews; but in the country, as a whole, they still probably do not number more than about one-sixth of the population.

If the attempt were made to place the 400,000 or 500,000 Mahomedans of Arab race under a Government which rested upon the support of 90,000 or 100,000 Jewish inhabitants, there can be no assurance that such a Government, even if established by the authority of the Powers, would be able to command obedience. The dream of a Jewish State, prosperous, progressive, and the home of a brilliant civilisation, might vanish in a series of squalid conflicts with the Arab population. And even if a State so constituted did succeed in avoiding or repressing internal disorder, it is doubtful whether it would be strong enough to protect itself from external aggression from the turbulent elements around it. To attempt to realise the aspiration of a Jewish State one century too soon might throw back its actual realisation for many centuries more.

I am assured that the solution of the problem of Palestine which would be much the most welcome to the leaders and supporters of the Zionist movement throughout the world would be the annexation of the country to the British Empire. I believe that that solution would be cordially welcome also to the greater number of Jews who have not hitherto been interested in the Zionist movement. It is hoped that under British rule facilities would be given to Jewish organisations to purchase land, to found colonies, to establish educational and religious institutions, and to spend usefully the funds that would be freely contributed for promoting the economic development of the country. It is hoped also that Jewish immigration, carefully regulated, would be given preference

[198]

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so that in course of time the Jewish people, grown into a majority and settled in the land, may be conceded such degree of self-government as the conditions of that day may justify.

It would, no doubt, be necessary to establish an extra-territorial régime for the Christian sacred sites, and to vest their possession and control in an international commission, in which France, on behalf of the Catholic Church, and Russia, on behalf of the Greek Church, would have leading voices. It would be desirable also that the Mahomedan sacred sites should be declared inviolable, and probably that the Governor's council should include one or more Mahomedans, whose presence would be a guarantee that Mahomedan interests would be safe-guarded.

From the standpoint of British interests there are several arguments for this policy, if wider considerations should allow it to be pursued:—

1. It would enable England to fulfil in yet another sphere her historic part of civiliser of the backward countries. Under the Turk, Palestine has been blighted. For hundreds of years she has produced neither men nor things useful to the world. Her native population is sunk in squalor. Roads, harbours, irrigation, sanitation, are neglected. Almost the only signs of agricultural or industrial vitality are to be found in the Jewish and, on a smaller scale, in the German colonies. Corruption is universal in the administration and in the judiciary. The Governors, who follow one another in rapid succession, are concerned only with the amount of money they can squeeze out of the country to send to Constantinople. Under British administration all this will be quickly changed. The country will be redeemed. What has been done in Egypt will be repeated here, and the knowledge of this would make many of the present inhabitants not merely acquiesce, but rejoice, in the change. The British Agent in Egypt recently reported (on the 7th January) that the information of the Intelligence Department there indicated that a large proportion of the population would welcome a British occupation. There have been many previous indications of the same feeling. The Turkish officials are foreigners in the country. Of Turkish population there is none. England should assume control, because by that means she can forward the purpose for which, at bottom, her Empire in the tropics and sub-tropics exists.

2. The British Empire, with its present vastness and prosperity, has little addition to its greatness left to win. But Palestine, small as it is in area, bulks so large in the world's imagination, that no Empire is so great but its prestige would be raised by its possession. The inclusion of Palestine within the British Empire would add a lustre even to the British Crown. It would make a most powerful appeal to the people of the United Kingdom and the Dominions, particularly if it were avowedly a means of aiding the Jews to reoccupy the country. Widespread and deep-rooted in the Protestant world is a sympathy with the idea of restoring the Hebrew people to the land which was to be their inheritance, an intense interest in the fulfilment of the prophecies which have foretold it. The redemption also of the Christian Holy

Places from the vulgarisation to which they are now subject, and the opening of the Holy Land, more easily than hitherto, to the visits of Christian travellers, would add to the appeal which this policy would make to the British peoples. There is probably no outcome of the war which would give greater satisfaction to powerful sections of British opinion.

3. The importance that would be attached to this annexation by British opinion would help to facilitate a wise settlement of another of the problems which will result from the war. Although Great Britain did not enter the conflict with any purpose of territorial expansion, being in it and having made immense sacrifices, there would be profound disappointment in the country if the outcome were to be the securing of great advantages by our allies, and none by ourselves. But to strip Germany of her colonies for the benefit of England would leave a permanent feeling of such intense bitterness among the German people as to render such a course impolitic. We have to live in the same world with 70,000,000 Germans, and we should take care to give as little justification as we can for the hatching, ten, twenty, or thirty years hence, of a German war of revenge. Certain of the German colonies must no doubt be retained for strategic reasons. But if Great Britain can obtain the compensations, which public opinion will demand, in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and not in German East Africa and West Africa, there is more likelihood of a lasting peace.

4. The belt of desert to the east of the Suez Canal is an admirable strategic frontier for Egypt. But it would be an inadequate defence if a great European Power were established on the further side. A military expedition organised from Southern Palestine, and including the laying of a railway from El Arish to the Canal, would be formidable. Palestine in British hands would itself no doubt be open to attack, and would bring with it extended military responsibilities. But the mountainous character of the country would make its occupation by an enemy difficult, and while this outpost was being contested time would be given to allow the garrison of Egypt to be increased and the defences to be strengthened. A common frontier with a European neighbour in the Lebanon is a far smaller risk to the vital interests of the British Empire than a common frontier at El Arish.

5. The course which is advocated would win for England the lasting gratitude of the Jews throughout the world. In the United States, where they number about 2,000,000, and in all the other lands where they are scattered, they would form a body of opinion whose bias, where the interest of the country of which they were citizens was not involved, would be favourable to the British Empire. Just as the wise policy of England towards Greece in the early part of the nineteenth century, and towards Italy in the middle of the nineteenth century, has secured for this country ever since the goodwill of Greeks and Italians, wherever they may be, so help given now towards the attainment of the ideal which the Jews have never ceased to cherish through so many centuries of suffering, cannot fail to secure, into a far-distant future, the devoted gratitude of a whole race, whose goodwill, in time to come, may not be without its value.

What are the alternatives?

(a.) Annexation by France.—French interests, which in Northern Syria are considerable, in Palestine are small. A French company owns the railway of 54 miles from Jaffa to Jerusalem, but that interest could doubtless be bought out for no large sum. Beyond that there is little. There are French monastic establishments, but few French residents elsewhere. The Egyptian Intelligence Department report, which has been already quoted, is to the effect that a French annexation would be unwelcome to the inhabitants. It would certainly be unwelcome to the Jews. If, as the outcome of the war, France recovers Alsace and Lorraine, and obtains the greater part of Syria, including Beirut and Damascus, she ought not to grudge to Great Britain Mesopotamia and Palestine. Her ancient protectorate of Catholic interests in the East would be continued by her leadership in the International Commission which would control the Holy Places.

(b.) Internationalisation.—To establish a Government composed of representatives of all the Powers would be to lay the country under a dead hand. Continuous disagreements would be inevitable, and would result in nothing being done for the development of the land and the progress of the people. Besides, a status which was in form international would give an opportunity for the gradual permeation of the country by German influence. Already Germany has been very active in Palestine. She has spent considerable sums of money there with a view to increasing her influence. She has founded a bank, agricultural colonies, schools, hospitals. After the war, shut out, to a great extent, from the Far East and other parts of the globe, she may well concentrate a part of her energies on Palestine. In twenty years' time Egypt's neighbour, ostensibly internationalised, may have become so permeated by German influence as to furnish a strong case for German control, whenever the cumbrous form of government shall have patently broken down, and whenever another revision of the map of Western Asia takes place. An international régime has invariably been a transition stage to something else. While it lasts it is a theatre of intrigue in which some or all of the controlling countries seek to prepare claims against the day when the change which is foreseen shall come. In this case it may prove to be a stepping-stone to a German protectorate. Such an eventuality would be as dangerous to France in Northern Syria as to England in Egypt.

(c.) Annexation to Egypt.—Incorporation within the British Empire by this indirect method may be found necessary for the sake of conciliating Mahommedan sentiment in India and Egypt. The constitution of a Greater Egypt would probably be very acceptable to Sultan Hussein and his Mahommedan subjects. But this policy would introduce complications in the administration of the country, without, it would seem, advantages sufficient to counterbalance them. Nor is it certain that the arrangement would be preferred by the Arabs. In the eyes of the Jews, it would offer a much less strong appeal than would the possibility of the growth of a Jewish State under the direct suzerainty of Great Britain.

(d.) To leave the country to Turkey, but with some

guarantees for improved government and greater facilities for Jewish colonisation.—To devise such guarantees and to make them effective would be a matter of extreme difficulty, as the whole of the modern history of the Turkish Empire has shown. It is probable that the adoption of such a policy would leave the situation substantially unimproved. Whether it would in any case be practicable would depend upon the disposition, after the war, of the territories to the north and east.

The gradual growth of a considerable Jewish community, under British suzerainty, in Palestine will not solve the Jewish question in Europe. A country the size of Wales, much of it barren mountain and part of it waterless, cannot hold 9,000,000 people. But it could probably hold in time 3,000,000 or 4,000,000, and some relief would be given to the pressure in Russia and elsewhere. Far more important would be the effect upon the character of the larger part of the Jewish race who must still remain intermingled with other peoples, to be a strength or to be a weakness to the countries in which they live. Let a Jewish centre be established in Palestine; let it achieve, as I believe it would achieve, a spiritual and intellectual greatness; and insensibly, but inevitably, the character of the individual Jew, wherever he might be, would be ennobled. The sordid associations which have attached to the Jewish name would be sloughed off, and the value of the Jews as an element in the civilisation of the European peoples would be enhanced.

The Jewish brain is a physiological product not to be despised. For fifteen centuries the race produced in Palestine a constant succession of great men—statesmen and prophets, judges and soldiers. If a body be again given in which its soul can lodge, it may again enrich the world. Till full scope is granted, as Macaulay said in the House of Commons, "let us not presume to say that there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees."

H. S.

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