BRITISH WORLD WAR I DIPLOMACY AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CRISIS 1914 – 1920

Amah Maclean Williams PhD

Department of History and International Studies
Akwa Ibom State University
email: amahwilliams@aksu.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

The protracted and bitter struggles between the Arabs and the Jews for control of the holy land has caused untold pains and sufferings for many generations and has seen the Arabs engage the Jews in many wars since the 1948 war of independence. There is a plethora of scholarly works on the conflict, but it is often claimed by scholars that the crisis originated with Jewish emigration into Palestine and the declaration of the State of Israel in May 1948. This paper therefore interrogated the foundations of the Arab Israeli crisis. It traced the roots of the crisis to British diplomatic double dealings and betrayals during the first world war. Relying on declassified British diplomatic correspondences and a wide range of literature on Arab Israeli crisis, this paper concludes that the misguided strategies and conflicting promises of Britain to win the First World War inadvertently created a deep divide and reinforced the agelong hatred between the Arabs and the Jews leaving a legacy of bloodshed and destruction in the region.
Key Words: ***Diplomacy, Arab, Israel, Britain, Arab Israeli crisis.***

Introduction

On 29 November 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the partition of Palestine into two independent states - one Jewish, the other Arab. The City of Jerusalem was to be placed under an international regime, with its residents given the right to citizenship in either the Jewish or the Arab states[1]. For the Jews, this resolution came as the fulfilment of a millenarian yearning for national rebirth in their ancestral homeland. For the Arabs it was an unmitigated disaster, an act of betrayal by the international community that surrendered an integral part of the Arab world to foreign invaders. Resentment and pockets of conflicts began between the Arabs and the Jews, hence, by May 1948 when the State of Israel was proclaimed, the armed forces of Egypt,

Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, Lebanon, as well as a Saudi contingent carried out an attack on the nascent Jewish state to obliterate it from existence. Thus began a long and protracted crisis between the Arabs and the Jews laced with loss of lives, displacement of population and destruction of properties.

Analysing the causes of the Second World War, a British Historian A. J. P. Taylor, famously stated that "Wars are much like road accidents, they have a general cause and particular causes at the same time"[2]. No modern-day conflict would seem to epitomise this intricate linkage between past and present more than the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. At a deeper level, the roots of this conflict stretch back to the Roman destruction of Jewish statehood in the land that has since come to be known as Palestine. Since then, exile and dispersion have become the hallmark of Jewish existence. Even in its ancestral homeland the Jewish community was relegated to a small minority under a long succession of foreign occupiers; Byzantines, Arabs, Seljuk Turks, Crusaders, Mamluks and Ottoman Turks who inflicted repression and dislocation upon Jewish life.[3] At the time of the Muslim occupation of Palestine in the seventh century, the Jewish community in the region numbered some 200,000; by the 1880s it had been reduced to about 24,000, or some five per cent of the total population. Jews, Christians, and Muslims lived together relatively peacefully during the centuries that Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire (1517-1918)[4].

However, by the 20th century the situation changed. British war time diplomacy which was characterized by double dealings, promises and betrayals left a deep divide amongst the Arabs and the Jews and a legacy of crisis which has spanned many decades unabated. Scholars seldom make reference to British inconsistency during the First World War as one of the remote causes of the Arab-Israeli Crisis in the 20th century, rather emphasis has always been placed on Jewish emigration and the establishment of the State of Israel. It is against this background that this paper examines the various agreements, promises and declarations made by Britain during the First World War to gain support from various groups in the Middle East and win the war at all cost such as the Treaty of London of 1915, the Constantinople Agreement of 1915, the McMahon–Hussein Correspondence of 1915-1916, the Sykes-Pycot Agreement 1916 and the Balfur Declaration of 1917.

Historical Background to the Crisis

The 20th century is one of the bloodiest centuries in human history. Several conflicts in the 20th century became defining moments in the history of the world. The Arab-Israeli war is one of such conflicts. It commands

global interest, yet has defied solution. It has remained protracted and escalated for decades now. It is essentially a modern conflict originating in the 20th century. However, the roots of the conflict involving competing historical claims to the same stretch of land dates back thousands of years. Jewish roots in the area began sometime between 1800 and 1500 B.C. when the Hebrew people, a Semitic group, migrated into Canaan (today's Israel)[5]. Around 1000 B.C., their descendants formally established the kingdom of Israel with Jerusalem as its capital. Israel soon splits into two kingdoms and was frequently under the control of foreign conquerors: the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and ultimately the Romans[6]. However, despite repeated conquests, the Jews always retained their separate identity, mostly because of their distinctive religious beliefs. The fact that the Jews were monotheists (believers in one God), while their neighbors were polytheists set the Jews apart and instilled in them the idea that the territory of Israel was their "promised land." The Jewish majority in that land was however ended when the Roman Empire expelled the Jewish population from Israel following a failed revolt against Roman rule in 135 AD. For the next 1,800 years, the majority of Jews lived in scattered diasporas (ethnic communities outside of their traditional homeland) throughout Europe and the Middle East[6].

Moshe Gil's account of the history of Palestine shows that the land which the Romans named 'Palaestina,' or 'Palestine' in its English form, was inhabited by small groups of Jews, who had gradually returned to the area, along with other local peoples and some colonists brought in by the Romans[7]. The account further showed that in the 7th century AD, Palestine came under the control of Arabs, who introduced into the region the Arabic language (a Semitic language related to Hebrew) and the religion of Islam, (a monotheistic religion related to Judaism and Christianity)[8]. Although there remained a Jewish minority in the area, comprising less than 10% of the total population, from the 7th century to the mid-20th century, the majority of the inhabitants were Arabic-speaking Palestinians. Most Palestinians are Muslims, but there is also a significant number of Palestinian Christians. Jews, Christians, and Muslims lived together relatively peacefully during the centuries that Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire (1517-1918)[9]. However, the situation has changed over the course of the last century.

The 19th century surge in national consciousness, aspiration, and development in Italy and Germany, Poland, Russia, and the territories of the multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire provided an intellectual backdrop, inspiration, and guide to Zionism's founders. In his book, The Arab Israeli Conflict 1948, Efraim Karsh posit thus;

> The rise of nationalism had major repercussions for the Jewish diasporas of Europe. On the one hand, Jews had an increased opportunity even pressure to assimilate and become members of the newly emerging 'nations' in which they lived, an option that brought obvious advantages but would also require them to give up their separate identity. On the other hand, nationalism fanned the flames of anti-Semitism (hostility toward the Jews), a European prejudice which had originally been based on religious feeling but which now became more intensely political as Jews were seen as 'foreigners' hindering the development of national unity[10].

From the above, it is clear that the feeling of resentment against the Jews also made the Jews think of returning to their ancestral home where they could have a nation of their own. Hence, they developed their own form of nationalism - the Zionist movement - which emerged in Europe in the 1880's and called for the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. Dozens of committees and societies for the settlement of the Land of Israel mushroomed in Russia and Eastern Europe. In August 1897 the First Zionist Congress was held in the Swiss town of Basle, under the chairmanship of Theodore Herzl, a young and dynamic Austro-Hungarian journalist. The congress defined the aim of Zionism as 'the creation of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine to be secured by public law. It also established institutions for the promotion of this goal[11].

By the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the Jewish community in Palestine had grown to some 85,000 to 100,000 people, nearly 15 per cent of the total population. Palestine at the time did not exist as a unified geopolitical entity; rather, it was divided between the Ottoman province of Beirut in the north and the district of Jerusalem in the south[12]. Its local inhabitants, like the rest of the Arabic-speaking communities throughout the region viewed themselves as subjects of the Ottoman Empire rather than as members of a wider Arab Nation bound together by a shared language, religion, history or culture. They were totally impervious to the nationalist message of the handful of secret Arab societies operating throughout the empire prior to the First World War. Their immediate loyalties were to their respective clans, tribes, villages, towns, or religious sects which co-existed alongside their overarching submission to the Ottoman sultan-caliph in his capacity as the religious and temporal head of

the world Muslim community[13]. Consequently, the growing Jewish presence in Palestine encountered no widespread opposition beyond some insignificant local disputes.

As would be seen later in this work, European, particularly British, policies during World War I played a major role in bringing about a conflict between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East. Because the Ottoman Empire (of which Palestine was a part) was allied with Germany and Austria against Great Britain and its allies, the British entered into negotiations with an Arab leader planning a revolt against the Ottoman Empire. During these discussions in 1915, the British promised the Arabs an independent state after the war. Though the boundaries of the proposed state were never formally settled, Arab leaders believed that their people would be united in one large country, which would, of course, include Palestine. In the meantime, the Western powers had other ideas, secretly signing an agreement to divide most of the area into French and British-controlled 'mandates.' To make matters more complicated, the British courted international Jewish support by issuing the Balfour Declaration, which supported the concept of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In essence, control of Palestine was promised to three different groups: the Arabs, British, and Jews! Thus, when the war ended and the British took charge of the Palestinian Mandate, both Arabs and Jews felt that the British had broken their promises to them.

However, real tensions in the region started mounting when Jewish immigration increased dramatically, particularly after the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. For the Jews fleeing from persecution in Europe, Palestine was one of the few places of refuge, especially as the United States and other countries closed their doors to refugees desperate to escape Nazi persecution. To the Palestinians, the arrival of a large Jewish immigrant population altered the balance of the population, displaced many people from their land, and threatened their goal of establishing an independent Arab state in the region. Violence soon erupted between the groups. The situation deteriorated in the immediate aftermath of World War II. Survivors of the Holocaust swelled the number of Jewish immigrants to the region, and the Allied victors, horrified by the revelation of large-scale genocide in Europe, were reluctant to stop them.

As violence between Jews and Arabs grew, the British declared its Mandate over Palestine to be unworkable, turning control of the area over to the United Nations. U.N. Resolution 181 divided Palestine in two: giving 55% of the land to the Jews and 45% to the Palestinians, while putting the city of Jerusalem under a separate international authority[14]. The Jews

accepted the proposal and proclaimed the creation of the state of Israel in May 1948; the Palestinians rejected the loss of their territory. Fighting broke out in which neighboring Arab countries supported the Palestinians. Israeli forces were victorious. (Israelis call this war "The War of Independence;" Palestinians call it "The Catastrophe.")[15] As a result of its victory, Israel increased its territory by 30%, and more than 700,000 Palestinian refugees fled or were driven from their homes. Many ended up in refugee camps in Lebanon, Jordan, or other camps that were to become permanent places of residence. In the meantime, an additional 900,000 Jews moved to Israel over the next several years. Thus, in the first half of the 20th century, the population and balance of political power in the area underwent dramatic changes.

British World War I Diplomacy

During the First World War, the presence of imperial troops in the middle east was of vital and strategic importance for the British as the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Mohammed V was in alliance with Britain's rival, Germany. Hence, the Austria-Hungarian Empire, Ottoman Empire and Germany made up the Central Powers and pitted against the three allies, Britain, France and Russia. In Europe, German's rapid advance was halted by Britain and France along the western front. In the East, Russia's war against Germany and Austria-Hungary also reached deadlock. The powerful weapons of the industrial age had killed thousands of men in the trenches of both camps[16].

All of the leading powers expected the war to be over within months but the war did not only go on beyond 1914 but showed signs it will last for a very longtime. At that point, they began to think about new ways of winning the war. British leaders felt that with the stalemate in Europe, it was essential to mastermind a complex strategy to undermine the central powers. One of the strategies was to attack the "underbelly" of the enemy and the soft "underbelly" was the Turkish Ottoman Empire which was weak and progressively declining[17]. British plans included on the one hand, a military diversion and on the other, a devious use of bribery, subversion and double dealings. The British therefore scattered promises to anyone who might be of some use to them without thinking about the consequences, hence, British duplicity and double dealing expressed in the Constantinople Agreement of March, 1915, the Treaty of London of 1915, the McMahon–Hussein Correspondence 1915-1916, The Sykes-Pycot Agreement of 1916 and the Balfour Declaration of 1917, went a long way to perpetuate the conflict in Palestine.

The Constantinople Agreement and the Treaty of London 1915

Before the First World War, Russia had long sought to have access to the Mediterranean Sea. Hence, in a secret agreement in March 1915 Britain and France offered to the Czar of Russia a price that is of geopolitical importance to Russia to keep Russia in the alliance. That price was Constantinople which would have given Russia access to warm waters in the Mediterranean which it long sought. The Constantinople Agreement comprised an agreement where France and Great Britain promised to give Constantinople and the Dardanelles which at the time were part of the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire in the event of victory[18]. At the end of the war, Constantinople was nevertheless occupied by the victorious Allies in 1918. By that time, however, the Russian Revolution had brought about Russian withdrawal from the war, and as it was no longer one of the Allied Powers the agreement was not implemented. Its existence had been revealed by the Bolshevik government in 1917.

While securing Russia's support, Italy's King Victor Emmanuel III was the next target for British bribery using the portions of the Middle East as the bait. Britain, France and Russia tried to lure Italy, a pro German State to join the allies. In April 1915, a secret treaty in London offered Italy a substantial piece of Ottoman real estate in Anatolia in return for support. Italy fell for the trick and declared war against the central powers in August 1915[19].

The Constantinople Agreement and the Treaty of London was part of the British First World war diplomatic maneuvers and shows how desperate the Allied powers led by Britain were in keeping the alliance together while dividing what was left of the Ottoman Empire for their post war imperial interest.

McMahon–Hussein Correspondence

British strategy to undermine the Ottoman Empire also required subversion by using domestic opposition to weaken the Ottoman Empire. Hence through correspondences, Britain encouraged Arab leaders to lead a revolution against the Ottoman Empire in return for independence. McMahon–Hussein Correspondence is therefore a series of letters that were exchanged during the first World War in which Britain agreed to recognize Arab independence after the war in exchange for the Sharif of Mecca, Sharif Hussain and his son Faisal launching the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire[20]. The correspondence had a significant influence on Middle Eastern history during and after the war. Its direct consequence was to be seen in the Arab Israeli war much later in 1948.

The correspondence is composed of ten letters that were

exchanged from July 1915 to March 1916 between Hussein bin Ali, Sharif of Mecca and Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissione[redacted]

McMahon's promises were seen by the Arabs as a formal agreement between themselves and the United Kingdom. British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour represented the agreement as a treaty during the post-war deliberations of the Council of Four[22]. On this understanding the Arabs, under the command of Hussein's son Faisal, established a military force that fought, with inspiration from T. E. Lawrence against the Ottoman Empire during the Arab Revolt. In an intelligence memo written in January 1916 and quoted in Michael Fischbach's book, "The Palestine Deception", Lawrence described Sherif Hussein's Arab Revolt as:

> …beneficial to us, because it marches with our immediate aims, the breakup of the Islamic 'bloc' and the defeat and disruption of the Ottoman Empire, and because the states Sharif Hussein would set up to succeed the Turks would be … harmless to ourselves … The Arabs are even less stable than the Turks. If properly handled they would remain in a state of political mosaic, a tissue of small jealous principalities incapable of cohesion[23].

The Arabs considered themselves to be fighting on the side of the Allies in return for support for the establishment of an independent Arab nation which includes Palestine not knowing that while the promises of independence were made to them, Britain and France had other post war plans. Behind closed doors in London, Sir Mark Sykes of the British Foreign Office and his counterpart in France, Charles Georges Picot had signed an agreement which partitioned Arab lands for themselves with Palestine falling under British rule.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement 1916

Sir Mark Sykes (1873-1919), a distinguished British orientalist, and Charles Georges-Picot, formerly French Consul in Beirut, prepared a draft agreement between 1915-1916 about the postwar division of the Middle East, which was also approved in principle by Russia[24]. The agreement was based on the premise that the Triple Entente would achieve success in defeating the Ottoman Empire during World War I. It formed part of a series of secret agreements contemplating its partition. The agreement effectively divided the Ottoman provinces outside the Arabian Peninsula into areas of

British and French control and influence. The British and French controlled countries were divided by the Sykes–Picot lines. The agreement allocated to the UK control of what is today southern Israel and Palestine, Jordan and southern Iraq, and an additional small area that included the ports of Haifa and Acre to allow access to the Mediterranean. France was to control Southeastern Turkey, Kurdistan Region, Syria and Lebanon[25].

The agreement is seen by many scholars as a turning point in Western and Arab relations. It reneged upon the UK's promises to Arabs regarding a national Arab homeland in the area of Greater Syria in exchange for supporting the British against the Ottoman Empire. The agreement, along with others, was made public by the Bolsheviks in Moscow on 23 November 1917 and repeated in The Manchester Guardian on 26 November 1917, such that "the British were embarrassed while the Arabs were dismayed[26]. The agreement's legacy has led to much resentment in the region, among Arabs in particular but also among Kurds who were denied an independent state.

The Sykes–Picot agreement created artificial borders in the Middle East, without any regard to ethnic or sectarian characteristics, which has resulted in endless conflict in the Middle East. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) claimed one of the goals of its insurgency is to reverse the effects of the Sykes–Picot Agreement for the purpose of building a united Islamic State as envisioned by Sherriff Hussein whom the British deceived. Another of such conflict is the Arab – Israeli crisis. With Britain taking control of Palestine under mandate, the British authorities favoured the immigration of the Jews into the Area and this incensed the Arabs.

The Balfour Declaration 1917

The Balfour declaration was a letter sent by the British Foreign Secretary Author Balfour to a member of the British House of Lords, Lord Rothschild on the 2nd of November 1917. This letter sent to a leading figure in the Jewish community had repercussions which even its authors did not imagine. It had profound impact in the Middle East and its effects still resonate across the region[27].

Background to the Declaration.

By the spring of 1917 the war in Europe did not go well with the allied forces. In the western front, German submarine campaign were proving very effective in decimating the British Merchant Fleet. Thousands of young soldiers died in allied trenches and moral plummeted among the soldiers. On the eastern flank, Russia suffered massive defeat from the Germans, Russia was war weary and on the verge of collapse with food

shortages, strikes and demonstrations. When the Czar was deposed in a revolution, Britain and France became greatly alarmed that once Russia and its war effort begin to collapse, essentially the Germans would have won the war except they bring the Americans in. There was also the need to lure the new leaders of Russia back into the war efforts[28].

In October the British Government received an intelligence report suggesting that the Jews were significant influence in the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the new revolutionary movement emerging as a dominant force in Russia[29]. The new British Prime Minister David Lloyd George feared that the Communist will take Russia out of the war. With the Americans not willing to commit sufficient forces to the war, he knew it was time to act. He instructed his Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to issue a declaration to capture the hearts and minds of the Jewish people all over the world especially in America and Russia. Thus, on 2nd November, the British Government issued the Balfour declaration which declared in part as follows;

> That His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people' and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine[30].

The declaration in effect promised the Jews a homeland in Palestine, yet, the same British Government had promised Sheriff Hussein Palestine as part of the deal for Arab independence. The declaration however did not yield the expected result in Russia as the new Bolshevik government did not only pull out of the war, but they published the secret treaties in which the allies had carved up the Ottoman Empire for themselves. The widely inaccurate report on which Lloyd George based his strategy caused Britain a major embarrassment. The publication of the secret treaties exposed all the secret agreement in which the allies had handed themselves foreign territories while they openly preached and promised the Arabs self-determination and democracy. With the secret deals of the allies now in the public, the Arabs were enraged and it created discontent in the Arab world. Fearing an Arab revolt, the British Government forwarded a message to the Arab leaders as quoted by Mark Levene, that;

> The Entente Powers are determined that the Arab race shall be given full opportunity of forming a nation of its own in the world. That this can only be achieved by the Arabs themselves uniting and that Great Britain and her allies will pursue a policy with this ultimate unity in view[31].

By December 1918, Jerusalem was occupied by British forces in line with the Sykes-Picot agreement and the Jews ceased the opportunity of the presence of British forces to migrate into the area even more. In April 1918, Chaim Weizmann, led other leaders of the Zionist movement to Palestine to lay the foundation of a Hebrew University which they hoped it would become the intellectual hub of Zionism[32]. This caused widespread alarm and indignation among the Arab population. From all indication, Britain was ready to honour the Balfour declaration. Consequently, the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919 which created the League of Nations authorized that the Arab territories should be administered by mandate which meant that Britain and France were given the authority to impose their rule over the Arab territories. The promises to Sheriff Hussein and his son Faisal of a single Arab nation were now a distant memory for the Europeans.

The case of Palestine, however, was unique. Unlike the rest of the post-war mandates, the main goal of the British Mandate in Palestine was to create the conditions for the establishment of a Jewish national home where Jews constituted less than 10 percent of the population at the time. Hence the British Government facilitated the immigration of European Jews to Palestine. Between 1922 and 1935, the Jewish population rose from nine percent to nearly 27 percent of the total population[33]. The intrigues and double dealings resulting in the mass migration of the Jews to Palestine is generally viewed as one of the main catalysts of the ethnic cleansing (Nakba) of Palestine in 1948 and the conflict that ensued with the state of Israel.

The Balfour Declaration and the Arab Israeli Crisis

The Balfour Declaration resulted in a significant upheaval in the lives of Palestinians and turned the Zionist aim of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine into a reality. The Balfour Declaration is widely seen as the precursor to the 1948 Palestinian ethnic cleansing when the Israeli armed groups, who were trained by the British, forcibly expelled more than 750,000 Palestinians from their homeland. Despite some opposition within the War Cabinet predicting that such an outcome was probable, the British government still chose to issue the declaration[34].

While it is difficult to imply that the developments in Palestine today can be traced back to the Balfour Declaration, there is no doubt that the British Mandate created the conditions for the Jewish minority to gain superiority in Palestine and build a state for themselves at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs. When the British decided to terminate their mandate in 1947 and transfer the question of Palestine to the United Nations, the Jews already had an army that was formed out of the armed paramilitary groups trained and created to fight side by side with the British in World War II. More importantly, the British allowed the Jews to establish self-governing institutions, such as the Jewish Agency, to prepare themselves for a state when it came to it, while the Palestinians were forbidden from doing so; paving the way for the 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestine and the subsequent Arab Israeli war.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it could be concluded that British diplomatic double dealings during the First World War not only laid the foundations for the current crisis between the Arabs and the Jews but also hastened the outbreak of the first Arab Israeli war. The Sykes-Picot Agreement which contradicted the McMohan-Sheriff Correspondence created the modern Middle East and remains at the heart of many of the region's intractable problems. Without the Balfour declaration, there wouldn't have been no genuine development of a National home for the Jews and the declaration of the State of Israel three decades later wouldn't have happened. It required the umbrella of the British to be there to in effect support the emerging Jewish National Home militarily. The very fact that the British Police and military were there to protect the budding Jewish population is ultimately central to the situation and couldn't have been done any other way. Therefore, the misguided strategies and conflicting promises of Britain designed to help her war efforts during the First World War inadvertently created a deep divide and reinforced the agelong hatred between the Arabs and the Jews leaving a legacy of bloodshed and destruction in the region.

Endnotes

1. Benny Morris, *1948: A History of The First Arab-Israeli War*. (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008), p.45.

2. Alan John Percivale Taylor, *Origin of The Second World War*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), pp.4-8

3. Benny Morris, *A History of The First Arab-Israeli War*, p.51.

4. David Lesch, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History*. (England: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.76.

5. David W. L., *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History*, p.88.

6. David W. L., *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History*, p.94.

7. Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099*. (England: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.341.

8. Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099*, p.366

9. Gudrun Krämer, *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p.551.

10. Efraim Karsh, *Essential Histories: The Arab Israeli Conflict 1948*. (Oxford: Osprey Publishing 2002), p.7.

11. Ilan Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*. (England: Cambridge University Press, 2022), p.117

12. Ilan P., *A History of Modern Palestine*, p.126

13. Ilan P., *A History of Modern Palestine*, p.131

14. Charles Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict*. (Bedford: St. Martin's, 2001), p.45

15. Ian Bickerton, and Carla Klausner. *A History of The Arab–Israeli Conflict*. (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2018), p.56

16. Charles Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict*, p.57.

16. Wolfram Gottlieb, *Studies In Secret Diplomacy: During The First World War*. (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2021), p.66.

17. Wolfram Gottlieb, *Studies in Secret Diplomacy: During the First World War*, p.78.

18. Wolfram Gottlieb, *Studies in Secret Diplomacy: During the First World War*, p.96.

19. Wolfram Gottlieb*, Studies in Secret Diplomacy: During the First World War*, p.111.

20. Gottlieb, *Studies in Secret Diplomacy: During the First World War*, p.117.

20. Arnold Toynbee, "The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence:

Comments and a Reply." *Journal of Contemporary History* 5.4 (1970): 185-201.

21. Isaiah Friedman, "The McMahon-Hussein correspondence and the question of Palestine." *Journal of Contemporary History* 5.2 (1970): pp.83-122.

22. Michael Fischbach, "The Palestine Deception, 1915–1923: The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence, the Balfour Declaration, and the Jewish National Home, by JMN Jeffries." (2017): pp116-117.

23. Michael Fischbach, "The Palestine Deception, 1915–1923, p.117.

24. Tariq Tell, "Sykes-Picot Agreement." *International Encyclopedia of the First World War* (1914): 321-323.

25. Paula Kitching,"The Sykes-Picot agreement and lines in the sand." *Historian* 128 (2015), p.18.

26. James Paul Thomas Jr, *The Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916: its genesis in British policy*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1971), p.18.

27. Avi Shlaim, "The Balfour Declaration and its consequences." *Yet More Adventures with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture In Britain* (2005): pp.251-270

28. Avi Shlaim, "The Balfour Declaration and its consequences, p.261.

29. Arthur James Balfour. "The Balfour Declaration." *Speeches on Zionism by the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Balfour* (1917): 19-21.

30. Arthur Balfour, "Balfour Declaration 1917." *The Avalon Project* (1917), p.20.

31. Mark Levene, "The Balfour declaration: a case of mistaken identity." *The English Historical Review* 107.422 (1992), pp54-77.

32. James Renton, "Flawed foundations: The Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate." *Britain, Palestine and Empire*. (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2016) pp.15-38.

33. James Renton, "Flawed foundations, p. 26.

34. James Renton, "Flawed foundations, p. 28.