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Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine: Tourism as a Political-Propaganda Tool

INTRODUCTION

IN DECEMBER 1917, BRITAIN TRIUMPHANTLY entered Jerusalem, and by 1918, it had conquered the remainder of Palestine. In 1922, granted mandatory powers by the newly established League of Nations, Britain assumed stewardship of the country which continued until 1948. Within the Zionist movement these events, which seemed to have brought the possibility of a Jewish state that much closer, were greeted with jubilation; and not without reason. Finally, after almost 400 years of slovenly, backward, often corrupt Ottoman rule, Palestine, the Jewish homeland, would be ruled by one of the world's greatest imperial powers. It was also a modern western and, no less importantly, democratic power.

Living up to the hopes invested in it, Britain, in an effort to drag the country into the 20th century and repair the extensive damage wrought by the ravages of the First World War to boot, launched a massive program of reconstruction. To this end, the British modernized and westernized Palestine's archaic economic, social and physical infrastructures. They reformed and expanded its antediluvian public administration service, and they invested a great deal of time and money in trade and industry, giving particular emphasis to the promotion of consumer goods. As a result, under British rule, Palestine, no longer a benighted Middle Eastern backwater, flourished as did the country's Jewish community. Jewish urban and agricultural settlements multiplied and, on the whole, prospered. The Jewish economy thrived, with the Jews actively, and as a rule successfully, engaged in the country's various new economic enterprises. These developments helped transform Palestine's Jewish community into an increasingly viable economic and political entity, well on the way to achieving its and the Zionist movement's national goals.

Not that it was all plain sailing. These years also saw the advent of an indigenous Arab-Palestinian national movement furiously opposed to the establishment of a Jewish national home, in its land. The battle between these two antithetic national movements was fiercely fought, in the streets, in the political arena, and in the economic sphere. Nor was it always possible to separate these three areas of conflict, as evident from the two sides' strident bid to capture the country's new, burgeoning tourist industry.

One of the primary considerations behind a tourist's decision to visit a certain area is his or her perception of that area. In other words: the image an area projects is one of its main sources of attraction. This image, however, is neither materially objective, nor set in stone. More often, than not it is formed and reformed by who ever involves or even controls the country's tourist industry, that is its travel agents, tour guides, press, and guidebooks. These, unwittingly or not, inject specific cultural or political perspectives into their country's various sites, which together create an overall, and indubitably subjective, image of the country. Moreover, tourism may be, and often is, exploited in order to create and export images that both correspond to and advance distinctive political and ideological goals. This was certainly the case in mandatory Palestine, where both Jews and Arabs utilized the tourist industry in order to promote their national ambitions, often at the expense of the other.

British rule saw a paradigmatic shift in Palestine's tourist industry. Increasingly westernized, mandatory Palestine was also an increasingly attractive place to visit. As a result, if, previously, pilgrims had formed the bulk of the country's visitors, there was now an ever-growing stream of secular tourists.¹ Both Jews and Arabs sought to take advantage of this new influx of visitors, hoping to benefit from them not only economically but also politically. Local Arabs and Jews competed over the right to serve tourists as well as over the opportunity to promote their image of Palestine. But, it was a battle in which the Arabs had a distinct edge over the Zionist movement, having, under the Ottomans, acquired virtually a monopoly over the country's, albeit rudimentary, tourist industry. Still, inspired by a combination of economic motives and nationalist ambitions, the Jews fought hard to breach the Arabs' stranglehold over Palestine's tourist trade. Indeed, it could be and will be argued that the Jewish effort to break the largely Arab dominated tourist industry in Palestine was both driven and shaped by nationalist Zionist goals. The Jews consciously sought to exploit the tourist market in order to market a Zionist view of Palestine while, at the same time, preventing the Arabs from peddling their Arab-oriented image of the country.

To date, studies of Arab-Jewish strife under the Mandate have tended to neglect the subject of tourism, assuming that any competition over the country's tourist industry was of a purely economic nature. This article, focusing on the Zionist movement's efforts to break into, indeed gain control of the local tourist trade will show otherwise. As the Zionists themselves admitted, and more than once, the battle over Palestine's tourists, was above all a politically motivated affair.

SOME THEORETICAL NOTES: TOURISM, IDEOLOGY AND WAR

The Zionists, or indeed the local Palestinian Arabs, were neither the first nor the last to use tourism to promote political ideological goals. Accordingly, a brief theoretical and historical review of the relationship between tourism and ideology, by putting the Zionist movement's venture into the field of tourism into its wider conceptual context, will help provide a better, more comprehensive understanding of this particular chapter of Zionist history. Ideological factors have always played a part in tourism and are an integral part of tourism studies.² Many societies and nations tend to shape their tourist industry—i.e., formulate its rules and regulations—in accordance with an elected ideology. This ideology, designed to promote political goals and/or cultural images, pervades the country's entire tourist infrastructure, including and above all its tourist-directed media: visual, oral and written.³

This trend is particularly marked in totalitarian regimes, in which the private sector is effectively non-existent and the state exercises a virtual monopoly over the country's tourist industry. In these states, tourism is fundamentally a political issue, totally subservient to the regime's interests. Such was the case in the Philippines under President Marcos. Having instituted a repressive military regime, President Marcos exploited the Philippines' tourist industry in order to rectify his regime's and, by extension, the country's negative image abroad. Investing heavily in the Philippines' beautification, and launching a carefully crafted advertising and marketing campaign, he created an image of the Philippines as a safe, secure, attractive and fun tourist haven.⁴ Marcos' policy was a prime example of how, as Sönmez put it:

Governments can and do exert political pressure through tourism and use it as a promotional vehicle to convey a positive image or as a sanction against others.⁵

Yet even in democratic, free market societies, the tourist industry is subject to, albeit more abstruse, ideological influences. These, as in France, often stress, sometimes subtly sometimes less so, the country's constitutional cum revolutionary heritage. But in these cases, the exercise of influence is not all one-sided. The tourist industry, anxious "to sell" its country to tourists, often fashions "mythic" cultures, which in turn redefine the country's political, social, and cultural reality.⁶

The complex relationship between ideology and tourism is amplified in times of conflict and war. Contrary to conventional wisdom, tourism does not grind to a halt in periods of political, even military instability. A review of tourism in conflict zones reveals that belligerent situations will not always lead to a dwindling of tourist activity. More than that, it indicates that in conflictual situations tourism's political cum ideological role gains an added significance and its use becomes even more sophisticated. In fact, tourism in these cases frequently evolves into an increasingly finely honed tool designed to promote specific belief systems.⁷ German tourism in wartime France was a case in point. During the war, the Nazis organized groups of tens of thousands of visitors to occupied France, with Paris often the highlight of the tour.⁸ These tours were consciously devised in order:

To demonstrate their [the Nazi's] possession of "high culture" in a sophisticated appreciation of French attractions while at the same time, driving home the message that "the French"—continually essentialized—were not like "the Germans" and that the latter should study the former to appreciate all the more their own "Heimat."⁹

Clearly, the Nazis saw tourism as a political weapon to be employed for the benefit of the state rather than the tourist. Tourism offered the Nazi regime an opportunity to influence public opinion and gain support for their ideological objectives. As part of a calculated political strategy, it was seen as a means of forging and fostering a positive German national identity, while undermining that of the French. Furthermore, by promoting tourism, the Nazis set about creating an illusion of normality and stability in the midst of the horrors of war, thus propagating the impression that all was going well and a German victory ensured. In this manner, tourism, as an ingenuous form of camouflage and obfuscation, was a method of rallying the Germans to the cause, while demoralizing the French and their allies. It was to all intents and purposes a form of psychological warfare.

But it is not always the powers that be that use tourism to promote political goals. In frictional situations, opposition parties and minority

groups may also use tourism in order to gain influence or make a point. Although in these cases it generally assumes the form of a negative strategy, which seeks to undermine tourism and thus weaken the regime. A military coup in Gambia led the Travel Advice Bureau of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office to issue several strongly worded statements warning tourists not to visit the country. As a result, the number of tourists to Gambia fell drastically, inflicting a severe blow on Gambia's economy, which was almost entirely dependent on tourism.¹⁰ Terrorists too, use tourism to further their political objectives. True, terrorists often attack tourists simply because they offer an easy target. But an attack on tourists also guarantees the terrorists instant international media coverage, while at the same time helping to wreck the country's economy.¹¹ In addition, it can and has been argued that tourism prompts terrorism as in the case of Egypt, where tourists, seen by some as the representatives of western civilization and its corrupt consumer culture, are regarded as a direct threat to local Islamic society.¹² Hence, tourism can both "inspire terrorist violence by fuelling political, religious, socio-economic or cultural resentment and be used as a cost-effective instrument to deliver a broader message of ideological/political opposition."¹³

In sum, without ignoring its money generating activities, tourism is often used to deliver a message or create an image with specific national and ideological overtones. Be it by the reigning government, minority groups, or parties in opposition, tourism is invariably exploited to exert political pressure, gain influence and attain political goals.

TOURISM IN MANDATORY PALESTINE

Under the British Mandate, tourism in Palestine flourished.¹⁴ This development coincided with a new, more strident phase of the Arab-Jewish national conflict. As a result, tourism became an increasingly important economic but also political battleground with both the local Arabs and Jews intent upon capturing the local tourist market.¹⁵ According to the Jerusalem based Zionist Trade and Industry Department, from the moment tourists began arriving in Jerusalem, the Arabs made detailed preparations to prevent anyone but themselves from profiting economically from them. Arab tour-guides, it noted, directed tourists only to non-Jewish stores, Jewish drivers did not receive work and even the Allenby Hotel, considered the best and largest hotel in the city, was boycotted by the Arab tour guides. And, if this was not bad enough, the Arabs exploited the country's burgeoning

tourist industry in order to spread anti-Semitic propaganda by distributing invidious anti-Jewish leaflets among their foreign charges.¹⁶ Given the growing friction with their Arab neighbors and their compelling need to gain international support and leverage, small wonder that the Zionists were convinced of the need to try and capture the country's tourist trade for themselves.

Jerusalem, a city of mixed Arab-Jewish population, lay at the heart of the Arab-Jewish conflict. It was also, as the site of many of Palestine's holy places, one of the country's key tourist attractions. Not surprisingly, Jerusalem became the focus of the ideologically oriented national battle over Palestine's tourist industry. Jewish sources highlighted a number of, to them, extremely disturbing facts concerning tourism in Jerusalem in early 1920s. First, there was the marked imbalance in the number of Jewish and Arab tour guides, with the latter greatly outnumbering the former. The Jewish daily *Ha'aretz* reported how 'many Jewish tourists complain that there are no Jewish tour guides to lead them to the places they wish to see and for which purpose they came to Palestine.'¹⁷ Second, there was growing discord and hostility between Arab and Jewish tour guides. Third, and even more worrying, in Jerusalem as else where in the country, "gentile translators influence both Jewish and non-Jewish tourists visiting the country, by deliberating concealing Jewish historical sites and institutions from them, and by poisoning their minds with accusations and jealousy against our people."¹⁸

The Zionist Executive, aware that its cause was being gravely undermined by the currently Arab-controlled tourist industry, resolved to remedy the situation, and to do so as quickly as possible. Discussing the matter for the first time in 1922, one of the movement's leaders pointed out that:

To date, tourists have come to the country and only the Arabs have benefited from them. This issue should interest the Zionist Executive from the political perspective as well, since the tourists are in the Arab-Christian sector where a variety of publications that speak out against us are distributed to them.¹⁹

He obviously impressed his listeners as according to the available, if limited evidence, these years saw the beginning of a Zionist assault on Palestine's tourist industry. The Zionist movement, defining tourism in political terms, consciously set out to exploit the tourist industry as part of its national political struggle. As such, it launched a coordinated attack on the country's oral, visual and written tourist media. Guidebooks, tourist maps

advertisements, films and tour guides were all used to shape and present the desired, Zionist take on Palestine.²⁰

THE ZIONIST INFORMATION BUREAU FOR TOURISTS

The “Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists,” established by the World Zionist Organization on behalf of Palestine’s Jewish population, opened its doors in 1925. Financed and run jointly by the Zionist Executive, the Jewish National Fund (Keren Hakayemet) and the United Israel Appeal, the Bureau set itself three main objectives. First, while abroad, to get in touch with prospective tourists interested in coming to Palestine. Second, to keep in contact with these tourists during their visit to Palestine, impressing upon them, first hand, the diversity, magnitude and importance of the Zionist enterprise. Third, to introduce these tourists to various local Zionist benefactors and charities upon their return home.²¹

As part of the Bureau’s remit, its representatives would waylay tourists either in the Qantara railway in Egypt or in one of Palestine’s port cities—Haifa or Jaffa—and recommend Jewish hotels, tour guides and Zionist oriented itineraries.²² Tourists were also given a concentrated but comprehensive introduction to the Zionist endeavor. The Bureau arranged meetings with local Jewish and Zionist activists. It organized trips to kibbutzim and agricultural communities, where the tourists could meet and mingle with Jewish settlers. Finally, Bureau agents would often accompany tourists on their travels throughout the country, making sure they obtained the correct, Zionist perspective of the country.

GUIDE BOOKS, MAPS AND FILMS

Seeking to harness more Diaspora Jews to the Zionist enterprise, the Zionists began to publish a variety of guidebooks designed specifically for the Jewish tourist market. These were written partially in order to fill a gap in the market. The introduction to one of the earliest Jewish guidebooks noted that:

Since our brothers in the Diaspora began to show an interest in settling our country, making aliyah [immigrating to Palestine] and travelling the country, the lack of a Hebrew book that would serve as a guide and show them

the way during their travels in the land of the Hebrews, has been felt. Books of this kind that do exist are in foreign languages and are written in the spirit of Christianity for Christian pilgrims, for whom Palestine is the birthplace of their Messiah and the cradle of their religion. The Jewish traveller will not find the information he seeks in these books.²³

But, as suggested in the above excerpt, these books were also written in order to impress upon Jewish tourists Palestine's Jewish heritage as well as the validity and viability of the Zionist endeavor. All this in the hope that they would either make a financial contribution to Zionist coffers or, better still, ultimately decide to settle in Palestine. In 1922, the Zionist Trade and Industry Department published *Eretz Israel for Jewish Tourists*. The book highlighted Palestine's distinctive Jewish affinities; its unique historical and religious association with the Jewish people. At the same time, the Jews' massive contribution to the building of modern day Palestine was also described, and in enthusiastic detail. Naturally, Jewish sites and institutions, old and new, particularly in Jerusalem, were all given pride of place in the book.²⁴

The Zionist Tourist Information Bureau also joined the publishing bandwagon producing several guidebooks, which similarly targeted Jewish tourists.²⁵ An apparently lucrative business, what with the growing number of tourists to Palestine, these "official" Zionist publications were soon joined by commercially published guidebooks also boasting a specifically Jewish orientation. Most these books were written in Hebrew, though some were published in English and German.

Not only Jewish tourists were targeted. Over the years, the Zionist Information Bureau published numerous guidebooks and educational pamphlets on Palestine, distributing them to tourist agents in order to encourage Zionist-flavored tourism to Palestine.²⁶ From 1927 onwards, the Bureau began publishing an annual tour and guidebook to Palestine. Initially printed only in German, English, and French, 1937 saw the issue of the book's first Hebrew edition. The Hebrew guidebook's introduction divulged the philosophy behind this and other analogous publications:

Most guidebooks on Palestine, it observed, were 'limited to descriptions of the holy places and the most interesting historic and archaeological sites. They rarely mentioned the new *Eretz Israel*, in which the Jewish national homeland is taking shape. This guidebook, issued by the Zionist Information Bureau in Jerusalem's Julian Street, is intended to fill this void. This guidebook, now presented to the tourist for the first time in Hebrew, hopes to pave the

way for the tourist to the newly developing *Eretz Israel*, to provide him with a comprehensive picture of *Eretz Israel* that is being built on the soil of this historic, ancient land.²⁷

The chapter in the Bureau's book devoted to Jerusalem is of particular interest. In the mid 1930s editions, the Old City received a mere two paragraphs, with the remainder of the chapter given over to an extensive survey of the new part of town. Jerusalem's new Jewish neighborhoods were discussed at length. All the various Zionist institutions in the city were listed, as well as its many Jewish educational, health and welfare organizations. Jerusalem's three cinemas were also mentioned, together with its 'concerts . . . cafes and restaurants,' all of which 'play an important role the city's social life, as in Europe.'²⁸ While the new town, as described, sounds a tempting place to visit, the disproportionate space allotted to this part of the city is odd and somewhat disconcerting, given the Old City's undisputed historical importance. Yet, this unequal division becomes understandable, even reasonable, once the aim of these guidebooks, which was to promote the Zionist enterprise, is taken into account. And, where better to do this than in Jerusalem's flourishing new neighborhoods. No less importantly, this obvious imbalance, in that it both reflected and bolstered Jewish selfhood, also stemmed, in part, from the Zionist effort to consolidate a new Jewish Zionist identity.

Tourist maps were another tactic employed by the Zionists in their assault on Palestine's tourist industry, and were drafted with much the same purpose in mind, i.e., to advance the Zionist endeavor. The maps of Palestine published by Zionist and other Jewish organizations were designed as more than simple tourist aids or to encourage tourist to visit and spend money in particular places. Emphasizing Jewish sites, ancient and modern, they were a deliberate attempt to impose a specifically, even exclusively Jewish Zionist identity on the country.²⁹ Highlighting the Jewish presence in the country, its cities and settlements, these Jewish tintured tourist maps are easily identified. This is particularly true as regards maps of Jerusalem, which depicted in great detail the city's new, primarily Jewish neighborhoods, highlighting its various Jewish religious, cultural and educational institutions, while at the same time relegating the Old City, often drawn in a rather schematic manner, to a relatively small section of the map.³⁰ (See Map 1).

Under the British Mandate, the Zionist movement also, and for the first time, made use of films to promote tourism and further the Zionist cause. A notable milestone in this respect was the film, *To a New Life*, which



Map 1: Part of Steimazky's Jerusalem Pictorial Map,
Published by Steimazky©, Jerusalem 1941/1942

premiered in Berlin in 1935. A model of celluloid propaganda, the film, while portraying Jerusalem as the centre of the world's three great monotheistic religions, took care to accent the fact that Judaism's association with the Holy City antedated the other two by thousands of years. The film also offered various images of the city's holy sites, which quickly faded out only to be replaced with pictures of Jewish immigrants dancing onboard a ship bound for Palestine. Indeed, after a perfunctory nod towards the Old City, the viewer was presented with a predominantly modern perspective of Jerusalem, featuring among other things, the Strauss Medical Centre, Jewish Agency buildings and the Hebrew University.³¹

TOUR GUIDES

The cultivation of Jewish tour guides became a crucial element in the Zionists' campaign to break into Palestine's tourist industry and further the Jewish national enterprise; nor was this surprising. The tour guide is a key element in the complex interaction between ideology and tourism.³² Cohen distinguishes between two types of tour guides: the geographical pathfinder and the spiritual guide or mentor. The former simply pilots tourists through unfamiliar environments or societies. The latter is more akin to 'a specialist [who] serves as a "guru" to the novice, adept or seeker, guiding him towards insight, enlightenment, or any other exalted spiritual state'.³³ In case, the nature and quality of the tour guide's knowledge and method of imparting it, is one of his or her most important traits. The choices they make in terms of what to emphasize, what to underplay and what to ignore altogether, together with their take on the sites shown and events experienced, means that tour guides often inject, consciously or unconsciously, an ideological dimension into their commentary. Thanks to their virtual monopoly on information (within the tour group) tour guides can transmit a variety of messages to their charges. This "power" wielded by tour guides did not escape the authorities in power. And, while some tour guides have private agendas, more often than not, the ideological message underlying their exposition reflects either the tourist establishment's or government authorities' policies. In other words, tour guides are integral to any effort to impress upon visitors a particular image of the country as well as specific social and political messages.

In areas of national conflict, the tour guide becomes one of the national movement's primary spokespersons, used to promote its ideological goals. The more intense the friction, the greater the reliance on tour guides, who,

employed in an increasingly sophisticated manner, become, in effect, soldiers in the national struggle. This is precisely what happened in the case of Jewish tour guides in Mandatory Palestine. Indeed, in the nationally motivated battle over the country's tourist industry, breaking into the Arab tour guide monopoly became one of the Zionists' biggest challenges.³⁴

The Zionist movement was well aware that information conveyed by tour guides was an important weapon in the national ideological struggle between the local Arab and Jewish communities. But, unfortunately for it, Jewish tour guides were, to begin with, at a considerable disadvantage *vis-à-vis* their Arab counterparts. The latter enjoyed close, well-established links with the local representatives of all the major travel companies, including Thomas Cook and Clarke. Not that it mattered, as these local representatives were mostly Arab, and they were not, in any case, inclined to farm out jobs to Jewish tour guides. And, not just Jewish tour guides. Jewish drivers, souvenir shop owners, the proprietors of car hire companies, all complained of being discriminated against, with local Arab representatives doing all they could to prevent Jews from working in the tourist trade.³⁵

This state of affairs spurred the Zionist organization into action. In an effort to better the lot of Jewish tourist service providers, it contacted the head offices of the big international travel companies directly, asking them to steer their Jewish clients towards Jewish hotels, Jewish cafes, Jewish drivers and, of course, Jewish tour guides. They asked Thomas Cook, London, specifically to ensure that all tour guides working on its behalf did not neglect Jewish sites when showing Jewish tourists around the country. In addition, the Zionist Executive in Palestine also urged its London counterpart to try and get Thomas Cook to replace the current manager of its Jerusalem Office, who, it claimed, was notorious for his lack of support for Jewish tourist service providers in the city.³⁶

The Zionist Trade and Industry Department also decided to open a professional course for Jewish tour guides. The first course commenced in June 1922 and boasted 18 students.³⁷ Thus, the process of institutionalized tour guide training began in the early 1920s and not later as commonly supposed.³⁸ Moreover, as the relevant documents make clear, the Arab-Jewish conflict was one of the incentives behind the new venture, a point previously ignored by scholars. Witness the admission by Tishbi, one of the members of the Palestine Executive, that he brought up the idea of holding such a course once he realized just 'how dangerous the non-Jewish guides are, who serve as tool of the enemies of the Yishuv.'³⁹ The course syllabus, taught by several of the Jewish community's foremost experts on Palestine, included classes on local history, archaeology, and ethnography. Prospective tour

guides were also schooled in rules of tourist etiquette and how to conduct themselves with visitors.⁴⁰ Those who successfully completed the original course, ten in number, were granted an official certificate and went on to found *The Association of Jewish Tour Guides in Eretz Israel*.⁴¹

The Association, established in the summer of 1922, was the first Jewish tour guide union in Palestine formed on a professional basis. It welcomed anyone who had completed the Trade and Industry Department's course.⁴² Among the Association's goals, as listed in its constitution, were: the development of tourism in Palestine, injecting a national Jewish spirit into all contacts with tourists, and mutual assistance in business affairs.⁴³ Clearly the Association's aim was not only to consolidate the tour guides' professional and economic status but also to promote the Jewish community's national and ideological goals. The Jewish tour guides, a combination of Cohen's geographic pathfinder and spiritual mentor, were to become a part of the concerted Zionist effort to impart a Jewish nationalist message to the country's incoming tourists.⁴⁴

THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES STEP IN

One of the biggest problems facing the Zionist Information Bureau in its early years was how to net the organized Christian tours, which accounted for a substantial portion of tourism in Palestine, in general, and Jerusalem, in particular. The local Arab franchises of the big tourist companies, such as Thomas Cook and American Express, exercised a virtual monopoly over Christian tour groups. This obviously limited the Bureau's ability to supply work for its Jewish tour guides.⁴⁵ A report published by the Bureau in 1927, while admitting to some advances in the field, nevertheless painted a dismal picture of the Jewish tour guides' current situation:

Of the tour guides trained by the Zionist Executive a few years ago, only seven are currently working. Besides these, other Jews work in this profession, some only during the [tourist] season . . . [by contrast], there are 100 Arab tour guides in Jerusalem, of which a fair number work only in the [tourist] season. The large travel companies work only with them, but also use Jews, although not the best ones.⁴⁶

The British authorities, however, were aware of the difficulties facing Jewish tour guides. In 1927, the same year the Bureau published its bleak report, the administration issued "Tour Guide Ordinance, 1927." This,

the first serious example of government intervention in the field of tourism, was not just a response to the discrimination suffered by Jewish tour guides. It was equally inspired by the mandatory authorities' realization that the battle between Arab and Jewish tour guides both reflected and fuelled the growing political friction between the country's Arab and Jewish communities. Having identified the tour guides affair as a potential flash point, exacerbating local national tensions, the British sought to defuse the situation by legislation.⁴⁷

The ordinance was intended to regulate Palestine's tour guide business. Henceforth, anyone wanted to work as a professional (paid) tour guide had to receive a permit from the appropriate government authorities: the Chief Secretary in charge of tour guide licenses throughout Palestine and the regional governor responsible for licensing in his province. The High Commissioner's Office determined the conditions under which tour guide licenses were granted. The composition of the license form, the number of licenses to be issued and the formulation of guidelines circumscribing the manner, in which tour guides engaged in their profession, also fell under the purview of the High Commissioner. Further, in order to ensure that only fully qualified tour guides received licenses, the ordinance required all tour guides who wished to shepherd visitors around the country's historical, archaeological, and religious sites to undergo a rigorous test set by the Head of the Government Antiquities Department.⁴⁸ The Ordinance also pronounced that, henceforth, the rates charged for guided tours were to be determined by the regional governor, making it illegal to charge higher than the established rate.⁴⁹

The extent to which the British enforced these new regulations remains unclear. Nevertheless, the ordinance was a legislative milestone in both the history of tourism in Palestine and the Arab-Jewish conflict. Having admitted that the question of tourism in Palestine had acquired distinctly ideological overtones, thus exacerbating national tensions, the British decided to take long term action. Rather than resolve the problem on an *ad hoc* basis, the British thought it better to formalize the tour guide profession, by formulating a series of rules and regulations inserted into the local constitution. All this, in an effort to reduce the likelihood of trouble arising from the manifestly nationally-fuelled rivalry in the field of tourism.

THE 1930s

Government intervention, notwithstanding, friction between local Arab and Jewish tour guides continued. Indeed, by the end of the 1920s, as the nationalist conflict between the two communities developed, Arab and Jewish tour guides increasingly locked horns too. In early 1928, it was reported that Arab tour guides were preventing their Jewish counterparts from entering the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Jewish tour guides, despite having passed all the appropriate government tests, including one on the Holy Sepulcher, found themselves, much to their frustration, able to escort tourists only as far as the entrance to church's courtyard, where they were forced hand over their charges to an Arab guide. Evidently, the Arab Christian and Moslem leadership, in blatant defiance of British legislation, contrived to ban Jewish tour guides from one of the more prominent Jerusalem landmarks.⁵⁰ Nor was this surprising, as with Jewish tour guides unable to offer access to Jerusalem's holy sites, most foreign tourist agencies turned to Arab tour guides instead.⁵¹

The 1929 riots led to an immediate and rapid deterioration in relations between Arab and Jewish tour guides, with the latter finding it almost impossible to squire their charges through Christian and Moslem holy sites. The Temple Mount was a case in point. Until 1929, Jewish tour guides were free to enter the Temple Mount. After the riots, the Supreme Muslim Council banned all Jews from the site. As the Temple Mount was one of the highlights, a not-to-be-missed part of any tour of the city, foreign travel agents were naturally reluctant to hire Jewish tour guides.⁵² Desperate, their livelihood threatened, Jewish tour guides turned to the British authorities, in the hope that they would order the Council to permit them into the Temple Mount. But the British, though sympathetic to the tour guides' plight, were loath to become involved in this political cum religious imbroglio, thus exacerbating it further. Fearing that any change in the status quo as regards access to the Temple Mount would produce an Arab explosion, they refused to intervene, or even take sides. Entry to the Temple Mount, remained, as before, at the sole discretion of the Supreme Muslim Council.⁵³

The mandatory authorities' failure to help the Jewish tour guides forced the Zionist Information Bureau to take action itself. It initiated several meetings with several local non-Jewish representatives of the big travel companies in the hope of persuading them to employ Jewish tour guides.⁵⁴ Their efforts bore fruit. Relations between the Zionist organization and

the travel companies improved, which, in turn, had a positive, if limited, effect on the predicament of Jewish tour guides.⁵⁵

In the mid 1930s, the growing number of tourists entering the country persuaded the Bureau to extend its activities abroad.⁵⁶ In a public relations onslaught, it sent countless letters to travel agencies, big and small, throughout the world, asking them to encourage tourists to visit Palestine and to co-ordinate these trips with the Bureau. It even suggested that the companies appoint a clerk specifically for this purpose. Thomas Cook, London, one of the world's biggest travel companies, was marked out for special treatment. The Bureau held a number of meetings with the company's directors in London, during which the latter declared a genuine interest in promoting Jewish and gentile tourism to Palestine. Better still, they promised that in the future, company-sponsored tours would include not only the usual round of Christian and Moslem historical and religious sites, but also Jewish religious and historical sites, as well as Jewish settlements and other various points of interest representative of modern day Palestine.⁵⁷ Nor was Thomas Cook the Bureau's only success story. Thanks to its overseas initiative, foreign travel agencies increasingly began to co-ordinate their activities in the country with the Bureau. In order to accommodate this new encouraging volley of business, the Bureau engaged the services of Palestine and Egypt Lloyd Ltd. (PEL), an international travel agency and subsidiary of the Anglo-Palestine Bank (APK). The company, active since the early 1920s, had, over the years, worked closely with the Zionist movement and was responsible for organizing a considerable part of Jewish tourism in the country.⁵⁸

But, despite the improvement in relations with foreign travel agencies, the political state of affairs in Palestine, and in particular, the 1936–1939 riots, further undermined the Jewish tour guides' position. With few jobs on offer, the number of Jewish tour guides dwindled, and even these often found themselves without work. The Zionist Organization did its best to help, but there was little it could do in the violent climate of the late 1930s.⁵⁹

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War marked an important juncture in the Zionist movement's efforts to break into and guarantee its hold the local tourist market, turning it to political advantage. Not that it seemed so at first, what with the British ban on travel and immigration to Palestine. These various

wartime restrictions obliged the Zionist Information Bureau, at least temporarily, to shift emphasis and concentrate almost exclusively on local internal tourism. Seeking to make the best of things, the Bureau labored to bolster domestic tourism, introducing local residents to the attractions of Palestine's various sites and tourist services. It did so, in the first instance, in order to keep the Jewish tourist industry in tact, and, in the second, in the hope that these new tourists, who normally went abroad for their holidays, would, once travel was permitted again, nevertheless elect to spend their vacations in Palestine.⁶⁰

With fear mounting that the front was advancing towards Palestine, the Zionist leadership announced that the Jews were ready to join the British war effort. As a result, thousands of local Palestinian Jews enlisted in the British armed forces. The new friendly relations between these Jewish and British soldiers had a direct and positive impact on the Zionist tourist industry, with the British soldiers increasingly curious about, and anxious to explore, their comrades-in-arms' homeland. Moreover, as the number of allied soldiers stationed in the country increased so did the number of potential tourists. Then there was the question of what these troops were to do during their all too brief periods of leave. The Bureau, sensing an opportunity, quickly moved in, and in association with the Jewish Agency's political department provided leisure and recreation activities to thousands of allied troops. It was able to do so thanks to the marked improvement in the Jewish community's socio-economic circumstances during the war. This and the concomitant improvement in Jewish tourist infrastructures, allowed the Bureau to cope with the growing number of soldier-tourists, offering them an increasingly wide range of choice services.⁶¹

The Bureau's concern for the soldiers' welfare was not just its way of contributing to the allied war effort. Its efforts on behalf of the troops also had specifically political overtones and objectives. It was hoped that the Allied powers, grateful for the Bureau's help in lightening the soldiers' burden, would prove more sympathetic to the Zionist cause. It was also hoped that by providing the allied soldiers with first hand experience of the Zionist enterprise, by building a positive picture of the Jewish settlement in Palestine in their mind, these soldiers would, upon their return home, act as ambassadors for the Zionist cause, and influence public opinion, and so political opinion, in its favor. During the war some 210,000 soldiers enjoyed the Bureau's services. They went on field trips organized by the Bureau, visiting various historic and religious sites, as well as Jewish agricultural settlements and industrial enterprises. They were also given the chance to stay in the country's *kibbutzim* and *moshavim* for three days of rest and

recreation, free of charge. Some 60,000 soldiers took advantage of this attractive offer. Clearly, with international tourism at a practical standstill, the Zionists saw no reason to abandon their politically orientated tourism policies, with allied soldiers replacing civilian tourists.⁶²

CONCLUSION

The Zionists regarded tourism as an area well worth investing in and fighting over, and not simply for economic reasons. While there is little doubt that the Zionist movement saw tourism as an important source of revenue, its political benefits were considered equally if not more important. A flourishing Jewish tourist industry, by presenting tourists with a positive image of Palestine's Jewish community could, it was thought, pay invaluable political dividends. It would, for example, allow the Zionists to enlist tourists as ambassadors for their cause and no less importantly, prevent the Arabs from doing the same. Indeed, what with each side anxious to disseminate abroad its "true" interpretation of sites and events in mandatory Palestine, the Arab-Jewish national ideological conflict undoubtedly gave added impetus to the Zionist efforts to break into the local tourist industry. Documents, the first of their kind and dating from the mandatory era, touching upon the Arab-Jewish competition over the country's tourist industry make it clear that the Zionists, like the Arabs, regarded tourism and its role in ideologically oriented image-making as an important means of advancing their political national goals. Hence, the Zionist desire to break into, even dominate, the industry.

Though it is impossible to measure the degree to which tourism ultimately contributed towards the fulfillment of Zionist aspirations, it is nevertheless evident that throughout the mandatory period tourism was regarded, indeed wielded, by the Zionist movement as a political weapon. The Zionists believed that tourism offered them an opportunity to promote the Jewish national endeavor and influence world public opinion in their favor. Nor, it must be said, did this process cease after the creation of state of Israel.⁶³

NOTES

1. This trend can be seen from: Department of Migration, *The Statistics of Migration and Naturalization for the Year 1945* (Jerusalem, 1946) 17–18. The growing number of secular tourists to Palestine actually started at the end of the Nineteenth Century and the trend continued through the British period. See Doron Bar and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, 'A New Kind of Pilgrimage—The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century Palestine,' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 39,2, 2003, 131–148; Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Yossi Katz, "The Attraction of Palestine: Tourism in the Years, 1850–1948," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27,2, 2001, 178–95.
2. Harry G. Matthews and Linda K. Richter, "Political Science and Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18,1, 1991, 120–35.
3. Richard Butler distinguishes three types of tourist media: oral, visual, and written, all of which serve to create the image of a place, an image often imbued with ideological implications. See Richard W. Butler, "The Influence of the Media in Shaping International Tourist Patterns," *Tourism Recreation Research*, 15,2, 1990, 46–53.
4. Linda K. Richter, "The Political Use of Tourism: A Philippine Case Study," *The Journal of Development Areas*, 14, 1980, 237–57.
5. See p. 433, Sevil F. Sönmez, "Tourism, Terrorism and Political Instability," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25,2, 1998, 416–56.
6. Colin M. Hall, *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place* (New York, 1994) 174–75.
7. Further information on this subject can be found in: Hall, *Tourism and Politics*; Abraham Pizam and Yoel Mansfield (eds), *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues* (New York, 1996); Sönmez, "Tourism, Terrorism and Political Instability," 416–56; M.A. Clements and A. Giorgio, "The Impact of Political Instability on a Fragile Tourism Product," *Tourism Management*, 19,3, 1998, 283–88; Dimitri Ioannides and Yorghos Apostolopoulos, "Political Instability, War, and Tourism in Cyprus: Effects, Management, and Prospects for Recovery," *Journal of Travel Research*, 38, 1, 1999, 51–56.
8. Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25,3, 1998, 616–38.
9. *Ibid.*, 627.
10. Sönmez, "Tourism, Terrorism and Political Instability," 432–33.
11. Linda K. Richter and W.L. Waugh, Jr., "Terrorism and Tourism as Logical Companions," *Tourism Management*, 7, 1986, 230–38.
12. Heba Aziz, "Understanding Terrorist Attacks on Tourists in Egypt," *Tourism Management*, 16,2, 1995, 91–5.
13. Sönmez, "Tourism, Terrorism and Political Instability," 426–27. For more about the influence of terrorism and political instability on the tourist industry; terrorists motives in attacking tourists; the impact of political violence on the

image of tourist destinations; and the management of tourist sites in periods of crisis, see Pizam and Mansfield (eds), *Tourism Security*; Sevil F. Sönmez and Alan R. Graefe, "Influence of Terrorism Risk on Foreign Tourism Decisions," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25.1, 1998, 112–44.

14. Throughout the mandatory period, the number of tourists visiting Palestine rose impressively, certainly as compared to the number that had entered the country during the Ottoman era. The available statistical evidence shows that between 1926 and 1945, some 1,600,000 foreigners toured Palestine. Holding at an annual average of 80,000 visitors per annum, this outstripped the Ottoman average by several tens of thousands. It is worth noting that within the overall period under discussion there were two major waves of tourism to Palestine. The first, linked to the burst of economic prosperity enjoyed by the country at the time, began in the early 1930s and reached its peak in 1935 with some 100,000 (98,949) tourists visiting Palestine. This was followed by a downturn in tourism to the country owing to the advent of the 1936–1939 riots. In 1939, only 47,446 tourists entered the country, the lowest number recorded under the Mandate. Then came the second major wave of tourism, which lasted from 1940 until 1945 and the end of the Second World War. The vast majority of visitors to Palestine at this time were Allied service personnel stationed in the country and registered as temporary visitors. In 1945, the last year of the war, Palestine welcomed 153,665 visitors, the most it had seen in any given year. Figures are taken from: Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944–1945* (Government of Palestine, 1946) 40–41.

15. On the economic and political importance of tourism in Palestine under the British Mandate, see Julius Berger, "Tourist development in Palestine," *Palestine & Near East Economic Magazine*, 18, 1931, 345–350; Cohen-Hattab and Katz, "The Attraction of Palestine;" Yehoshua Porath and Yacob Savit, *The History of Eretz Israel: The British Mandate and the Jewish National Home* (Jerusalem, 1982) 121–25; Noam Shoval and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, 'Urban hotel development patterns in the face of political shifts,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28.4, 2001, 908–925; Kobi Cohen-Hattab, *The Development of Tourism Infrastructure in Jerusalem During the British Rule, 1917–1948* (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 2001) 50–68.

16. The Central Zionist Archive (hereafter: CZA), S-8, 1403, Trade & Industry Department, Jerusalem, to the executive of the Zionist organizations in America, New York, 8 March 1922.

17. *Ha'aretz*, 20 March 1922, 4.

18. *Doar Hayom*, 3 January 1923, 1.

19. See J. Sprintzak, *Meeting of the Zionist Executive in Eretz Israel*, 6 March 1922, 236.

20. Based on Butler's analysis of the tourist media's role in fashioning ideologically favoured images. See Butler, "The Influence of the Media."

21. The Zionist Federation, *Report of the Zionist Federation Executive to the 14th Zionist Congress* (London, 1925) 31–2.

22. CZA, KKL-5, 12957, memo from Dr. W. Bloch, 'The Role of the Zionist Tourism Information Bureau, and Turning into the Tourism Department of the National Institutions,' (Tel-Aviv, 28 September 1944).

23. Y. Peres, Travel Book—*Eretz Israel and Southern Syria* (Jerusalem, Berlin and Vienna, 1921) Introduction; Zota and Sukenik in the introduction to their book *Our Land*, also published in the early 1920s speak a similar vein: 'Our book is designed to serve as a guidebook to *Eretz Israel* for Jewish residents and tourists.' See Ch. Zota and Lipa Sukenik, *Our Land—a Guidebook to Eretz Israel and Neighbouring Countries* (Jerusalem, 1920) Introduction. The High Commissioner in his introduction to the Hebrew edition of Luke and Keith-Roach's guidebook observed that 'the considerable interest that all Jews have in this country, those who live in it and those scattered all over the globe, requires the book to be translated into Hebrew,' see Harry C. Luke & Edward Keith-Roach, *The Handbook of Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1924).

24. Trade and Industry Department, Palestine Zionist Executive, *Eretz Israel for Jewish Tourists* (Jerusalem, 1922).

25. Most guidebooks' titles left no doubt as to whom they were aimed at and what they were about, e.g., The Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *A Guide to Jewish Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1927). For further information on Zionist guidebooks published during the British Mandate, see: Yossi Katz, "Zionism and the 'Marketing' of Eretz Israel: Zionist Tourism Guidebooks during the British Mandate Period," *Cathedra*, 97, 2000, 85–116.

26. CZA, S-8, 215, W. Torenovsky, director of PEL Ltd., to A. Shamorek, director of the Trade & Industry Department Jewish Agency, 30 November 1929; *Ibid.*, S-25, 2659, memo on 'Tourism in *Eretz Israel* and its Problems,' undated, unnamed author; *Ibid.*, S-49, 649, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists, to the Jewish Agency Executive, 31 October 1944; *Ibid.*, KKL-5, 9183, head office of the JNF to the national offices of the JNF, 9 May 1938.

27. See Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists, *Guidebook to Eretz Israel* (Jerusalem, 1937).

28. Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1933) 61; See also Katz, "Zionist Tourism Guidebooks," 100.

29. Based on Del Casino and Hanna's analysis of tourism maps; see Vincent J. Del Casino Jr. & Stephen P. Hanna, "Representation and Identities in Tourism Map Space," *Progress in Human Geography*, 24.1, 2000, 23–46.

30. One of the first examples of this kind of map can be found in Yeshayahu Peres' guidebook, published in 1921. The map focuses on the city's western Jewish neighborhoods, allotting very little space to its Muslim neighborhoods. In the 1930s and 1940s, Steimatzy published several urban tourist maps highlighting the Jewish presence in the city. See Shlomo Ben-David, *Jerusalem Old and New* (Palestine, 1941–1942). Guidebooks issued by the Zionist Information Bureau also included maps that stressed the Jewish presence in the country in general and in Jerusalem in particular.

31. Hillel Tryster, *Israel Before Israel - Silent Cinema in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1995).

32. See for example J. Christopher Holloway, "The Guided Tour a Sociological Approach," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 8.3, 1981, 377–402; Heidi Dahles, "The Politics of Tour Guiding: Image Management in Indonesia," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29.3, 2002, 783–800; Erik H. Cohen, Maurice Ifergan and Eynath Cohen, "A New Paradigm in Guiding: The *Madrich* as a Role Model," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29.4, 2002, 919–932.

33. Erik Cohen, "The Tourist Guide: The Origins, Structure and Dynamics of a Role," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12.1, 1985, 8.

34. Shaul Katz, "The Israeli-Teacher Guide: The Emergence and Perpetuation of a Role," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12.1, 1985, 49–72.

35. CZA, S-8, 1403, N.G. Tisch [Tishbi], secretary to the Trade and Industry Department, Jerusalem, to Louis Lipski, chairman of the Zionist organizations in America, New York, 16 August 1922. In his letter, Tishbi underscores the fact that most local travel companies are anti-Jewish and constantly discriminate against Jewish workers. He mentions the numerous letters he has received, all complaining of Arab discrimination. In his opinion, the main problem is that Arabs own the local companies. David Geffen, "A Visit to the Land of Patriarchs—The Diary of William Topkis, 1923," *Cathedra*, 13, 1979, 71–94; *Haolam*, 4 May 1923, 316; See also, CZA, S-8, 1403, Jewish wagon-drivers (six in all), Jerusalem, to the Zionist Executive in *Eretz Israel*, Trade and Industry Department, Jerusalem, 5 March 1922; *Ibid.*, Bezalel Baltinester, owner of a company trading in olive-wood products, shells, and products of the Holy Land, Jerusalem, to the Zionist Executive in *Eretz Israel*, Trade and Industry Department, Jerusalem, 5 March 1922.

36. *Ibid.*, Zionist Executive in *Eretz Israel*, Jerusalem, to L. J. Stein, the Zionist Executive, London, 21 December 1922. For further information on Thomas Cook's attitude towards Jewish tourism during the first half of the 1920s, see Michael Berkowitz, *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project 1914–1933* (Cambridge, 1997) 129–31.

37. *Ha'aretz*, 21 June 1922, 5; *Commercial Bulletin*, 7 January 1923, 24.

38. See Katz, "The Israeli-Teacher Guide," 64.

39. CZA, 1403/1, Trade and Industry Department of the Zionist Executive in *Eretz Israel*, Jerusalem, 20 March 1923, summary of a meeting on the subject of tourism. See also *Ibid.*, S-8, 20/8, N. Tisch [Tishbi], Manager of the Trade and Industry Department, Zionist Executive, Jerusalem, to A. Rupin, 9 March 1922.

40. The course syllabus included: Dr. Braver—Writing about *Eretz Israel*; Dr. Klauzner—History of *Eretz Israel*; J. Peres—Historical Topography of *Eretz Israel*; Dr. Meir—Archaeology of *Eretz Israel*; Y. Ben Zvi—Ethnography of the People Living in *Eretz Israel*; Mr. Fingalevsky—The Country's Most Important Flora; Dr. Mazieh—Looking after your health en route; Mr. Kesselman—General Conduct with Reference to Tourists; Mr. Sukenik—Excursions. See Tour Guide Certifi-

cate, Zionist Executive Trade and Industry Department to Mr. Harry Chanoch. See Lia Chanoch, *My Grandfather—Harry Chanoch* (Workshop for writing final papers, Hebrew Gymnasium, Jerusalem, 5748) Illustration 23.

41. *Ha'aretz*, 26 October 1922, 4; CZA, S-8, 1403/1, Memorandum of the Foundation of the Jewish Tour Guides Association in *Eretz Israel*, 6, 1923.

42. *Palestine Weekly*, 15 December 1922, p.791; *Ha'aretz*, 1 January 1923, 4.

43. CZA, S-8, 1403/1, Committee of the Jewish Tour Guides Federation in *Eretz Israel, Journal of Tour Guides*, 1, 1923.

44. *Ibid.*, 1403, N. Pinsker, in the name of the Jewish Tour-Guide Federation pamphlet for tourists coming to *Eretz Israel* (Jerusalem, n.d.).

45. *Ibid.*, KKL-5, 3654/2, M. Grunhut, director of the Information Bureau (Jerusalem, press conference on the issue of tourism 12 June 1931).

46. *Ibid.*, 824, Dr. Levinson, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists, 1927, report on the recently ended season. The situation described in the report remained more or less the same throughout the early 1930s. A local Jewish newspaper reported on groups of tourists from America, most of whom were Jewish, but 'since the tour guides and the drivers are for the most part Arabs, (only 6% of the tourist guides are Jewish), they do not get to see much of Jewish Palestine.' See *Doar Hayom*, 28 January 1930, 4. This is in accord with information supplied by the Arab Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem, during the mid-1930s, according to which there were 109 Arab tour guides in the city. See Arab Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem, *Trade and Industry Guide* (Jerusalem, 1937–1938) 227–229.

47. *The Official Gazette*, 1 April 1927, 207–208

48. *Ibid.*, 1 November 1927, 588–589

49. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1927, 339, Publication and Validity of the Tour Guide Ordinance, 1927. For a positive assessment of government activity in this field and suggestions for improvement, see: *Palestine & Near East Economic Magazine*, 7, 1927, 216–217. An example of a tour guide's license issued in accordance with the 1927 Ordinance is Harry Chanoch's license, preserved by his son, Joshua Chanoch, Jerusalem. My thanks to Mr. Joshua Chanoch for the material he made available from his father's archive.

50. CZA, KKL-5, 2493, Z. Levinson, Jerusalem, to Commander Kisch, Jerusalem, 14 February 1928; *Ibid.*, Z. Levinson, Jerusalem, to G. Agronsky, Jerusalem, 1 May 1928.

51. *Ibid.*; *Doar Hayom*, 10 February 1928, 2.

52. CZA, S-25, 2710, Jewish Tour Guides, Jerusalem, to H. Sacker, the Zionist Executive, Jerusalem, 3 December 1929.

53. *Ibid.*, S-49, 278, M. Grunhut, summary of an interview with Keith-Roach, 10 December 1930. According to Ze'ev Vilnai, from 1930 onwards, the Supreme Muslim Council banned Jews from entering the Temple Mount mosques and it was only after special lobbying that a permit was granted, for a price. See Vilnai, *Guide to Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1946) 30.

54. CZA, KKL-5, 3654, M. Grunhut, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists

in *Eretz Israel*, Jerusalem, to the Committee of the Information Bureau, Jerusalem, 27 January 1930; *Ibid.*, 3654/2, press conference on the question of tourism, 12 June 1931.

55. *Ibid.*, S-30, 1549, memo from Mr. Grunhut, director of the Zionist Information Bureau, 31 July 1932, stating that over the last three years relations have improved with the tourist company managers in the city.

56. For the number of tourists entering to the country, see above, note 14.

57. CZA, S-49, 278, memo of a conversation that took place in London between M. Grunhut, director of the Zionist Information Bureau, G. Linton, and representatives of Thomas Cook, 12 and 17 October 1932.

58. An announcement by Palestine Lloyd Ltd., on the occasion of its foundation, emphasized 'the need to open transportation and tourist traffic to Palestine. The new company, which had 'branches in Palestine and Egypt,' promised to 'work closely and vigorously with the Zionist Executive on the more essential issues of tourism in Palestine.' *Doar Hayom*, 1 January 1926, 5; PEL was responsible for the organization of Zionist conventions abroad and handled all official travel arrangements for members of the Jewish Agency Executive and the *Va'ad Hapoel Hazioni*. See CZA, S-54, 100, W. Bloch memo on the subject of the Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in E-I, PEL, and the Tourism Department of the Jewish Agency, 6 June 1937. For more information on Lloyd's activity during the British Mandate, see Chaim H. Klein (ed), *The Second Million: Israel Tourist Industry, Past-Present-Future* (Tel-Aviv, 1973) 25–32; CZA, S-640, memo submitted by PEL to the Jewish Agency, unsigned and undated (probably from 1935).

59. *Ibid.*, R. Ginsberg, General Manager, PEL Ltd., Jerusalem, to Dr. W. Sentor, the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, 17 December 1936; *Ibid.*, S-25, 2704, conversation between clerks at the Zionist establishment and the director of Thomas Cook, 4 May 1937; *Ibid.*, KKL-5, 7705, W. Bloch report on work of the Information Bureau for the period between 1.4.1935–31.3.1937 (Tel-Aviv, 15 June 1937).

60. *Ibid.*, KKL-5, 7703, summary of a discussion on tourism by the representatives of the relevant institutions, 1 February 1937; *Ibid.*, 9183, minutes of a meeting to discuss the organization of tourism in *Eretz Israel*, 7 January 1938; *Ibid.*, circular from the Jewish Agency's tourism Department, 3550/248/2115, Frp, 25 April, 1938.

61. Porath and Savit, *The History of Eretz Israel*, 132–38.

62. CZA, S-25, 6728, review of the activities of the Political Department in dealing with the Army, Jerusalem, 31 July 1940; *Ibid.*, 6238, J. Hochstein, Zionist Information Bureau, Jerusalem, to J. Golan, Jewish Agency's Political Department, Jerusalem, 13 February 1942; *Ibid.*, S-23, 115, W. Bloch report on activities of Zionist Tourism Information Bureau in *Eretz Israel* for 5720, 27 October 1942; *Ibid.*, KKL-5, 12957, memo from Dr. W. Bloch 'The Role of the Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists and turning into the Tourist Department of the National Institutions' (Tel-Aviv, 28 September 1944); *Ibid.*, 14281, Zionist Information

Bureau for Tourists, 'Extract of its Activities during the Period 1939–1945,' 6 May 1946; For a general summary of the Jewish community's activities *vis-à-vis* the British army during the war period, see Yoav Gelber, 'The Community as a Host Society' in Moshe Lissak (ed), *The History of the Jewish Community in Eretz-Israel since 1882: The Period of the British Mandate* (Jerusalem, 1995) 412–16; Israel Hochstein (Zuriel), who joined the Jerusalem office of the Bureau in 1938 and was its manager between 1939–1940, described in detail the Bureau's activities before the war, and particularly its proselytizing efforts among overseas tourists. He also offered an account of its activities during the war when the aim was to 'turn the Bureau into a club for allied soldiers, to interest these soldiers in Zionist activity in the country and to organize excursions to kibbutzim and moshavim.' Israel Hochstein (Zuriel), interviews, Jerusalem, 9 October 1997 and 8 November 1997; Chanan Michaeli, who worked in the Tourism Bureau between 1944–1947, characterized the war years as a period of intensive activity primarily targeting allied troops. It was, he noted, 'advertised that one could visit a kibbutz through the Bureau.' Interview with Chanan Michaeli, Jerusalem, 9 June 1998.

63. Competition between Arab and Israeli tour guides, to give but one example, continued well into the late 20th century. See Glenn Bowman, 'The Politics of Tour Guiding: Israeli and Palestinian Guides in Israel and the Occupied Territories,' in David Harrison (ed), *Tourism and the Less Development Countries* (London, 1992) 121–34; For an overview on the struggle over the last fifty years between Israelis and Arabs concerning tourism activity, see Yoel Mansfeld, 'Wars, Tourism and the "Middle East" Factor,' in Pizam and Mansfeld, *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*, 265–278.