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MANDATED TO REPORT: THE ROLE OF THE
NATIONALIST PRESS IN REPORTING ZIONIST LAND
EXPROPRIATION AND LABOUR CONQUEST IN
PALESTINE DURING THE 1930s

by

WALAA ALGHUSSEIN

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Middle Eastern Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2020

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Walaa AlGhussein

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Middle Eastern Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Mandated to Report: The Role of The Nationalist Press in Reporting
Zionist Land Expropriation and Labor Conquest in Palestine During the
1930s

by

Walaa ALGhussein

Advisor: Simon Davis

Print media has been an indelible component of the Palestinian National Movement – playing a critical role in many episodes of its fraught history. Time and again it has formed the discursive and rhetorical spear of various ideological movements and factions, utilizing iconography, poetry, and incendiary political writing to project a unified and popular struggle to the diaspora and the world. Perhaps the most understudied period in the modern Palestinian struggle and the role of the print media in the 1930s – a period of increasing internal political struggle and external material pressures. This is particularly true when it comes to coverage of Zionist activities in Palestine, which significantly increased due to regional considerations and geopolitical developments. Furthermore, the new ideational factors and material considerations were beginning to shift the political consideration, with new concepts coloring and framing the political struggle.

Through the use of in-depth historical research and archival material, this dissertation will trace how rivalries within the elites played out within the various printing presses owned by established but contending families. This paper will locate how these rivalries reflected in the coverage of Zionist activities like land theft and “labor conquest”. Furthermore, as Palestine became the workshop for new ideas from Europe – in particular, Communism, what did these established elites have to say about those writing on class struggle and the overthrow of antiquated systems of power.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The contemporary Palestinian print media scene is a lively one, despite the restrictions and traumas Palestinian society has faced since the Nakba of 1948. Indeed, Palestinian print media can be seen as a reflection of the state of the Palestinian national movement. For example, the newspapers which dominate today, such as *Al-Ayyam*, the second-largest daily newspaper in Palestine is circulated in the de facto political capital of Palestine, Ramallah. Meanwhile, *Al-Hayat al-Jadida*, the official publication of the Palestinian Authority is also widely read throughout the West Bank. In the Gaza strip, cut off from the West Bank and the rest of the world by way of the Israeli and Egyptian siege, the media discourse has been intimately shaped by Hamas, which has been governing the strip since elections in 2006.² *Felistin* is the largest newspaper of Gaza, closely linked to the Islamist party, but represents itself more moderately and independently. These newspapers mostly react to the so-called “peace process” and the maneuverings of the major world powers and international non-governmental organizations with regards to the Oslo Peace Accords. They document the daily Israeli violations and support (obviously or tacitly) the political stances of the major Palestinian factions – often reflecting the stasis of the Palestinian National Movement (PNM). However, this has not always been the case. The PNM has gone through a number of incarnations since the end of World War One, reflecting the historical conditions from which it has emerged. These historical conditions are defined as colonial occupation, war, displacement, exile, and the conditions of the diaspora. As Ilan Pappé notes, much contemporary historical analysis of Palestinian consciousness towards the Zionist land expropriation and British imperial

¹ Al-Sahafa Feh Marhalet Al-Sulta Al-Wataneyyah http://info.wafa.ps/ar_page.aspx?id=2474.

²“TIMELINE: Key events since 2006 Hamas election victory...” 20 Jun. 2007, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-timeline/timeline-key-events-since-2006-hamas-election-victory-idUSL1752364420070620>.

violence during the Mandate period is devoid of any intellectual conceptualization of these twin processes as part of a broader system of colonialism (Pappé 2015). This thesis reads major newspapers of the mandate era to demonstrate how these papers, linked to nationalist forces. Not only reported and responded to Zionist colonial projects, but also in equal measure to growing communist sentiments and nationalist movements. For example, groups that were formed around notables such as Al-Husseini's Palestinian Arab Party, founded in 1935 and led by Jamal Al-Husseini, and Nashashibi's National Defense Party, organized in 1934 with the assistance of Raghib Nshashibi³. The newspapers also covered various strands of Palestinian national evolution ideology through the following: *Hizb Al-Istiqlal* (founded in 1932 by Awni Abd Al-Hadi⁴ as a branch of the Pan-Arab Party), the Supreme Muslim Council (SMC), the Palestinian National Movement (PNM), the Arab Higher Committee (AHC) and the Palestinian Arab Congress (PAC). The actions of these and other movements took part in the creation and effect of the newspapers published in this paper.

³ Raghib Nashashibi was a member of the Nashashibi clan and Jerusalem's mayor from 1920 to 1934. Nashashibi was an Arab Higher Committee founding member and a National Defense Party leader.

⁴ Awni Abd al-Hadi was the chairman, secretary-general and first elected president of the Palestinian Independence Party (Istiqlal) and a chief spokesman for the Palestinian Arab nationalist movement. He became legislative secretary of the Arab Executive Committee in 1928.

Thesis statement

Were there differences between the Nashashibi faction and the Al-Husseini faction of the Palestinian nobility, who placed themselves as rivals within the Palestinian nationalist movement? And how did this rivalry shape the print media discourse? What of the nationalist leaning press outlets and journalists, many of whom had ties to the Palestinian Communist party? Additionally, this thesis will focus on how the significant newspapers linked to the Arab nobility covered Zionist land theft and colonization, the “conquest of labor”, and how these same newspapers reflected on the communist party and general left-wing movement’s activities. To demonstrate this reading of Mandate era nationalist newspapers, I will do a historical timeline on the evolution of newspapers throughout important periods of the Palestinian history and how they functioned from the first *Intifada* (1987-1993), to the Nakba of 1948, and going back in history to the British Mandate. The period 1929 to 1939 is highlighted era in my thesis, I will go through four specific nationalist newspapers and their coverage of the two aforementioned major issues I mentioned above. In examining how the conditions created by settler-colonialism allowed the emergence of both nationalist and communist intellectuals, I will focus on Hamdi Al-Husseini as an example representing the historical, intellectual, and complicated situation as a whole, and the emergence of the Palestinian newspapers’ atmosphere. This case-study will highlight his writings, journalism work and contributions of (Hamdi Al-Hussieni), a radical nationalist leader from Gaza with strong ties with the Communist movement, which was particularly influential and was tremendously criticized by the public for his views and background. He was a veteran of the Arab Revolt, known for his liberalism and strict non-partisans. In addition to the covert activities of al-Husseini, he acted as the president of the branches of the Young Men's Muslim Associations (YMMA) in Gaza and Jaffa. Furthermore, he was also aligned with other Arab leaders including Izz Al-Din Al-

Qassam in anti-mandate activism. With attention to his out-spoken journalism, Al-Husseini focused in his writings on land theft and British violence, two topics covered throughout this thesis.

Methods

Historical research involves locating, utilizing, and arranging information derived from primary sources to communicate an understanding of past events. In this process, historians use their knowledge and experience to situate pertinent information from these sources to find the truth and sustain their argument. Perhaps the most eloquent quote to underscore this process is from the celebrated British historian E.H. Carr:

“History consists of a corpus ascertained facts. The facts are available to the historian in documents, inscriptions and so on, like fish in the fishmonger's slab. The historian collects them, takes them home, and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him.”

To catch these “fish,” this thesis will use the online archives available at the National Library of Israel, stolen from Palestinians, which holds a vast collection of Arabic periodicals that were published in historic Palestine between 1908 and 1948. This rich collection of work contains daily newspapers that focus on current events, satirical magazines, social, educational, and cultural journals, and comic strips. Some of these were government or publicly run through institutions, and others were linked to private ownership. The National Library of Israel has managed to digitize these works and has cross-referenced their content.

Key words for archive

I will cross reference these Arabic terms and their meanings within the database to find relevant articles concerning British colonial violence and Zionist land theft and colonization.

Land Theft سرقة الأراضي
Jewish Immigration هجرة اليهود
Jewish Only Labor احتكار العمل لليهود فقط
Peasant Displacement نزوح الفلاحين
Village Displacement تهجير القرى
Land Purchase بيع وشراء الأراضي
Settlement Expansion توسيع وانتشار المستوطنات
Kibbutz Expansion توسيع وانتشار الكيبوتس
Jewish Armed تسليح اليهود
Jewish Immigration هجرة اليهود
Jewish Immigration quotas كوتاأجندة الهجرة اليهودية
Yishuv اليشوف
British Police Violence عنف الشرطة البريطانية
Military Curfew حظر تجول عسكري
Execution اعدام
Imprisonment سجن \ حبس
Military trial محاكمة عسكرية
Torture تعذيب
British Military murder قتل من قبل الجيش البريطاني
Exile of leaders نفي قادة فلسطين
Land أرض
Fellaheen فلاحين
Villages قرى
Villagers قرويين
Jewish National Fund صندوق النقد اليهودي

Trade Union نقابة العمال
Workers عمال
Land Control سيطرة الأراضي
Land Theft سرقة الاراضى
Land Sale بيع الأراضي
Land Purchase شراء الأراضي
Brokers سماسرة
Displacement تشريد
Workers Strike اضراب عمال

[Historiographical Timeline of the Palestinian Newspapers:](#)

[The Press of the First *Intifada*: From Sumud to Surrender](#)

Palestinian resistance within the Occupied Territories of Gaza and the West Bank reached a high point during the first *Intifada* in the late 1980s. This “shaking off” was a large-scale, predominantly peaceful confrontation with the Israeli army through mass demonstrations and civil disobedience such as strikes and the refusal to pay taxes. Unlike the resistance of the previous decades, which will be discussed below, this very public attempt to extract Palestinian life from the structures of settler-colonial occupation was led by community councils and the United National Leadership of the Uprising – not the dominant parties like Fatah. During this period, the press drew attention to the violent acts committed against the Palestinian people while at the same time mobilizing and presenting the issue of liberation and its connection to Palestinian identity. The idea of *Sumud* (steadfastness) was embodied through images of the olive tree roots and was reflected in the popular graffiti in refugee camps, slogans that were mirrored in the radical press (Sharp 5) (Schicchet 16).

Several leftist and communist newspapers were prominent during the 1980s, calling for resistance to the Israeli occupation authorities. Newspapers such as *Al-Mithaq*, for the left-wing journalist Mahmoud Al-Khatib would be banned repeatedly (Jones 1236). At the same time, *Al-Tale'a*, which was considered the other Communist paper and *Al-Darb* for the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) were consistently shut down by the Israeli military (Palestinian News and Information Agency). The militant nature of the first *Intifada* was blunted and eventually subsumed by competing Palestinian factions, with Fatah steering the energy of the movement towards the Madrid peace conference of 1991 (Said 21). Madrid paved the way for the Oslo process and the establishment of the Palestinian National Assembly in 1994 – consolidating the PNM under the leadership of Yasser Arafat (Ibid). The Madrid process failed to consider the central issues of land loss and the refugee question. While at the same time, Oslo would serve to provide the groundwork for the construction of a “half-state” within the NGOization model of the emerging neoliberal dogma of the era (Haddad, 2016).

The return of the PLO to Palestine was followed by a correspondingly increased factionalization of the Palestinian press – a strategy exploited by Arafat to ensure that the media was tilted towards him. Another technique to dominate the media was the passing of a Press and Publication Law which was issued in 1995 to involve the media in defining a state in Palestine and contributed to the suppression of journalism through censorship - mirroring similar legislation passed by Ottoman, British, Egyptian, and Israeli administrations. The new law included punishments for journalists who criticized the government as in effect criticizing the sanctity of the Fedayeen militants (Najjer, 1994).

Internationalizing the Struggle: The Fedaii's and the Refugee Camp

The defeat of the Arab powers during the six-day-war of 1967 resulted in political malaise throughout the Arab world (O Najjer 89). For the PNM, hitherto constrained under the patronage of the leaders of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. This compounded the tragic losses incurred during al-Naksa, resulting in further forced displacement of Palestinians, as well as the shedding of Palestine as a central issue of the Arab world which resulted in a new political orientation for the PNM. The emergence of the PLO and its domination by Fatah resulted in the national struggle centering around the story of exile and diaspora life of the Fedayeen in refugee camps located in Palestine and the neighboring Arab countries. They were represented as the archetypal Palestinian (Shemesh 86). Where previously there was no unified and collective Palestinian struggle, this represented a rupture and change in Palestinian discourse and identity, profoundly demonstrated in Ghassan-Kanafani's novels (Coffin 98). Kanafani edited *Al-Hadaf* magazine and was the spokesperson for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Kanafani also drew many covers for the magazine, which consisted of revolutionary posters, representing the Fedayeen (freedomfighters) as a symbol of commitment for the Palestinian national struggle (Bano 13). In the years following Kanafani's assassination in Beirut in 1972 at the hands of Israeli commandos, there was a rebirth of unified media that issued a weekly magazine that represents all, *Falasteen Al-Thawra*, and replace the factional newspapers to express the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). The Palestinian nationalist poet and writer, Kamal Nasser, led the editorial meetings of this magazine. He contributed to the transformation of the content of Arab nationalist thought in the Palestine-Israel "conflict" and was later assassinated by the Israeli general Ehud Barak on April 9, 1973, along with other leaders from Fatah. Arafat seized on such imagery, mirroring it in his discourse,

most notably during his speech to the United Nations in 1974⁵. Appearing at the UN General Assembly, dressed in the typical garb of the Fedayeen, Arafat emphasized the right to armed resistance, placing the Palestinian struggle within a broader global struggle against racism, imperialism, and colonialism. This speech would serve to gain much legitimacy and recognition for the Palestinian cause.

The Nakba Decade, 1948 – 1960

With the creation of Israel in 1948 over 78% of historic Palestine and the expulsion of two-thirds of the native Palestinian population, divisions in the print media began to be defined by diasporic conditions across the region and Zionist occupation (Pappe). While Gaza, a small geographic area with a weak economy and lack of resources, was absorbed under Egyptian rule, it became difficult for it to maintain its local press industry despite the significant amount of newspapers that were issued in the area and quickly died at the time. Gaza was considered as “the cemetery of newspapers” at that time until journalists Zuheir Al-Rayyes and Zaki A’l-Redwan established a paper in 1963 called *Akhbar Falasteen* that came out as an Arab nationalist, revolutionary organ. It adapted the Egyptian press style at the time, [of the liberation army and the establishment of PLO] and became its mouthpiece in Gaza. At the same time, the West Bank was occupied by Jordan, and thus became subject to the strict press and publication laws of the Hashemite Kingdom (Massad 71). Press freedoms were tightly curtailed while King Abdullah used Jerusalem as his legitimating media platform. However, the king’s strong ties with the previously powerful clan of the Nashashibi family, assisted the journalist and editor Ibrahim Al-Shanti to return to Palestine and republish *Al-Difa’* newspaper. Newspapers, however, were later merged

⁵"Yasser Arafat Speech Young at the United Nations in 1974...." 10 Nov. 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SQrbPhrPJ7I>.

and relocated their offices from Palestine to Jordan after 1948, in which it became supervisory and subordinate to the governing authority.

Since the Nakba, these three phases of the Palestinian National Movement have been the defining moments in the struggle against colonial occupation. The Palestinian print media has both been shaped by these moments and developed them, playing a role in both popular discourse and praxis regarding the resistance against Israeli colonialism. Elites have formed a vital part in this, using the technologies of the print media to direct the struggle, debate, and win popular appeal for its continued direction. An under-analyzed historical episode in this is the 1930s. During this period, the PNM was in its fledgling but arguably most formative decade. By 1933, Palestine was going into its tenth year under British colonial rule which both continuously denied home rule (despite proclaiming to tutor the country to independence) and brutally suppressing any popular movement (Shepherd 198). At the same time, Zionist land expropriation and colonization grew year on year, bolstered by both increased funding from wealthy financiers in Europe and the USA and the steady flow of Jewish refugees following the rise of Fascism in Europe (Weizmann 68). The suppression of Palestinian political projects and the dispossession of Palestinians from their land was a pressing issue. However, the battle in Palestine was not only external to the Palestinian community – there was a battle of ideas within the PNM. A new anti-colonial Arab consciousness was developing across the region through the writings of individuals like George Antonius⁶ and others. In his book, *The Arab Awakening (1938)*, Anonius generated debates such as the origins of Arab nationalism, the significance of the Arab Revolt of 1916, and the machinations behind the post-World War One political settlement in the Middle East. Meanwhile, the October Revolution

⁶ George Antonius: Lebanese-Egyptian writer and diplomat, one of the first historians of Arab nationalism, settled in Jerusalem.

and the emergence of the Comintern in Russia resulted in the spread of Communism throughout the world, with particular appeal in Iraq and Palestine. Alongside these new ideas, were old tribal and familial loyalties that steered and co-opted the prevalent direction of the PNM. Within this emerging socio-political milieu, a dynamic and robust Palestinian print media was emerging.

Literature Review:

The literature on the nature of Palestinian social life has grown in depth in recent decades, with works covering as diverse topics as tourism in Palestine (Cohen-Hattab and Katz) to the production of a postcard for commercial, cultural and political ends (Moors). Ami Ayalon has conducted the seminal work on literacy during the Mandate period in a book titled *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900-1948* which locates education, publishing and literary works as central to the development of Palestinian society through the formative decades of the first half of the twentieth century. The significant implication from Ayalon's work is that as a society, Palestine underwent extreme convulsions from the turn of the 19th century, with a rapid shift from an overwhelmingly illiterate society to one in which nearly half of those members of school age were receiving some level of education in schools, resulting in considerable surges in literacy. Ayalon places the emergence of local printing presses in Palestine as the catalyst for this gradual revolution in the consumption of the press. Furthermore, Ayalon traces the development of the printing press in Palestine from infancy around the turn of the century, with manuscripts being contained to a few houses at the close of the 1800s, to its explosion in the 20th century through private commercial development and increased contact with Europe (Ayalon 2004). Ayalon states that not only was the emerging press scene a transmitter of popular opinion, but also helped shaping it:

Strikes, street demonstrations, violent confrontations—against the British, the Zionists, or domestic rivals—were not merely reflected in the press but also inspired by journalist preaching. Newspapers served as manifestoes for the many groups and individuals engaged in the ideological, political, and personal contentions that made up the public agenda. Eager for up-to-date intelligence and commentary, the public increasingly relied on the press as a lighthouse in a stormy sea. This was especially evident in the cities, where most of the action took place: people witnessing or participating in protests read about them in the press both before and after these events occurred, taking their cue from the headlines and drawing courage from passionate editorials.

Although Alyon's work is a useful resource to trace the impact of multiple forms of written texts on the literacy rates and discourse around nationhood and education, *Reading Palestine* does not focus on the relationship between the structural effects of the British mandate and the role the press played in documenting the issues and steering widespread discussion on resistance to it. Ilan Pappé of the Israeli "New Historians" has argued that the conceptualization of early Zionist encroachment into Palestine was perceived and presented as a settler-colonial movement by Palestinian journalists who worked for *Filistin*, as early as 1912 and reaching a sophisticated level of discussion by 1922, the year the mandate system was formalized in Palestine (Pappé). Rene Wildangel also comments that journalists responded to the ongoing issues of colonization, marginalization, and the violence of the British mandate with sophistication, understanding the special effects it would have on the Palestinian national character (Wildangel). Perhaps the most informative work on the press in Mandate Palestine is Mustafa Kabha's *The Palestinian Press as Shaper of Public Opinion, 1929-1939: Writing Up a Storm* which contains a particular focus on the Palestinian revolt and the different relationship kinds of political actors had with the press during this tumultuous period. Kabha's impressive documentation and archival work show how the press played a role in documenting the general strike and supporting it, which was a crucial moment in the lead up to the revolt. Kabha's book documents the many dilemmas facing the press, such as restrictions and censorship from the British and the editorial lines of newspapers with

regards to armed insurrection, which often resulted in attacks by Palestinian armed bands against press houses and journalists (Kabha and Caspi 72). Kabha's book is an indispensable piece for the development of the history of the press during the British Mandate however it misses how the Palestinian elite used the technology of the printing press to comment on the more structural issues as mentioned by Pappé – like Zionist settler colonialism, but also British colonial violence.

CHAPTER 2: THE BRITISH MANDATE

In 1915, at the bloody and desperate height of World War One, a series of correspondent letters began between Hussein bin Ali, Sharif of Mecca, and Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner to Egypt. Through this the British government agreed to recognize Arab suzerainty after the war in exchange for a revolt against the Ottoman Empire. The British were desperate to knock out an ailing, yet formidable ally of the Kaiser, and needed the help of Ottoman subjects to do so. However, the British also required the support of the emerging power of the USA at the time, and thus needed to court certain Jewish interest groups believed to wield influence in the corridors of power in the emerging superpower (Azous 32). The British then decided to write a declaration in support of the nascent transnational movement of Zionism in its pursuit of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine (previous targets had included Uganda). Many in the British cabinet, like Lord Herbert Samuel, were supportive of the Zionist movement, while others believed that large financial families like the Rothschilds, would throw financial backing behind the Allied war effort if the Zionist movement had the institutional support of the preeminent Imperial power of the time (Schlaim 23). From this position of the British governing elite that the Balfour declaration was issued. In this document, Lord Balfour promised to Lord Rothschild, a leading member of the Zionist movement, the establishment of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. By 1917, it was apparent that the Ottoman Empire would dissolve entirely after the war, and the British in alliance with the French devising the Sykes/Picot agreement – named after the British and French diplomats who drafted it (Renton). This document laid the groundwork for the former Ottoman Empire into the Mandates of Syria, Lebanon (for the French) and Palestine Iraq, Kuwait, and Transjordan (for the British). These mandates were established as protectorate systems to tutor emerging Arab nation-states.

Established in 1923, the Palestine Mandate was a Class A League of Nations mandate for the territory of Palestine in which the Balfour declaration would form a large part of the political backdrop. In essence, the British mandate was shaped by the promise of one party to a second party, the land of a third party, while continuing to oppress and patronize the national ambitions of that third party for short-term political gains. This resulted in varying degrees of support to the Zionist project of land expropriation and nation building projects. The British presence in Palestine was not motivated by the desire to bring independence and democracy to the Middle East, but rather the intersection of realpolitik considerations, long term imperial ambitions, and the structural dynamics of the region's emerging political economy. Since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the British Empire had an invaluable access point to shipping lanes to the Indian subcontinent via the Red Sea, avoiding the south Atlantic and reducing the journey by approximately 6,000 kilometers (Gilmour 62). A stable Egypt, which had been maintained by indirect British rule after 1882 (the Wafd) - a nationalist party, was one way to achieve this, but the British also needed Palestine to be placated as well. Great strategic importance was attached to the region by Britain, having the Suez Canal and playing a dominant role in India and Egypt. Thus, Palestine has taken on strategic importance since the Sykes-Picot Treaty due to its proximity to the Suez Canal. As a result, British Prime Minister Lloyd George was adamant, as early as March 1917, that Palestine should become British, and that British troops should depend on his conquest to achieve the repeal of the Sykes-Picot Treaty. In addition to this, the global economy was beginning to shift towards oil as the lubricant for trade and global commerce. With vast oil fields discovered in Iraq, British imperial and capitalist interests needed ways to extract this precious source of energy at the cheapest and safest way. A pipeline was built between Iraq and the coastal Palestine city of Haifa – a vital artery that needed to be protected at all costs (Shepherd).

These dual-material prerogatives of the British Empire meant that the presence of the British military in Palestine had deep links to the extractive side of the British Imperial project. However, with the emergence of “Wilsonianism,” and the net results of this were consistent, bloody, and at times untethered revolts against both the British colonial administration, and Zionist colonial land expropriation, dating back to 1898, but increasing exponentially under British colonial administration. This has called for the creation of political organizations and new types of activism, reflecting the participation of a much wider cross-section of the population; in particular, nationalism, long-rooted in rural society, has begun to take hold in urban society. Youth organizations that spread widely at this phase, included the Young Men's Muslim Association, which had been agitating for armed resistance against the Zionists since 1931, the Youth Congress Party, which articulated pan-Arab feelings, and the Palestinian Boy Scout Movement, which was founded in early 1936 and became involved in the general strike. There was also the youth-led Independence Party, which called for a British boycott, whereas the Women's organizations, which had been participating in social matters, also became involved in politics from the late 1920s. The Palestinian leadership, however, abstained from serious political action by the end of the mandate stage for fear of the authorities during and after World War II. The British authorities needed to validate their claim of neutrality and avoided arresting members of the known elite.

The single most pivotal event for the Mandate during the 1930s was the Arab Revolt of 1936-1939, which started with a general strike and culminated in a counterinsurgency campaign by the British against a guerilla force in both the urban and rural areas of the country. The revolt resulted in 5,032 killed, while 14,760 were wounded between 1936 and 1939. Detainees were about 816 in 1937, 2,463 in 1938, and approximately 5,679 in 1939 (Kanafani). Hence, there was about more than 10 percent of the adult males killed, wounded, or detained by the end of the

revolt. The most significant loss was that the revolt contributed in a way to the foundation of the Zionist settler entity in Palestine with growth in military and economic sectors, which only grew stronger to be a base to their victory in 1948.

The 1930s, then, was a pivotal decade for the PNM with the Arab revolt representing the culmination of a twin political struggle against the British colonial administration, and what was perceived to be its proxy extension, the Yishuv, and the Zionist colonial project. Several historians have looked into the role in which the Palestinian elite played in the Arab revolt, with particular focus on the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al Husseini (Elpeleg and Himelstein) (Mattar) (Taggar). Others have written extensively on the role of Izz al-Din al-Qassam's jihad and his martyrdom at the hands of the British colonial authorities (Nafi) (Schleifer). Yazbak presents a material analysis of the revolt looking into the broad economic factors leading to revolt (Yazbak). More recently, historians have located the violence of the British imperial administration, exacerbating the unrest from a general strike to an extremely bloody civil insurrection and finally a conflict beset by internecine violence (Kelly) (Norris). However also central to the Arab revolt is the role which the Yishuv was playing in the increasing desperation of both the Palestinian fellaheen and urban working class. The emerging Zionist colonial apparatus fostered the material basis for the revolt through its twin projects of the conquest of both the land and of labor. For Zionist thought, land expropriation was deeply tied to the project of exclusive Jewish self-determination, which tied Jewish only labor to Jewish only land settlement. Aharon David Gordon considered one of the most influential thinkers on the Jewish Labor question in a nascent Jewish state in Palestine. Gordon moved to Palestine, during the Second Aaliyah, with a wave of settlers who viewed Jewish Labor as a condition for redemption from exile. Through toiling the desert, the new "Sabra" would be engaged in a total

individual and communal revolution, which would be in a constant state of agitation and self re-creation in Israel (Avineri 153). David Ben Gurion also shared these views and contended early that it would only be through Jewish labor that the land could be renewed. Gershon Shafir notes that the issue of how to incorporate a predominantly European community of workers into the labor market, while at the same time address their material demands, keep them in Palestine, and expand the settler enterprise (Shafir 14). This resulted in labor Zionism adopting a strategy of development based on economic and territorial separatism of the Arab worker from the land and the workplace. Which would, in turn, lead to the creation of a separate, high-wage, high-skilled and exclusively Jewish workforce. Utilizing the insights on settler colonialism laid out by Fieldhouse and Fredrickson analysis of forms of European colonial settlement (Fieldhouse 1971; Fredrickson 1988). Shafir notes that the Zionist encroachment after 1914 was characterized as a “separatist method of pure settlement” (Shafir 19) in that it sought the creation of a homogenous settler society that strove to exclude indigenous labor while at the same time confiscating their land.

JNF and the landless fellaheen

The infiltration of European capital into the region in the second half of the nineteenth century through the Millet system encouraged private land ownership, which was thus accelerated by the British mandate and the Zionist enterprise. One major issue Palestinian peasants suffered from during this period was poverty. The British government, to address this issue, tried to introduce loans, many of the *fellaheen had little doubt in*, By late 1935, the fellaheen (landless peasantry) were being pushed off of their historic areas and forcibly urbanized due to land purchases by Jewish immigrants, primarily conducted through antiquated Ottoman absentee laws, as well as the impact of debts (Sayigh). Shamir’s examination of the electrification of Palestine during the

1920s displays how the social, political, and economic cleavages that emerged between Arab and Jewish communities were deepened by the interplay of British interests and the Zionist leanings of a commissioned electric company (Shamir 12). Between 1929 land sales to Jewish groups rose to 1.25 million dunnums - by 1931, over 20,000 peasant families had been evicted, this combined with poor harvests and global financial crisis, exacerbated the economic misery of most of Palestinian society (Yazbak 93). The Jewish National Fund played an important role in purchasing Palestinian land. Little peasant owned land was sold to the JNF or other private colonialists, however peasant urbanization increased at such that the phenomena have been labeled a veritable rural exodus that defined social life in the countryside throughout the mandate period (Sayigh). At the beginning of Mandate Palestine's urban population stood at around 20% at the end it was at 33%, (excluding the Jewish population). These conditions were not caused by the pull of employment in the cities, but by the deteriorating conditions in the countryside.

What of the effects of land displacement on the Palestinian fellaheen? Adler examines the Wadi Hawarith by the JNF involved the eviction of a large number of Palestinian tenants and became a touchstone issue for the PNM. Wadi Hawarith was purchased by the JNF in 1929. It was the largest tract of land ever purchased during the mandate period and resulted in a protracted struggle by the tenants against their eviction. Adler notes that the affair shows how explosive the land issue was for the emerging Palestinian national consciousness, in particular, the fellaheen class. Before the case Wadi Hawarith, the PNM demanded independence and a prohibition on Jewish immigration; after 1930, a cessation of land sales was added. Wadi Hawarith became a touchstone issue for the Palestinian national movement, and their vigorous resistance to eviction inspired many around the country, and in it was the microcosmic representation of the land struggle (Adler (Cohen) 216). Adler and Sayyigh's analysis of

Palestinian fellaheen social life suggest that “Village and clan solidarity formed a warm, strong, stable environment for the individual, a sense of rootedness and belonging. The proof of the strength of peasant social relations is that they survived in dispersion and helped Palestinians themselves to survive”(Sayigh 10). As the 1930s progressed, the rural bonds of the fellaheen were eroding through their “incomplete and disjointed transformation into wage laborers and urban workers” (Khalaf 95). Collective lifestyle and denial of Arabs meant that it reproduced and streamlined Ashkenazi labor power into a settler force, diminishing the “proletariat” component and stressing the settler element, which would be fundamental in the battle for the workplace in the decades to come (Shafir 15).

Jewish only labor was not always followed lockstep by the Jewish working class, and on more than one occasion, class struggle led to acts of solidarity. Lockman’s analysis of the support of Arab workers received is an interesting one. The railway workers labor organization was established in 1919, one year prior to the establishment of the Histadrut and was the first to amalgamate Jewish and Arab workers (Lockman 114). Due to the dominance of Arab workers in the railway staff, the Histadrut had to ensure that Jewish employees did not leave their jobs and therefore had to greenlight episodic cooperation with Arab workers in industrial action. However under the almost Machiavellian leadership of Ben Gurion, the Histadrut became committed to splitting the railway union thwarting every attempt to create an internationalist union (Ibid 139).

Palestinians in urban centers comprised a burgeoning reservoir of impoverished, destitute people with little framework for understanding this social situation or resisting it, but with a clear understanding of who the enemy was. The British authorities also did not invest in economic growth of the Palestinian community, despite attempting rural and infrastructural developments, they failed at creating more employment. Thus, kept the minimum wage lower for Arab

workers, meaning the Yishuv had more money and capital to invest. Take for example, Haifa – in the early 1920's the city was undergoing a process of intense urbanization, such as the oil pipeline from Iraq had made Haifa transform from a town of 24,000 in 1922 to a small city of 50,000 that became Palestine's industrial center (Schleifer 67). The port of Haifa was the passage for 57,000 Jewish migrants in 1919 and 320,000 more in 1935, resulting in more land sales and dispossession of fellaheen, and much of this coming through Haifa (Sanagan 332). British public-works projects employed about 15,000 workers, including 3,000 on the railways, 1,000 in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, and 500-800 in the Haifa harbor although due to poor labor organizing, and the seasonal nature of this work, the ability for Arab organizers to agitate for better pay and conditions was poor (Khalaf 100-102). A clear example of the “conquest of labor” is documented in the Solel Boneh case of 1937.⁷

Forced Transfer

The ideological link between the forced displacement and urbanization of the Palestinian Fellaheen and the segregation/alienation of the Arab working class during the 1930's can be found in the concept of forced removal central to Zionist political thought. The concept that the Arab population of Palestine would disappear was an enduring hope of the Zionist project, as

⁷ In this incident, ~~Solel Boneh~~, a ~~Histadrut~~ company undertook a contract for hauling at the port of Haifa at the same rate that an Arab contractor. In order to economically pay the same rate as Arab labor but maintain the Jewish workforce, the Jewish agency stepped in. For the Histadrut this meant losing capital on the contract, but with the reward of expelling an Arab workforce from working at the port. Indeed, Haifa is a compelling example of the conquest of labor, as Bernstein notes: “the major trends within the Haifa labor scene were similar to those observable in Palestine as a whole – the predominance of separatism in the orientation of the Jewish community, the formation of a split labor market, and the intricate interplay between economic and national political factors” (Bernstein 80)

Nur Masalha notes “the Zionist concept of transfer has occupied a central position in the strategic thinking of the leadership of the Zionist movement and the Yishuv” (Masalha 11). The doctrines of “Hebrew Land” and “Hebrew Labor” go way back to the early years of Zionist colonization. One of the provisions of the JNF was that any land it acquired had to be held in “perpetual trust for the Jewish people” upon which labor would be conquered for the new sabra, freed from the old ways of Europe through the liberation of labor (Ibid 12). The fight to enforce the Hebrew Labor intensified during the 1930s, although the entrenching lines of segregation were not inevitable – if not for the hardline position of Zionists like Ben Gurion.. As Pappé notes, the Palestinian intelligentsia, even prior to 1929, were aware of settler colonial nature of the early Zionist project and the long term implications (Pappé). From the below analysis of the different newspapers, it is visible that the understanding of the Zionist project in the area of land and labor was sophisticated and oriented itself towards the diverse editorial lines of the respected papers, but still drew the existential angst of the writers and editors.

CHAPTER 3: REPORTING ON THE ISSUES

The Diversification of the Media Landscape

The summer of 1929 the Al-Buraq uprising broke out in different cities in Palestine and resulted in mass rioting and the deaths of hundreds of Jews and Arabs, with particular bloody acts of violence in Hebron. The riots of 1929 was not only a major turning point in the relationship between the Arab society, British administration and Jewish community, but also marked the beginning of these tensions being reflected in the Palestinian press, which began to increase its coverage. After 1929, most of the major newspapers changed the frequency of their publications, to become daily newspapers with an increased circulation (Kabha and Caspi 18). The major newspapers at that period were *Filastin*, *Al-Karmil* and other prominent and nationalists newspapers such as *Mir'at Al-Sharq*, *Al-Siraat Al-Mustaqeem*, *Al-Jami'a Al-Arabiyyah*, *Al-Difa'* and *Al-Lwa'* most of which, pre 1929 incidents, have focused on the nationalist conflict and rivalry between the two families of Al-Husseini and Al-Nashashibi. However, by the end of 1929, thirty-eight newspapers were established to add to the already existing newspapers such as *Al-Difa'*, *Jami'a Al-Islameyyah* and *Al-Liwa'a*. In addition to this the number of journalists in the field swelled to 253, 233 of whom, were Palestinian and most of them from the wealthy notable families based in the large cities of Haifa, Jaffa and Jerusalem (Ayalon & Bashir). Typically, they were political activists within the nationalist movement and its representative organizations and committees – a number were also party leaders. The 1930s also saw an increased number of educated and academic journalists joining the press corps, with an increased number of them being graduates from the American University of Beirut, from where they brought many nationalist ideas

and wrote in the pan-arabist journals such as Al-Arab and Al-Difa' newspapers and Al-Karmel to an extent (Ayalon).

Nationalist newspapers based on their political tendencies:

<i>Al-Jami'a Al-Arabeyyah , Al-Liwa'a</i>	Muslim owned. Supports Al-Husseini camp and its leader, Haj Amin Al-Husseini. They get financial help from the Supreme Muslim Council.
<i>Filastin, Mir'at Al-Sharq, Al-Nafir</i>	Christian owned. Opposed Al-Husseini camp and the Supreme Muslim Council. They did not hesitate to support any institution that financially supports them and opposes Al-Husseini camp. Thus, received the support of Al-Nashashibi camp.
<i>Al-Difa', Al-Arab, Al-Karmil</i>	Mainly Pan-Arab

The Main Players

Filastin

Being one of the most important newspapers during the Mandate period, Filastin was established in 1911 and quickly developed to a twice-weekly publication. Shut down by the Ottomans in 1914, it reopened in 1921 and appeared thrice weekly from 1929 taking advantage in the development of journalistic standards and printing techniques in Palestine over the 1920s. The founders of the newspapers were 'Isa Daud al-'Isa (Jaffa, 1878-Beirut, 1950), who later in 1931 was joined by his paternal cousin Yusuf Hana al-'Isa (Jaffa, 1870-1948). 'Isa al-'Isa was born in Jaffa and was a graduate of the American University of Beirut. Al-'Isa was active in the Palestinian struggle against

the British Mandate regime and against the Zionist movement in Palestine. 'Isa and Yusuf al-'Isa were both Arab nationalists; they opposed the Ottoman and Mandatory rule, the Zionist movement, and the takeover by the Greek Orthodox clergy of the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem (Ayalon & Bashir). In its first issues, the editors defined the paper as “a constitutional Ottoman newspaper serving the common good through its reporting. Although, the owners of Filastin claim its independence, it has shown to the public that it reflects the voice of Al-Nashashibi taking into consideration the affiliation of its owner with the family’s camp “Al-Mu’arideen” and the National Defence Party especially in the 1930’s in which it advocated for the independence of Palestine. Later the newspaper tended more toward Pan-Arabism (Martin 186).

Al-Liwa’a

Al Liwa was a daily political newspaper that was based in Jerusalem between 1935 and 1937 and was tied to the Husseini nationalist camp. The paper’s publisher was Jamal al-Husseini who led the Palestinian Arab Party, which made it the voice of the party and represented it as a party of the nation that serves nationalism. The manager was Khalid al-Farakh, and the editors were Emil Ghoury, George Salah al-Khoury (who was also an editor of al-Lahab newspaper) and Ali Al-Husseini (Kabha and Caspi 72). Due to the well-established financial support received, the newspaper attracted professional journalists, demanding a career and a salary. The pages of Al-Liwa contained an abundance of local and international news during the two years of its publication that also highlighted the struggle of other Arab colonized countries. The paper supported their fight against colonialism and used its anti-colonial line to provoke the British.

Thus, when other Arab countries were granted independence, the newspaper used the chance to advocate that fighting the British is an effective approach to fight Zionism. Nevertheless, despite the fact that newspapers were available in cafes and often read out loud to illiterate costumers, Al-Liwa' was not popular within the Palestinian community and its rural class. It was a wealthy newspaper that was mostly read in large cities by the social elite and intelligentsia.

Al-Difa'

In 1934 Ibrahim al-Shanti along with Syrian journalists Sami al-Siraj and Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli left the Husseini camp newspaper *Al-Jami'a al-Islamiyya* and set up *al-Difa'* which shaped, in a way, the history of professionalism in the Palestinian journalistic scene and attracted educated writers from inside and outside Palestine. As one of the most prominent newspapers published in the 30s, *Al-Difa'* turned into the most competitive newspapers, rivalling Filastin (Kabha and Caspi 28). It criticized the latter's representation of the rich elite and in a short period of time the paper reached a wider audience due to the Islamic character of its content and editorship to reach the rural class and the Muslim majority unlike its opponent newspaper. However, this representation mostly faded later with the change of interest of its owners, the Al-Shanti family that took full control of its ownership with Ibrahim Al-Shanti as the owner, editor-in-chief and columnist. Despite its neutrality most of the time, Al-Shanti was also a supporter of Pan-Arabism and The Independence Party '*Hezb Al-Istiqlal*' [which was based on the principles of pan-Arabism, internationalism, and nationalism, and was heavily influenced by Gandhi in India and Saa'd Zaghlul in Egypt as role models] and was closer to the camp of Haj Amin Al-Husseini and supported the Palestinian struggle against the Mandate, and opposed the Zionist movement (Ibid 71).

Al-Jami'a Al-Arabiyyah

Al-Jami'a Al-Arabiyyah was an important political publication, based in Jerusalem, and speaking for the “Majlisiyyin” camp of the Husseini family and was owned and edited by Munif Al-Husseini, a nationalist himself and the nephew of Mufti of Jerusalem, joined later with Taher Al-Fitiani as an editor. It was first published in 1927 and turned into a daily publication in 1933 and ceased publication in 1935. It had a nationalist approach from the beginning, declaring that it is a newspaper of and for the nation (Ibid, 123). It reported on local Palestinian issues and attempted to challenge the Mandate government and wrote against the creation of a Jewish national homeland in addition to highlighting issues from the Arab nation. Al Jami'a Al-Arabiyyah was Pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic as well as being the journal of the Supreme Muslim Council, the Husseini camp, and the Arab Executive Committee, thus, it became the main voice of Hajj Amin Al-Husseini during the strike (Kabha and Caspi 103). It reported his moves and announcements and later became the voice of the Arab Party. In 1930, the newspaper attacked the Executive Committee and the traditional leadership. In view of its owner's position to side with the young leaders and Mousa Kazim as he rivaled Hajj Amin to lead the council's delegation to London. Members of the Youth Congress and Al-Istiqlal Party and other journalists used the newspaper to criticize these delegations. In this case, journalist Hamdi Al-Husseini, wrote a statement with Shukri Qutayna and Rafi' al-Fahum criticizing and rejecting the nationalist-led delegations. In their point of view, these delegations did not represent the Palestinian people but their own class and their personal interest (Ibid, 55).

Nationalist newspapers and the issue of Land Sale

Growing tensions between Arabs and Jews in Palestine were exacerbated by a British government that facilitated the objectives of Zionist organizations by settling more Jewish immigrants in Palestine. This facilitation in tandem with continued collaboration with Jewish agencies to drive people into despair and exhaustion in order to force them to sell their lands was compounded by internal rivalries of already present before British occupation that privileged internal rivalries over more urgent collective issues facing the people. This dynamic is best exemplified by a bourgeois controlled national newspapers focused these internal rivalries and issues faced by urban families who paid these the same newspapers to focus on their voice rather than the most urgent issues of all people--let alone the Fellaheen “villager” who are the most affected by these plans. The effects of such displacement forced many fellaheen out of their lands and into slums around the big cities.

Jaffa and Haifa, important coastal and industrial cities, were a major destination for the Zionist movement and immigrants coming to the city through the port. Thus, these cities faced an increase in land purchases, which compelled an added sense of urgency to focusing on these issues for major nationalist newspapers located in these cities in addition to highlighting issues pertaining to the rural class for the purpose of fighting Zionism. As a result, some newspapers tried to convince people not to sell their lands and published Fatwas, issued by the Muslim Sheikhs and the Muslim Council, to prevent people from collaborating with the Jewish National Fund and other agencies. Al-Difa', for example, wrote on October 26, 1934, a petition titled “*To our pious scholars, issue a fatwa prohibiting the sale of land*” intentionally addressed to Muslim religious scholars including Hajj Amin Al-Husseini and others as well as Christian religious scholars, with an anonymous author who stated:

“For this fatwa to be within the limits of Shari’a which will make the nation know of the position of the one who sells and the one who is brokering, and who continues in his temptation without repent, and does not return from this heinous act. We believe that the fatwa of our scholars will have the greatest effect, Insha’Allah. Then, for the clergy of our Christian brothers to take such action. There is no doubt that a religious people like the Palestinian people will listen to these two important fatwas. Thus, they will be an incentive for impressive national action.”

The author sees these critical issues in the country as a disease that needs to be treated religiously. The fatwa shows how the newspaper its power to reach a Muslim majority of readers in order to manipulate their religious ethics to allow advocate taking action regarding political issues and to “fear God”. In the same petition, the author threatens the land-brokers with serious actions, by the *Shabab* (The young leaders) if they don’t stop selling lands to the Zionists. His method was not effective, as the lands were still being transferred into the hands of JNF. Subsequently, the newspapers took up a more serious strategy of threatening to expose, in its pages, the families, names of brokers, and landowners who aided in the sale of Palestinian lands and resettled in other cities. Newspapers such as *Al-Difa’* implemented this strategy and began to publish names of those caught selling or aiding in the sale of lands. This created chaos within families and between newspapers, particularly for those owned or funded by notable families-- many of whom ascribed to different ideologies and political affiliations.

As mentioned in the historical review of this thesis (page 19) land sales from Palestinian gentry were increasing into the 1930s due to the actions of the JNF. Palestinian newspapers had varied forms of response to this process. If we turn to an article published by *Al-Difa’* on December 7, titled “*The Homeland is sold in deal after deal*”, we can see the newspaper striking a diplomatic tone in its reporting. In this article the journalist, whose name is not included in the byline, comments that those Palestinian families who are selling their land come from families who have a “good reputation” noting that

“We have learned from reliable resources that messrs Ibrahim Nazzal and Bajis Hanna Ma’adi are both from the notables of Al-Taybeh village in Ramallah, began negotiating with the Jewish Agency in favor of its ownership of several mountainous and flat plots of land in the villages of Al-Taybeh and Ramon in association with the latter’s Mukhtar ‘Mayor’ Mahmoud Abu Sa’da.

The sense of reverence the paper has towards these high-class families is reflected in the comment that they are *“well-known personalities whose past has never been polluted with national impurity, especially the ones we’ve mentioned who’ve had a good reputation”*. It is true that there is a tone of respect that the paper has for these families, however, this also can be seen as an indication that the reporter is highlighting that *“treason”* happens within the respected notable families and the rhetoric of conciliation at the end of the article which states *“So do not those brokers fear God for their homeland and repent and God will forgive them for the past?”* also indicates the religious angle of the newspaper, which used religious language to identify the issues of the time. Despite the fact that *Al-Difa’* from the moment it was established, it gave a space of interest to write on issues regarding the rural class in which it helped the success of the publication to compete with *Filastin*. However, when the newspaper became fully controlled by Al-Shanti family with some of its members known to engage with land sales activities, the newspaper’s coverage of the interests of villagers lessened and their representation of this class was weakened. But these were changes of ideologies within the wave of changes undergone in the newspaper and the interest of its owners either financially or politically.

In its Fifth page of the issue in November 16, 1934, the newspaper published a news report from Haifa under the headline of *“The Tragedy of Wadi Al-Hawareth Again”*. The report covered a police brutality incident involving women, and men, being attacked in *“Barret Qaisareyya”* while trying to protect their lands from the soldiers. A number of Jews from the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association [referring to it by its Yiddish acronym ‘PICA’] were

assaulted by the police as well. The report had a subtitle of “Did the Police Hit Men and Women?” And a small title in the middle of the report referring to the violence act with “Is this True?” Which brings an interesting approach to these issues through reporting on incident against land theft and forced sale, yet ask - probably the government - whether this incident is true. The newspaper’s owner, Ibrahim Al-Shanti (1910-1979), born in Jaffa and educated at the American University of Beirut. Ibrahim [which is how he signed his articles] used to publish his opinion pieces and thoughts in a special column called *Hadeeth Al-Shabab* ‘the talk of the youth’. He started this column in *Al-Jami’a Al-Islamiyyah* newspaper, and brought it later to *Al-Difa’*. In its column section, on page 4 of the same issue, he wrote under the title of “*O Demolisher of People’s Homes - For How Long the Strange Situation Policy?*” a reaction to the same incident of “*Barret Qaisareyya*” aforementioned. In his article, he stressed on his disappointment of the Arab silence on what was happening in the country, from immigration and land sales, and that “*every movement in the country has gone quiet but the creaking of the remaining pens leaking of its whims the deep sadness and severe pain registering immigrants numbers and counting the numbers of Donum moving from the hands of Arabs to the hands of Jews.*” He focused on his newspaper on attacking British colonialism and considered the root of the affliction that Palestine suffered from, while Zionism was just the branch.

Concurrently, *Al-Difa’* and other publications largely targeted Arabs either by intimidating them from selling their lands or blaming them for the privately-funded JNF’s ability to own a large amount of land. Some newspapers such as *Al-Liwa* and focused on blaming and exposing British mandate policies behind the land sales. In the newspaper’s [263] issue of 1936, it discussed “Exhausting the Arabs to Sell the Land” as titled with no mention for the author’s

name who went on to emphasize the role of the British government's policies to support the Zionist movement of creating a Jewish National Homeland and that:

The reason that forced the Arabs to sell their lands is their having to pay what is required of them to the government that was tightening the demand and did not accept the postponement of the payment of its money or the exemption of the Arabs in any of it while the government's collectors did not leave these miserable people until they sell their land from the Jews. Thus, these exhausting methods have caused the Arabs to take away their property and be stripped of their lands.

This piece highlights the root of the main issues facing Palestinians, primarily that the main enemy is neither the Jews or the brokers, but the British. Thus, the newspaper worked to expose how the plans of British government intended to dispossess villagers through the imposition of strict rules that prevented them from having access to water or a means to sustain their lands and crops--forcing many to leave and sell their lands to the Jews. In different articles, *Al-Liwa* reported that the British government had no interest in any project that benefited Arab villages. Most importantly, that the British government only its attention to the Jews by providing them with resources as well as chances to purchase lands easily from desperate Fellaheen who would later seek work in the big cities. In the same issue of Vol. [263], Mohammad Izzat Afendi Drozah wrote a statement analyzing the Jews' purpose to purchase large numbers of land and thereby owning Palestine that *"the Jews envision is to possess the largest area of land, regardless how high the price is, so that a large number of them feel linked to the land severely"* and in his analysis under the title "The land issue is also, in the eyes of the Arabs, a question of an entity, not just a question of bread". He connected this to the Arab relationship with the land by adding that *"as the Jews become more attached to the land, and therefore to the homeland, the Arabs will be severed from the land, and thus the homeland."* Here he concluded with a call to adhere to the theory of preserving the land and preventing its transfer to Jewish ownership

completely, which he emphasized as a nationalistic social aim. Considering land policy was one of the most important and serious issues in the lives of Palestinians, newspapers took part in warning people away from plans that involved selling or buying lands. These same papers also reported on other similar events and incidents that would help expose the public to the risks and consequences of land purchases as well as the expropriation, by the Jewish organizations, aiding in the Judaization of the lands.

On the other hand, papers like *Filastin* and *Al-Jami'a Al-Arabiyyah* were concerned about those who were identified as having sold lands and still be able to protect notable families they supported and typically addressed through accusations and public rivalry. Accusations of national treason spread between newspapers. In order to prevent personal attacks on writers, note the prevalence of anonymity for the writers engaging this matter or who published the names of “traitors.” Hence a specific tone was used in expressing these statements, which came in a community formula representing the newspaper as a whole; for example a report in the newspapers’ issue edited by Yousef Hanna from the city of Jenin, in March 14, 1934 under the headline “Land Sale Everywhere”, wrote on a specific incident of a land sale in the village of “Jalboun” and as they exposed the names and details on the issue, they followed up with the statement:

We do not deny that the people are in great poverty and that they need money, but this is not enough to be excused for the letting Zionism enter this space and for opening a door that the nation is unable to close. Thus, we, while we are drawing to the attention of landowners to the greatness of the national betrayal that they do if they sell their lands, we also draw the attention of the sleeping national bodies to such dangers.

This language of shaming and presentation of public disgust created bad blood between families who were mentioned in these statements. The weight and effect of these publications reveal the power of these words and newspapers in shaping public opinion and feeling towards the

highlighted issues. Therefore it is clear how these newspapers did not only report on what was happening, but also worked excessively to act on these issues. However, even though *Al-Jami'a Al-Arabeyyah* participated in this public shaming of Arab brokers as well, it reported in its editions early 1929 on the struggle of the Fellaheen and the pressure they underwent to sell their lands. In its edition in March 7, it published a report named *"The economic situation in Palestine: How the Palestinian Arab is forced to sell his lands: The poor state of the farmer and the enormity of taxes in Palestine"* that summarized the points discussed by the young writer Fouad Effendi Saba in a meeting led by the President of the Supreme Muslim Council, Hajj Amin. He described how the taxes imposed on Arabs and its consequences, which forced Arab farmers to give up and sell their lands and is aptly reported: *"he said that the Fellaheen class is the only class that pays all types of these taxes, unlike the other classes."* This clear articulation of the consequences of these taxes further underlines the point that: the concerns and problems of the rural class in these studies are framed by a nationalist movement. Moreover, the movement addresses these issues either through their gatherings, speeches and, once again, in newspapers where they reflect their actions in order to maintain public confidence. Furthermore, the leaders and intelligentsia class attempted to secure a complex appeal by posing their radicalism to win over the people, and through demonstrating how a publication is committed to fighting foreign rule and colonization. Taking that into consideration, *Al-Jami'a Al-Arabeyyah* had a major focus through its pages on the issues of land sale and purchase. In the same March 7 issue, they devoted the second page, especially that of Wadi Al-Hawarith, to a long report about the lands and brought a case itself to a report of the commission of inquiry and others--under the name "The issue of Wadi Al-Hawarith. Important information written by Al-Jam'ia's own representative", the introduction of the report came as follows:

The Jews still insist on the government, clinging to weak proofs, to expel the Arabs of Wadi Al-Hawareth from their lands that they own and which they inherited from their fathers and grandfathers, and Yehoshua Hankin still uses various methods and incapacity to hide the rights of Arabs in their lands, not only looking to his interests and the interests of his people that excludes this tribe from its heritage, and he is excused in doing so because he deluded the Jews and the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael company (JNF) that he could take over these land without hardship... and Wadi Al-Hawareth is not like Khour A'amer and other lands like it that Yehoshua Hankin had seized that everyone that is familiar with the land purchases that happened on his hand know about it.

Nationalist Newspapers and the “Labor Conquest” by the Histadrut

The tone of nationalist newspapers underwent different stages in dealing with issues related to the struggle of the poor and rural class in general. The issue of labor in particular was often dismissed by newspapers, because they were owned by wealthy notable families of Palestine. In the early 1930s, an enormous number of unemployed and landless laborers from the villages, have decided to seek work in focal urban areas such as Jaffa, which was a significant base for papers and the intelligentsia class. As a result, the attention was brought to these media platforms to serve lower class struggles by necessity and nationalist agendas. At first, these newspapers strictly opposed indicating concern for the new intelligentsia and radical youth, especially, with the rise of communist activities. Activities that worked on the rights of workers and struggles of labor as they opposed the Histadrut and sought unionize Palestinian workers away from it. An obvious bias persisted during this time and caused confusion within the spokesmen of the national movement as the rise of direct action against Arab workers by the Zionist movement and its organizations worked to replace Arab workers with Jewish workers. These economic realities, consequently, sparked a need for an agenda to fight with communists, and the class struggle they led, against the upper class along with the British colonization and the Zionist project in the country. A reflection of that can be seen through reports like the one of Al-

Difa' in May 17 of 1936 which reported on "*The Danger of the Municipal Workers' Strike*" stating how the municipal workers' strike in Jerusalem had a negative effect on the city's cleanliness in which they said

"..dirt has become widespread in the city, and the government took care of this matter and began negotiating the sheikh of the Al-Nour sect, asking him to send some of his followers who would do this work, but he answered that the Arab Al-Nour community is no less patriotic than the Arabs of Palestine and that its duty is to share the nation in its feelings, and we learned that the government would ask the additional police to carry out this task."

As this report came out during the general strike, it is remarkable that *Al-Difa'* took such an ambivalent view. From this piece comes another interesting example of the newspapers' stand on these events and the organizations involved, in *Filastin's* issue of October 30, 1936: under the headline of "*Jewish Workers Control Palestine. As for Arab Workers, They are Slaves..?*" A summarized piece from a report of Aladon Esterman for the Daily Herald newspaper in Jerusalem was republished in which he attacked political leaders for what he called "the failure of the workers' strike" while praising the Histadrut, they re-wrote his words that says

"The strike was from the beginning to the end lacked any organizational association work of those for the workers, and there was not a single voice raised by a leader of the workers, calling for redress for the workers from their unjust masters! As for the Jews of Palestine, they have the workers' organization, which is considered one of the best institutions of its kind in the world. This (Histadrut) institution has tried to instill its principles in the hearts of Arab workers in order to reform their conditions, but it failed .. because Arab political leaders do not care about what benefits the economic worker. Therefore, they put obstacles in the face of every attempt to reform the situation of these workers"

The effect of the workers' strikes and success of the movement's efforts in bringing attention to this cause forced newspapers to compete to demonstrate their interest in identifying with the struggle. Platforms like *Filastin* took their reporting in a distinct direction to take up what is happening with workers as a national duty. On the other hand, *Al Jami'a Al-Arabiyyah's* section of "Talk of the Day" on October 4, 1934 emphasized its support to the Arab Trade Unions and

the need to form a successful nationalist organization. They claimed that *“Al-Jami'a Al-Arabiyyah was the first newspaper in Palestine to support the Arab worker, defend his rights, and calls for organizing his affairs and forming unions and associations for Arab workers in Palestine”* The unidentified author went on to describe the failure of the Arab Trade Union, while celebrating a new Arab workers association called *“The Federation of Arab Trade Unions”*-- formed and licensed in Jerusalem. This announcement succinctly articulated the newspaper's support and high hopes for this newly formed organization in the article under the title *“Association of Arab Trade Unions in Jerusalem - The Government's Neglect of the Arab Worker”*.

Al-Liwa' took a similar path to its peer nationalist newspapers by reporting on the events and strikes happening throughout the country, by way of anonymous news providers whom they called *“reliable resources”*, all the while calling for nationalist leaders to interfere in and fix these issues. In their issue of February 21, 1936, another unidentified author reported that through news he received from a reliable source concerning a deal to remove Arab workers and replace them with Jewish workers were at work between a Jewish Company *“Hapoel”* and the Public Works Department. This deal was described in a piece titled *“Undertaking Works for Jewish Companies,”* with a detailed subtitle reading, *“Firstly without bidding ... and secondly, with the condition of not employing the Arab workers!!!”* A piece he ends with a statement, referring to the newspaper, by saying that:

We are protesting and criticizing the public department itself because this action has been repeated from its subsidiary departments all over Palestine and we are waiting for the national bodies, and from the Arab workers' associations in particular, to take action that will have an effect in guiding the public works department on the proper path.

This tone of reporting can almost read as threatening or accusatory. While some just counted the numbers of days for each strike, others, like in the above, read as if taken by surprise by unexpected behaviour from any given organization, all the while stating the repetition of its actions. Here the nationalist newspapers still had a hope to reform the organizations of colonizers, which their leaders benefited from, rather than get involved in a movement on the ground alongside Islamists or communists. There is no doubt that the labor struggle, mostly represented through strikes, had a negative effect that newspapers failed to hide. Most notably on their services as well as their reputation, which created a test for their leaders to show up and stand for the people. As a result to these events, there was a marked disappointment for national leaders and their newspapers, despite their demonstrated interest in workers' strikes and reporting on their events. And forethwith, they failed to meet the societal goals of the people, which subsequently opened more realistic actions on the ground accompanied or led by communists. For this reason, in particular, conservative newspapers promoted conspiracies by warning Palestinian society against the dangers of communism, which they describe as a foreign body that ruins the thoughts and ideologies of society. This in addition to it being being harmful for the working class, which caused many editors and writers to join in this mass anxiety against a working class movement and the increasing appeal of trade unions. Organizations demanding higher wages and less working hours and often protested and struck by directing most of their attacks against communists who refused to be a platform for these activists.

This was a major motivation for nationalists to use their media platform in order to pay attention to issues concerning land sale and worker unions because they excluding the impact and popularity of communism within the working, poor and the radical intelligentsia class. This shift in politics has been linked to the promotion of the benefits of capitalist relations of

production and wage labor in the Fellaheen society, which garnered a wave of criticism from the communist party at the time. Criticism largely achieved by attacking the Arab National Party and other nationalist parties for not giving much attention to the real struggle of the Fellaheen and the rural class in general and rather focused on keeping the land Arab owned. The majority of this criticism was directed at the most radical youth nationalist group within the party, which was led by journalist and activist Hamdi Al-Husseini, who under pressure, sought to raise more attention and focus on achieving the aims of the slogan of “lands for the peasants”.

CHAPTER 4: HAMDI AL-HUSSEINI 1899-1988

Born in 1899, Hamdi Al-Husseini came from a rich, elite and religious family from the city of Gaza in Palestine. Throughout his life he was involved in political activism in a variety of ways during a tumultuous stage in the history of Palestine. He went on to become part of Al-Istiqlal party in Jaffa leading his own radical, left-wing group within it that had links to a number of armed resistance movements involved in the 1936-1939 revolt. As a journalist, Hamdi began his career in Egyptian media including “Al-Kawkab” newspaper and “Al-Risalah” magazine. Later he was seen as an “opposition” journalist who contributed to Al Karmel newspaper in the early stages of the British Mandate. Initially, however, he did so under the alias of Amro Bin Obeid to prevent others from learning his true identity; that was to change in 1924 when he revealed his real name in the same newspaper. Later in 1927 he joined Sawt Al-Haq newspaper, owned by Fahmi Al-Husseini, as its chief editor for six months. During this time he wrote against the British government calling on others to resist its colonization and urging the liberation of Palestine. Writing for various publications, Hamdi’s most prominent contribution at the time was to the Islamic-oriented newspaper Al-Sirat Al-Mustaqim. He worked for Al-Mustaqim prior to participating in the Cologne conference of the League to Combat Imperialism in 1929 and later rejoined it as editor in chief in 1931. Upon his return he used Al-Mustaqim as a platform for attacking the nationalist Arab Executive Youth conferences held in Palestine. Through this medium he showcased his anti-imperialist beliefs as his writing supported radical independence movements in Palestine. He often used Al-Mustaqim’s front page to urge Arab unity and promote the need for immediate Palestinian independence.

In a historic background, Gaza-primarily based historian, Ahmad Al-Hajjs, stated through an online interview I conducted with him, that: In the three years following the cease of World War One, Al-Husseini was a communist, loyal to the Turkish Kemal Ataturk. In the time that the Ottoman military occupation appointed to al-Sham, Faysal Ibn Al-Hussein Ibn Ali Aoun, as a king to Syria. However, in 1920, [the League of Nations] the allies in the First World War, met at the San Remo conference, in Italy. They divided Turkish property they occupied [on its own]. France was given a mandate to govern northern Syria, The United Kingdom a mandate to rule its south. France divided northern Syria into Syria and Lebanon while the United Kingdom divided southern Syria into Palestine and eastern Jordan due its promise on November 2, 1917, to the World Zionist Organization that it would be able to establish a "homeland for the Jews of the nations of the world" in it. Some of the Jews of the European nations formed a Palestinian Communist Party where they were joined by a few Christian Arabs, Kurds, Circassians, and Chechens. As a result, Arab Muslims refrained from joining, despite acknowledging their Palestinianism and being subjected to the new British occupation regime. Thus, Hamdi Al-Husseini abandoned being a communist activist despite participating in the Inter-Communist Conference in 1920 as the representative of the Communist Party in Ottoman Turkey.

Since this disseration is using Hamdi as a case-study, we need to look at the conditions created by settler colonialism that allowed the emergence of someone like Hamdi. Communist

⁸Ahmed Khalil al-Hajj was born in the village of East Sawafir on July 28, 1933. He joined the Communist Party in 1946 and was one of three from Gaza who led demonstrations to protest against the settlement of Palestinians in the Sinai in 1954. He spent 10 years in prisons including 7 in Egypt and 3 in Israel. He has authored several books, including Nada' Al-Neqat A'la Al-Qadeyyah Al-Wataneyyah Wa Al-Arabiyyah "We place points on the Arab national cause" and has translated many others. He holds a physics degree from Cairo University in 1954, and BA and MA degrees in English Literature which he obtained two decades later and has worked as a lecturer in the English language in Gaza.

parties were banned for a long period in mandate states such as Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Iraq. Thus, being a communist in those regions during these periods was dangerous. In the case of Palestine, what is interesting is also the emergence of a nationalist movement particularly against and as a result of Zionist/British colonialism. So you can argue that the situation of Hamdi is not unique. He is an example of the period and the conditions created because of settler-colonialism. And even though he was not a member of the communist party, Al-Husseini was a prominent Arab radical leader in the nationalist movement and was considered to be a communist. This controversiality fell in events and activities done by al-Husseini who had joined the League for Combating Imperialism. The League, founded in Berlin and supported by the Comintern, sought to support nationalist and anti-colonial movements around the world. at the same time, Al-Husseini maintained ties with the predominantly Jewish Communist Party of Palestine.

“Some of us, the Communists of the Gaza Strip in the forties and fifties of the twentieth century, considered him an old Communist icon worthy of respect, despite being in agreement with the pillars of the former Egyptian Arnaut state under the United Kingdom and the subsequent submissive military coup under the United States of America.” - Ahmad Al-Hajj

Orientalist professor, Gregory Kosach⁹ has noted that because the majority of Jewish communists saw Arabs as ill-prepared to accept communist dogma they served as an obstacle to Arabizing the communist party in Palestine.¹⁰ In an interview which explored this dynamic, the role of Hamdi Al-Husseini in Arabizing the communist party was raised with Professor Kosach. According to him there was an ill-fated effort to establish an Arab nationalist party in Palestine with secret ties to the Comintern as a means of building broad-based connection to communists world-wide. Ultimately it fell apart because of a conflict in strategy. Referred to as “one of the

⁹ Grigory Kosach is a Professor of the Chair of Modern East Department of History, Political Science and Law in Russian State University for the Humanities

¹⁰ See

nationalist Arab leaders,” Hamdi called for the establishment of a developed Arab nationalist party with hidden relations with the Comintern and to receive Communist international support. Prof. Kosach argued that Hamdi’s intention was to use the Comintern to fight against British colonization, in an attempt to arrange a national rivalry that would attract the Arabs to the revolts and uprisings. Despite the Comintern’s interest in Hamdi’s, it also constituted a duplication of the Comintern’s position [between their ties with nationalist leaders and the calls for riots] thus, became wary of Al-Husseini’s proposal. At that same time, a small coherent group of Arab Communists had formed in the Communist party. According to Professor Kosach: *“it most likely did not like that the nationalist, Hamdi Al-Husseini, would become a member of their party, let alone play a major role in it.”*

In the recently published biography of Hamdi Al-Husseini, by Gaza-based historian, Saleem Al-Mbayed, it is noted that Hamdi was involved in the struggle of the people of Wadi Al-Hawareth and Marj Ibn A’mer along with Jewish communists who struggled with the Fellaheen and Bedouins in resisting British police violence in their attempts to confiscate their lands. Through this form of resistance, Hamdi developed tight and long-lasting relationships with both Arab and Jewish communists in Palestine and came to embrace Marxist-Leninist ideas in support of their positions. Being one of the few Arab educated radicals in Palestine at the time, Hamdi represented the Communist party at various events and conferences around the world. Among such forums, he attended the Conference of the Anti-imperialist League organized by the Comintern in Germany and then visited Moscow in 1929 where he met with a number of world communist leaders including General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Joseph Stalin. As a result of this activity, beginning in late 1929, while still the president of the Young Men's

Muslim Association in Gaza, he was prohibited by the British government from all future travel abroad or attending any more conferences.

In his work with *Al-Sirat*, Hamdi was a vocal opponent of the sale of Arab land and highly critical of any local development projects involving non-Palestinians. His columns frequently condemned those who collaborated with colonizers and, along with other journalists, regularly wrote about it in *Wadi Al-Hawareth* while also calling for boycotts of Jewish businesses, products and work. His nationalist, unbiased articles spared no one. His words were biting and had wide and diverse support and impact as he called out Hajj Amin Al-Husseini and his supporters for collaborating with the British. In the early 1930s, Hamdi started to criticize the sectarian model as a British construct and a policy for sustained colonial domination, portrayed by influential Arab leaders. Thus, in his first article in *Al-Sirat Al-Mustaqim* he challenged Amin Al-Husseini and Jamal Al-Husseini with regard to their efforts to recruit youth as “intermediaries of imperialism.” He believed they prevented the emergence of genuine Palestinian nationalism and promoted the continuation of British imperial power. Because of his vision and voice, some Arab and Palestinian newspapers accused him of being a communist, though others including *Al-Jami'a Al-Arabiyyah*'s owner, Munif al-Husayni, went to his defense. In powerful opinion pieces, several news outlets rejected the smears, praising Hamdi's deep and earnest sense of pan-Arab unity and nationalism. As attacks on Hamdi mounted for being a communist, it consumed much of his writing in the early 1930s thereby creating tension between his own political self-defense and his ability to write in support of workers' rights and unions in Palestine. It is not easy to compartmentalize Hamdi's beliefs. He was a complicated person with strong values involved with many communities and ideas including communism which, at the time, was not just a crime punishable by the British government but widely disapproved of by

the Arab community in Palestine as a whole. Indeed, in an effort to repress his voice and to stop the expanding growth of his influence, Hamdi (and comrades from Gaza) was arrested multiple times by British authorities for both his political activity and his writing which, they claimed, incited revolutionary acts against British colonialism and the Zionist movement altogether.

During this period he spent 6 months in exile in Nazareth during which time he became increasingly vociferous in his call for boycotting the growing immigrant Jewish community and all its activity. Seen as an opposition force to be reckoned with, at the very moment on August 5, 1930 that Hamdi protested British government reprisals by a powerful personal declaration in the newspaper *Mir'at Al-Sharq*. Police were ransacking his home and those of friends looking for a 1st of May communist leaflet that said:

They are accusing us of Communism that we are the most distant people from it, as nationalists, we seek the independence of our country within the Arab unity and on speaking of myself and them (his friends), I strongly respond to this accusation that the police and some administrative government men intend to attach to us by all means and I protest against it and all the actions taken regarding it with us with all my strength.

In issue number 490, of *Al-Difa'* newspaper, 1935; Hamdi wrote an article in response to news on a project to establish a "Publicity office in London". Throughout this long, sectioned, article he discussed the rivalry between prominent Palestinian families, backed by the British government, noting that

British colonialism in Palestine resorted to converting the revolting Arab emotions into familial, partisan, sectarian [divides] and then took advantage of all this against the Arabs, the ugliest of exploitation, especially after the events of . . . 1929 which they [used] as a means of defeating the Arabs.

He went on to opine that while all projects undertaken by the British government were intended to look beneficial for Arabs, in reality, they were little more than cover for bringing greater

numbers of Jewish immigrants into Palestine with more and more Arab land transferred to their ownership. However, the Islamic newspaper *Filastin* criticized Hamdi [as an Istiqlalist] and other members of the Al-Istiqlal party accusing them of counter-productive factionalism and sectarianism arguing the party, that didn't have any Christian members, was part of the problem itself as “*this manner of action has nothing to do with the real national jihad.*”

Throughout the mid 1930s Hamdi continued to use *Al-Difa'* newspaper as his primary platform for his radical ideas and writing calculated to organize and rouse the Palestinian community, with particular emphasis and support for the general strike in 1936. After calling for mass, public disobedience and tax boycotts during the 6-months strike, he was initially placed under house arrest for some 3 months and later imprisoned in the Sarafand Detention Center until the strike's conclusion. Newspapers like *Al-Difa'*, as mentioned earlier, often used religion as a tool to manipulate individuals on certain nationalist issues. Nevertheless, the role of al-Husseini in such a platform seems to have been less drawn to the religious aspect of the organizations than to their capacity as centers of anti-mandate activism. Weldon C. Matthews indicates that Al-Husseini's interactions with Shaikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam, who by 1932 became the Al-Istiqlal Party's close associate that Qassam's Salafism accepted an Arab nationalist trend and demonstrated how vague the distinction between the two orientations might be.

Conclusion:

Not to say that Hamdi Al-Husseini is a unique person or alienate him from the others, he is, however, an outstanding intellectual that stands out in the history of Palestine and represents the complications created by the British settler-colonial state and the Zionist movement at the time. He not only reflected the rise and emergence of newspapers in the urgent need to save

property, labor and nationalism as a journalist, but he was also the focus of those articles and the activist who helped shape the policies and actions that helped to influence newspapers at the time. His journalistic articles and statements in connection with different stages of his life falls under the umbrella of intellectual and cultural life in Palestine as much as its political history. And despite his attempts between denying and denouncing communism, he failed in the elections for the chair of Gaza's municipality in 1945 despite getting the support of the elite leaders, the people still saw him as a communist.

Today journalism in Palestine is largely an operation of NGOs, mostly Western, but this was not always the case. The intellectual history—one dominated by the elite—of Palestine paints a very different portrait from a media-circus organized by aid organizations. Researching the nationalists newspapers and their coverage in prominent years of the British mandate with the life of Hamdi Al-Husseini, in addition to a broader engagement with source material, this paper drew a picture of journalism in Palestine and Gaza journalist, as an example, one solely dominated by Western NGOs to demonstrate how the complicated and dynamic work of Palestinians from British Mandate to Israeli occupation existed independent of and prior to the current media landscape that shaped and played a major role in defining the Palestinian history and struggle in an attempt to understand the nationalist-communist relationship and intellectual history through the evolution of printed media in order to make sense of today's journalism, used or ignored by Western platforms and faced with more aggressive tactics of the current Israeli occupation that managed, in a way, to normalize its violation and repression directed at Palestinian journalism and media platforms.

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