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The Palestinian political parties and local self-governance during the British Mandate: Democracy and the Clan.

Rami Zeedan.

Introduction
The relatively short period of 30 years of the British Mandate over Palestine was fraught with massive changes. The mandate determined the Palestinian territory as we know it in modern history. This contributed, along with the national awakening in the region, among other societal changes, to the establishment of Palestinian Arab society. At the same time, the Yishuv was absorbing massive Jewish immigration, establishing new settlements, and establishing the political structure for the future state. The Ottoman Millet System was modestly changed by the British, in the form of the Religious Communities Ordinance of 1926. As a result, each resident of the mandate was associated with a specific millet. Thus, religious authority became the only kind of political leadership formally recognized by the government of the mandate. As such, the social structure remained segregate along religious and kinship lines, while setting the stage for sectarian politics.

The Palestine mandate is considered a critical period for the emergence of Palestinian nationalism. The period highlights the formation of many Palestinian institutions, such as the Supreme Muslim Council, the Arab Higher Committee, Arab municipal councils, and political parties. During this period there was only one, unsuccessful election attempt, for a Legislative Council in 1923, and three municipal election cycles - in 1927, 1934, and 1946/7. This chapter
focuses on local Arab self-governance during the period, political rivalry at the national level, and the competition between clans.

*Arab-Palestinian leadership at the national level*

Palestinian political parties and organizations were developing as early as 1918, such as the Arab Literary Club and the Executive Committee for Opposition. The most important were the Muslim Christian Associations (MCA). Within a few years, branches were established in many Palestinian cities. The MCA formed the Palestinian Arab Congress as a national body; but its leadership was based mainly on members of wealthy families, landowners, notables, and religious leaders. Musa Kazim Husseini was the head of the Executive Committee of the Palestinian Arab Congress from 1922 until 1934. In the seventh and last Congress, held in Jerusalem in 1928, the Congress elected 48 members to its Executive Committee. These represented all the towns, districts and religions.

The most important decision taken by the Palestinian Arab Congress was to boycott the 1923 elections to the Legislative Council. The reason for the boycott was the under-representation of Arabs in the council proposed by the 1922 White Paper. This was the result of the decision to include British appointed officials in addition to the 12 elected representatives. As a result, only 107 Muslim secondary electors were elected out of 670 seats, only 19 Christians out of 59, and only 8 Druze out of 15, while among the Jews - 79 out 79 were elected.

The almost-complete Arab boycott of the elections prompted a protest in the House of Lords against the government’s support for Zionism. Lord Islington, a veteran opponent of Zionism, protested that the whole Arab electorate had refrained from voting, “in protest against the new Constitution,” as laid down in the recent White Paper. This, he protested, was “a definite violation of the pledge made by Great Britain to the Arab community”, which had had an unfortunate affect “upon the whole Arab and Moslem world.” The Colonial Secretary conceded that the result was disappointing, but did not agree that “the whole electorate” had refrained from voting. However, the Lords’ protest was political, against the government’s policy in Palestine. It was never followed by any British campaign for the civic rights of the Palestinian Arabs. The Legislative Council election results were declared void, and an advisory council appointed in its stead. In 1935, Sir Arthur Wauchope, the British High Commissioner, renewed the proposal to set up a Legislative Council – but in March 1936, the project was defeated in parliament, largely
due to the efforts of a Zionist lobby. The elections of 1923 were the only ones held in mandatory Palestine.

During the 1920s, Haj Amin al-Husseini established his leadership. He was appointed by the British to the role of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in 1921, and in 1922, as the president of the Supreme Muslim Council. Four others were also elected: Sheikh Muhamad Murad-the Mufti of Haifa, Abdel-Latif Salah from Tulkarem, Said al-Shawa from Gaza, and Abdullanah al-Dajani from Jaffa. The 1929 riots marked the beginning of the reign of Haj Amin al-Husseini as the dominant leader among the Palestinians. His main rival was Raghib Nashashibi, the mayor of Jerusalem from 1920 to 1934. This rivalry between them was at the top of the Palestinian political divide between the “Supporters” of Husseini, (Majlisyyeen), and his “Opponents” (al-Mu’arada), most of whom were supporters of the Nashashibis. This represented the state of affairs of the Arab leadership at the time - traditional rivalries among the leading families that helped to form an aristocracy that comprised mainly Muslim landowners, the wealthy, and the well-educated. These leaders assumed pre-eminence during Ottoman times and they or their descendants continued their control over the organized religious, political, and social life of the Arab community during the mandatory period.

During the 1920s, several Arab parties were established with support from the British, mainly to help counter the leadership of the Husseinis. The Arab National party was established in Jaffa in 1923. Among its founders was Fakhri Nashashibi. The Palestinian People 's Party was established in 1925 in Nablus, led by Adel Zuaiter and Abdul Latif Salah. The Agricultural Party was founded in 1923. These three parties failed to mobilise any significant popular support, and they ceased their activities within a relatively short period. Following the political division among the opposition, the Palestinian Free Party was established in Jaffa in 1927.

During the first years of the mandate, the Palestinian Arabs supported King Faisal, and a Pan Arabism that envisioned Palestine as part of a Greater Syria. However, they abandoned the idea after Faisal’s defeat by the French in July 1920. The 1929 riots are considered to be a turning point in the conflict over Palestine. It was seen as the culmination of the shift towards local, Palestinian Arab nationalism - that began with Faisal’s defeat in 1920. In any case, there were still parties that called for pan-Arabism or pan-Islamism - such as the Arab Nationalist Bloc,
which was established in 1929, and the Muslim Youth Organization, which was established in Nablus in 1930.

The death of Musa Kazim Husseini in 1934 and the failure to agree on a permanent chairperson, resulted in the cessation of the operations of the executive committee of the Palestinian Arab Congress.\textsuperscript{28} It opened the opportunity for Haj Amin to take over the leadership of the Palestinians officially, after he had established his leadership internally among Muslim Palestinians, and internationally among Arabs and Muslims.\textsuperscript{29} Raghib Nashashibi was defeated in the Jerusalem mayoralty elections of 1934 by a candidate supported by Haj Amin. This further widened the Nashashibi - Husseini divide and was the background for the establishment of new political parties in the 1930s, which again represented the interests of particular families and individuals.\textsuperscript{30}

The two main parties were the “Husseini party” and the “Nashashibi party.” The Palestinian Arab Party was established in 1935 by Jamal Husseini, influenced by Haj Amin. This consolidated the power of the Husseini clan and their supporters.\textsuperscript{31} The National Defense Party was established in Jaffa in 1934 by Raghib Nashashibi, which did likewise for the Nashashibi clan and their supporters. It was founded after Raghib Nashashibi lost his reelection campaign for the Jerusalem mayoralty. The National Defense Party was considered as a continuation of early efforts by the British to help Arab parties that opposed the Husseinis.\textsuperscript{32}

Two other parties were formed that were not attached directly either to the Nashashibis or the Husseini. The Independence Party of Palestine was established in Jerusalem in 1932 by Muhammad Izzat Darwaza and other supporters of pan-Arabism, who had worked previously with King Faisal.\textsuperscript{33} The party did not gain much popular support and was not based on any prominent Palestinian clan. However, it did gather support among the middle-class. In 1935, a small group was formed in Haifa, the Palestine Youth Congress, which was generally regarded as Husseini supporters.\textsuperscript{34} Among its founders was Yaqub al-Ghussein. Two additional, smaller parties operated for short periods only. The Arab Reform Party was established in Jerusalem in 1935 by Hussein Khalidi, the mayor of Jerusalem from 1934 to 1937.\textsuperscript{35} The party’s supporters were mainly from Jerusalem and Ramallah. It was associated with the Husseinis. The National Bloc Party that was established in Nablus in 1935, was associated with Nashashibis.

These developments in the Palestinian leadership in the 1930s continued the political rivalry between the Nashashibis and the Husseinis. However, it also added a new political rivalry
between the traditional leadership and the growing, well-educated, urban-based leadership. Thus, it is not surprising that these new groups emerged mainly in big cities, such as Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nablus, and Haifa.

The 1936-1939 Arab revolt was the ideological and political implementation of Palestinian national demands when all the Palestinian political leaders joined forces.36 It is believed that Arab anger, following the manhunt and killing of Sheikh Izzedin al-Qassam, a member of the Supreme Muslim Council, triggered the series of events that led to the beginning of the revolt.37 In the beginning, Palestinian unity was established, by forming the Arab Higher Committee (HAC), in April 1936.38 The Committee brought together all Palestinian political organizations and parties.39 Haj Amin was its chairman. The HAC replaced the Executive Committee, following a gap of two years without any Palestinian organization leading at the national level.40

In contrast to the Executive Committee, the HAC did not comprise an elected leadership. Its 12 members were from the Palestinian elite, representing the six parties that existed at the time - the Youth Congress, the Arab Independence Party, the National Defense Party, the Palestinian Arab Party, the National Bloc Party, and the Reform Party.41 It included Muslim Arabs as well as Christian Arabs, such as Ya‘qub Farraj, an Arab Orthodox, who was a representative of the National Defense Party.42 The massive Arab support in the demonstrations, as part of the Arab revolt, showed that the Arab Higher Committee enjoyed considerable popular support.43

During the second phase of the revolt, from summer 1937, Palestinian unity was lost, when the rivalry between the Nashashibis and the Husseinis turned violent. Haj Amin wanted to continue the fight against the British, while Raghib Nashashibi claimed that through negotiations with the British they could achieve more for the Palestinian cause. Despite being declared illegal by the British, the HAC managed to continue until 1939 when it ceased operations.44 By the end of the revolt, supporters and opponents were fighting each other.45

During the stagnation period from 1939 to 1945, due to the Second World War, there was no clearly recognized Palestinian national leadership.46 In the meantime, there arose another wave of Palestinian political parties. In 1944, the Palestinian Communist party - previously Jewish dominated, in the 1920s-1930s - split up and an Arab-led communist party was established.47 Their efforts resulted in the formation of the National Liberation League.48 Among its founders was Emile Habibi, Emile Touma, and Moussa al-Dajani. In 1946, the Muslim Brotherhood of Palestine was established. Among its founders were Shaykh As‘ad al-Imam, Muhammad al-
Amad, and Shaykh 'Abd al-Bari Barakat. In addition, semi-military groups were established, such as al-Najjada, which was established in Jaffa by Muhammad Nimr al-Hawari.\textsuperscript{49}

However, these new organizations proved unable to lead the Palestinian cause. The involvement of the Arab league in 1946 sponsored the establishment of the Second HAC, support by the Palestinian parties.\textsuperscript{50} Once again Haj Amin took control, while his supporters and the Palestinian Arab Party dominated its leadership.

\textit{Local governance in British Mandatory Palestine}

Until the mid-19th century, the Ottoman Empire was based mainly on a centralized government.\textsuperscript{51} It also included sub-divisions that were controlled by Ottoman officials.\textsuperscript{52} In the 19th Century, the Ottomans reorganized their administration. The Ottoman Vilayet Law (1864), laid the foundation for local government in rural areas by appointing \textit{Mukhtars} as village chiefs.\textsuperscript{53} The Municipalities Ordinance (1877) provided the legal framework for local municipalities in urban communities as differentiated from rural ones.\textsuperscript{54} Based on this legislation, by the end of the Ottoman rule over Palestine there were 22 recognized municipalities.\textsuperscript{55} These Ottoman administrative structures in Palestine helped maintain the segregated social structures that were based on social groups organized by religious sectarianism and kinship while leaving no place for political change and new leadership that was not based on the notables.\textsuperscript{56} The elite of notable families dominated society, economically, by continued ownership of lands, and politically, by dominating Muslim religious bureaucracy, and local administration in the form of \textit{Mukhtars} and council members.\textsuperscript{57}

From 1918 to 1920, the British military administration in Palestine mainly maintained the status quo without changing the Ottoman laws that were in effect until the end of the First World War.\textsuperscript{58} The administrative structure of districts and sub-districts was changed; however, the local government structure remained the same.\textsuperscript{59} Except for a few, those Mayors holding appointments from the Ottoman period were allowed to continue in their positions.\textsuperscript{60}

In the first years of the mandate, 65\% of the total population of 757,000 was agrarian, living in villages or tribal areas.\textsuperscript{61} Those living in municipalities were spread in the 22 municipalities recognized by the Ottomans (out of a total of 1,026 localities). This included 20 Arab or Arab-majority municipalities, as well as Jerusalem and Tiberias, the only mixed cities with a Jewish majority.
With the transition to a British civilian administration in 1920, the British government announced its intention to advance local self-government in the country. The Local Councils Ordinance of 1921, which was intended for rural areas (amended in 1941) and the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934, were designed to lay the ground for a structured local self-governance in Palestine. This legislation allowed the British to recognize some cities, regional councils, local councils, and Mukhtars.

The Municipalities Ordinance of 1877 remained in effect until the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934 was enacted. The High Commissioner appointed mayors and council members who represented the leading families. For example, in Safed, the British appointed four mayors during the period 1918 to 1926.

1927: The first local elections.
The Local Councils Ordinance of 1921 set the regulations for local elections, including the requirement of residency and payment of taxes for eligibility to vote. As a result, in most municipalities, only men who were heads of a household and owned property were eligible. The Municipal Franchise Ordinance of 1926 detailed further the requirements of local elections. Eligible voters were men, older than 25 years, Palestinian citizens, not disabled, without a criminal record, the owner of a property within the municipal area who had paid the minimum property or municipal taxes. The right to be elected was given to male citizens above the age of 30, who had paid taxes at a higher rate than the minimum required for the right to vote.

The first municipal elections in mandatory Palestine were held in 1927 in all the recognized municipalities (Table 1). Only in Gaza, were the election results not approved, due to complaints of improper management. In these elections, the number of eligible voters was not reported for all municipalities. However, for those municipalities where information is available, it is clear that only a minority of the residents were eligible to vote, ranging between 3.3% to 6.5%, out of the total. Nonetheless, the government claimed enthusiastically that the “…newly-elected Municipal Councils are fully representative of the constituencies…”

In many of these elections, such as in Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Hebron, Gaza, and other municipalities in the north, the competition was between Husseinis and their supporters and the opposition led by the Nashashibis. This helped establish centers of opposition in these municipalities. The 1927 elections ended with victories for the opposition. In Jerusalem, Haifa,
Jaffa, and Safed the opposition’s victory was facilitated by the help of the Jewish voters. In Arab cities without any Jewish residents, supporters of the Husseini camp won the elections, i.e. in Jenin, Tulkarem, Lydda, Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Majdal, Gaza, Beersheba, and Beisan.

Elections in other villages were not systematically reported by the British, as was the case in the 22 municipalities. One report of such elections in Qalqilya, states that none were held. Instead, “…each hamouleh nominated two members, the last nomination and appointment being in July of 1927…” In the case of Qalqilya, no elections were held during the entire course of the mandate. Although more evidence is required, this might shed light on the situation in other villages. The leadership of the notables was maintained, and clans and extended families still controlled the political structure.

1934: The second local elections.

As of 1931, 62% of the Palestine population of more than one million was agrarian, living in villages or tribal areas- a small decrease from 65% in 1922. Besides formal definitions of rural and urban, most of these municipalities were not yet in fact of urban character, except four cities: Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tel-Aviv, and Haifa. The other municipalities were described by the British as “…convenient centres for the marketing of rural products, or as large villages.” Palestinian society was seen by the British as quasi-feudal. In any case, the local government structure included only 23 recognized municipalities. 38 villages were recognized to have local councils, out of which 11 were Arab villages. This was a minority compared to the 1,072 localities that did not have a municipality or a local council.

The next election cycle after 1927 was scheduled for 1930; however, due to the 1929 riots, elections were postponed until 1934. The British feared that Husseini’s supporters might gain more power following the impact of the 1929 riots and the withdrawal of the 1931 White Paper. Most council members and mayors were permitted to continue in their positions. The Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934 replaced the Ottoman Municipalities Ordinance of 1877. Elections were held in all the municipalities following the new legislation. The new legislation gave the right to vote to male residents of Palestine, aged 25 or over, who had paid municipal taxes of at least 1 Mil per year. The right to be elected was given to those male residents, aged 30 or above, who had paid municipal taxes of at least 3 Mil per year. The High
Commissioner appointed from the newly elected council members a mayor and a deputy mayor. However, in contrast to previous legislation, this time the High Commissioner could appoint a council member as mayor, regardless of the actual results, or which council member received more votes.

As shown in Table 2, formal elections were held in 14 municipalities, while in the remaining seven municipalities no elections were held, because the number of candidates equaled the number of vacancies. Therefore, the candidates were appointed by the High Commissioner. In any case, a UN report states that as of 1935 there were 22 elected municipal councils in mandatory Palestine, without mentioning the different methods of “election.”

This time, in contrast to 1927, the Husseinis were victorious. The Nashashibis and their supporters lost Jerusalem, while the Husseinis and their supporters won a majority of council seats in Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Hebron, and Gaza. However, the High Commissioner still appointed mayors who were council members that supported the Nashashibis. Opposition mayors were also elected in Gaza, Jenin, Nazareth, Lydda, Ramleh, Safed, and Hebron. In other municipalities, the opposition did not win any seats. Having no other legal choice, the High Commissioner appointed mayors who were from the Husseini camp. For example, in Acre, Majdal, Tulkarem, Beisan, Jericho, and Beersheba.

In the 1934 elections, like the 1927 elections, the number of eligible voters was not reported for all municipalities. However, as shown in Table 2, for those municipalities where information is available, it is clear that, once again, only a minority of residents - between 2.7% to 9.1% - were eligible to vote, except for Beersheba with 26.2%.

1946: The third local elections.

According to the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934, local elections were scheduled for every five years. Thus the next election cycle after 1934 was scheduled for 1939. However, elections were postponed until after the Second World War, due to security concerns. Some council members and mayors were dismissed by the British, in a move that was seen as punishment following the 1936-1939 Arab revolt. As a result, in 1939 eight Arab municipalities were managed by appointed commissions, not by an elected leadership. By 1945, some Arab and mixed municipalities were also managed by appointed commissions, including Jerusalem, Haifa, Tiberias, and Gaza.
As shown in Table 3, local elections were held in 1946 in 16 out of 22 municipalities. In seven municipalities, the same mayor that had been elected in 1934 was reelected. One was reappointed with no elections. In total, 14 new mayors were appointed following the results of the 1946 elections. The Husseini-Nashashibi rivalry ended this time with more gains for the opposition camp, as in 1927, and in contrast to 1934. Again, as in 1934, the High Commissioner appointed mayors who were council members that support the opposition, as in Jenin, Nablus, Bethlehem, Hebron, and Gaza.

In this election cycle, there is more information on the number of eligible voters. In some municipalities, there was a modest improvement in the number of eligible voters. The average percentage of residents that were eligible to vote was for the first time 10%, while Haifa (20.2%) and Jaffa (21.2%) enjoyed the highest percentages.

Conclusions.
There was a minimal degree of Arab local governance during the mandate. A municipality or a local council existed only in less than 5% of about 1,000 Arab localities. Therefore, the vast majority of Arab localities were operated by the traditional local leadership. The Peel Royal Commission (1936-37) noted that the mandate had helped the Yishuv establish local self-government; however, it had failed to encourage the same pattern among the Arabs.

Local politics were controlled mainly by clan-politics, which was also the case in many municipalities and local councils. They were aligned to the nation-level rivalry between the Nashashibis and Husseinis. Some accuse the British of staging the political divide among the Palestinians. Further, British legislation did not encourage the Arabs to support the establishment of elected local councils in their villages. The number of eligible voters remained very low, due to the restrictions of gender, age, and high taxation. This resulted in the perpetuation of a leadership based on notables, clan leaders, extended families, and religious leaders. In that sense, local Arab self-government continued the same pattern of the Ottoman Mukhtar - a tool that served mainly the central government.

Arab local self-government was too dependent on the High Commissioner’s rule. Most of the critical positions in the municipalities were appointed by him: mayors and deputy mayors, treasurers, sanitary inspectors, doctors and veterinarians. The High Commissioner also supervised the municipalities’ budgets. The Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934 gave the
district governor the authority to supervise the budgets of the municipalities, its activities, and also to dismiss council members and replace them with appointed officials. In addition, the legislation provided the district governor with more flexibility in appointing a mayor. For that reason, some mayors were merely representatives of the mandate government more than representatives of their people.

Elections were not held regularly. Local elections were held only in three elections cycles - in 1927, 1934 and 1946. In addition, they were held in only a small portion of the municipalities. In most of these elections, candidate represented clans, or clan-alliances, not political parties. In many of the municipalities, only a list of pre-agreed lists of candidates was submitted. This forced the cancellation of many elections and the acceptance of the candidates as the elected representatives. Thus, most Palestinians were not involved in voting and did not experience the process of electing local representatives.

Members of the local councils and mayors came from wealthy families. Despite the limited extent of their independence, the municipalities were the arena of competition between the families of the urban elite, mainly because of the prestige of the public office and the possibility of influencing the appointment of officials. For example, the Jerusalem municipality was established in 1864; until 1920, there were 17 different appointed mayors, of which seven were members of the Husseini clan.95

Previous research states that the Palestinian leadership at the national level was selected in different patterns. In the first stage, the leadership was elected; in the second, it was the result of a party coalition, and in the third, it was appointed.96 In this study, we conclude that this was different at the local level during the mandate. During the entire period, most of the local Arab leadership was appointed in the form of village Mukhtars and local councils. Only in less than 20 Arab and mixed municipalities, and not during all of this period, were Arab leaders at the local level elected. British conceptions of democracy were for home consumption only, never exported to the colonies.
## Table 1. 1927: Local Elections in Arab and Mixed Cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sub-district</th>
<th>Municipalities</th>
<th>Election Day</th>
<th>Population (as of 1922)</th>
<th>Eligible Voters</th>
<th>Percentage of Eligible Voters</th>
<th>Elected Mayor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>8-9 April 1927</td>
<td>17,480</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Haj Salim Effendi Hussain Jaser al-Agha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khan Yunes</td>
<td>6 April 1927</td>
<td>3,890</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Taji-Eddin Sha’t</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Majdal</td>
<td>7 April 1927</td>
<td>5,064</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Haj Salim Effendi Hussain Jaser al-Agha</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beersheba</td>
<td>Beersheba</td>
<td>12 April 1927</td>
<td>2,356</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Taji-Eddin Sha’t</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jaffa</td>
<td>Jaffa</td>
<td>27-29 May 1927</td>
<td>47,709</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>Assem Bey al-Said</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ramleh</td>
<td>Ramleh</td>
<td>2 May 1927</td>
<td>7,312</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Sheikh Mustafa al-Khairi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lydda</td>
<td>Lydda</td>
<td>26 April 1927</td>
<td>8,103</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Ahmed Effendi Husseini</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>5-7 April 1927</td>
<td>62,578</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>Raghib Nashashibi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hebron</td>
<td>Hebron</td>
<td>13-14 April 1927</td>
<td>16,577</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Sheikh Mukhliis Hammuri</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ramallah</td>
<td>Ramallah</td>
<td>24 March 1927</td>
<td>3,104</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Musa Effendi Khalil Musa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>27 March 1927</td>
<td>6,658</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Nicolas Attallah Effendi Shahin</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Beit Jala</td>
<td>Beit Jala</td>
<td>27 March 1927</td>
<td>3,101</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Jiries Effendi Juma Abu Awad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Nablus</td>
<td>Nablus</td>
<td>7 April 1927</td>
<td>15,947</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Suleiman Bey Abdul Razak Tukan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jenin</td>
<td>Jenin</td>
<td>31 March 1927</td>
<td>2,637</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Aref Effendi Abdulrahman</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tulkarem</td>
<td>Tulkarem</td>
<td>13 April 1927</td>
<td>3,350</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Abdulrahman Effendi al-Haj Ibrahim</td>
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<td>Baisan</td>
<td>Baisan</td>
<td>30 March 1927</td>
<td>1,941</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Haj Mahmud Effendi Abdullah el-Safadi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Haifa</td>
<td>Haifa</td>
<td>16-18 May 1927</td>
<td>24,684</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Hassan Bey Shukri</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shafa ‘Amr</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2,288</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Da’ud Sulaiman Talhami</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Acre</td>
<td>Acre</td>
<td>11 April 1927</td>
<td>6,420</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Abdul Fatah el-Sa’adi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>9 April 1927</td>
<td>7,424</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Selim Effendi Bishara</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tiberias</td>
<td>Tiberias</td>
<td>26 April 1927</td>
<td>6,950</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>Zaki Haddef</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Safad</td>
<td>Safad</td>
<td>12 April 1927</td>
<td>8,761</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>Mohamed Effendi Hasan Abd al-Rahman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * No official information was found regarding the elections in Shafa ‘Amr and Jericho.
Table 2. 1934: Local Elections in Arab and Mixed Cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sub-district</th>
<th>Municipalities</th>
<th>Election Day</th>
<th>Population (as of 1931)</th>
<th>Eligible Voters</th>
<th>Percentage of Eligible Voters</th>
<th>Elected Mayor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>26 June 1934</td>
<td>17,046</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>Fahmi Effendi Hussein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan Yunes</td>
<td>23 November 1935</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Al-Saidi Abdul Rahman Mohammed el-Farra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beersheba</td>
<td>Majdal</td>
<td>9 June 1934</td>
<td>6,226</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>Yusef Nijim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beersheba</td>
<td>7 June 1934</td>
<td>2,959</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
<td>Taj-Eddin Sha’th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jaffa</td>
<td>Jaffa</td>
<td>7 July 1934</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Assem Bey al-Said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ramleh</td>
<td>Ramleh</td>
<td>9 July 1934</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Sheikh Mustafa al-Khairi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lydda</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ahmed Effendi Hussein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>26 September 1934**</td>
<td>90,503</td>
<td>3,650</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>Dr. Hussein Fakhri Effendi al-Khalidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hebron</td>
<td>Hebron</td>
<td>5-6 July 1934</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Sheikh Mukhlis Effendi Hammuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ramallah</td>
<td>Ramallah</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Dr. Saadallah Qassim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>6,815</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>Issa Effendi al-Bandak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beit Jala</td>
<td>5 April 1934</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Andria Mansour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Nablus</td>
<td>Nablus</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>17,189</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>Suleiman Bey Abdel Razak Tukan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jenin</td>
<td>Jenin</td>
<td>8 August 1934</td>
<td>2,706</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>Fahmi Effendi ‘Aabushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tulkarem</td>
<td>Tulkarem</td>
<td>12 August 1934</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Abdulrahman Effendi al-Haj Ibrahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baisan</td>
<td>Baisan</td>
<td>13 August 1934</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Muhammad Sa’id Effendi Halbuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haifa</td>
<td>Haifa</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hassan Bey Shukri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shafa ‘Amr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Jabbour Yousef Jabbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acre</td>
<td>Acre</td>
<td>9 October 1934</td>
<td>7,897</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>Husni Effendi Muhammad Khalifa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>28 July 1934</td>
<td>8,756</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>Selim Effendi Bishara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tiberias</td>
<td>Tiberias</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Zaki Haddef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Safad</td>
<td>Safad</td>
<td>26 July 1934</td>
<td>9,441</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>Salah Effendi ‘Ezz al-Din Qaddura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

a. No elections were held in these municipalities- Bethlehem, Ramallah, Lydda, Nablus, and Tiberias. The reason is that the number of candidates submitted equaled the number of vacancies.
b. No elections were held in most of the divisions in Jerusalem and Haifa for the same reason. No official information was found regarding Jericho.
Table 3. 1946: Local Elections in Arab and Mixed Cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sub-district</th>
<th>Municipalities</th>
<th>Election Day</th>
<th>Population (as of 1945)</th>
<th>Eligible Voters</th>
<th>Percentage of Eligible Voters</th>
<th>Elected Mayor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>4 February 1946</td>
<td>34,170</td>
<td>1,622</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>Rushdi Effendi al-Shawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan Yunes</td>
<td>8 September 1946</td>
<td>11,220</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>Al-Saidi Abdul Rahman Mohammed el-Farra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Majdal</td>
<td>6 May 1946</td>
<td>9,910</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>Al-Sayyid Abu-Sharkh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydde</td>
<td>Jaffa</td>
<td>Jaffa</td>
<td>28 April 1947</td>
<td>94,310</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>Dr. Yousef Heikal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ramleh</td>
<td>Ramleh</td>
<td>10 November 1946</td>
<td>15,160</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Sheikh Mustafa al-Khairi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lydda</td>
<td>Lydda</td>
<td>29 November 1946</td>
<td>16,780</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Muhammad Effendi al-Kayaly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>157,080</td>
<td>26,700</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>1 April 1946</td>
<td>8,820</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>Issa Effendi al-Bandak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beit Jala</td>
<td>15 May 1946</td>
<td>3,710</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Wadi’a Effendi Musa al-Da’amas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hebron</td>
<td>22 December 1946</td>
<td>24,560</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>Sheikh Muhammad ‘Ali al-Ja’abari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ramallah</td>
<td>15 April 1946</td>
<td>5,080</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>Khalil Salah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaria</td>
<td>Nablus</td>
<td>Nablus</td>
<td>6 May 1946</td>
<td>23,259</td>
<td>1,619</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>Suleiman Bey Abdel Razak Tukan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jenin</td>
<td>Jenin</td>
<td>23 March 1946</td>
<td>3,990</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>Hilmi Effendi ‘Aabushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tulkarem</td>
<td>Tulkarem</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>138,300</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>Hashim Al Jayousi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haifa</td>
<td>Haifa</td>
<td>Haifa</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>3,640</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Shabtai Levi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shafā ‘Amr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>Jabbour Yousef Jabbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galilee</td>
<td>Acre</td>
<td>Acre</td>
<td>28 July 1946</td>
<td>12,360</td>
<td>1,341</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>Husni Effendi Muhammad Khalifa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baisan</td>
<td>Baisan</td>
<td>4 March 1946</td>
<td>5,180</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Ahmad Effendi Abu ‘Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>19 May 1946</td>
<td>14,200</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>Selim Effendi Bishara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tiberias</td>
<td>Tiberias</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>11,310</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>Shimon Dahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Safad</td>
<td>Safad</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>11,930</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>Zaki Qaddura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(not affiliated)</td>
<td>Beersheba</td>
<td>Beersheba</td>
<td>27 February 1946</td>
<td>5,570</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Shafiq Effendi ‘Arafat Mushtaha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notes: Elections in Jerusalem, Haifa, Tiberias, and Safad were last held in 1934. Instead, a commission was appointed.109
Notes


7. Ibid.


24. Ibid.


42. Laura Robson, Communalism and nationalism in the Mandate: the Greek Orthodox controversy and the national movement, *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41/1, 2011, pp. 6-23.


50. Mayer, Arab unity, pp. 331-349.


54. Ibid.


64. Mustafa Abbasi, *Safad fi ‘Eahd Alaintidab Albritanii 1917-1948- Dirasah Aijtimaiah Wasiasiatah [Safed in the British Mandate period 1917-1948- a social and political*
study, Beirut: Institute for Palestinian Studies, 2005, pp. 45-54. The four were Nayef Sobh, Mohammed Salim Shama, Saeed Mahmoud Murad, and Mohamed Hassan Abd al-Rahman.

65. Great Britain, *The Local Councils Ordinance 1921*.


67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.


72. Peretz, Palestinian social stratification, pp. 48-74.


74. Ibid.


76. Ibid.


79. Ibid.


82. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
94. Miller, *Government and society*.
95. Ibid.
100. Mills, *Census of Palestine 1931*. 21


104. Ibid, 10, 21 September 1934.


