

## **The Palestinian Resistance in Al-Quds against the Zionist Project 1929-1939**

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From 1929 – 1939, there was a change in the nature of Palestinians’ defense mechanisms. The Arab resistance against Zionist danger increased at the time. Resistance here means armed struggle, which actively appeared back then, politics, and popular movements. One of the characteristics of this stage is the Arab resistance against the Zionist danger that was protected by Britain. Muslims and Christians became more aware of the situation and realized that they should carry out all forms of revolutionary acts to thwart the Zionist and British plans. This study traces al-Quds’ legitimate resistance acts against the Zionist project focusing on two topics: 1929 – 1935 Resistance against the Zionist Project, and the Great Revolt 1936 – 1939.

### **Topic One: The Resistance against the Zionist Project 1929 - 1935**

At this stage, resistance took different forms such as demonstrations, conferences and revolutions. Despite its importance, it was generally simple and unplanned for well. In addition, internal disputes between the families and leadership appeared. The randomness of the Revolt and disputes played a role in limiting the influence of resistance on stopping the Zionist danger.

#### **Continued Immigration and Land Grabbing**

During the British occupation, Palestine suffered from severe conditions. Its people were deprived from building institutions and from governing themselves. They were under the British rule, and the High Commissioner was granted unfettered authority. Britain suffocated the Palestinians, incited corruption and deepened family and sectarian divisions<sup>(1)</sup>.

Simultaneously, Britain encouraged the Jewish immigration. Despite all the efforts the Zionists and British exerted from the beginning of the Jews’ immigration until May 15, 1948<sup>(2)</sup>, the Jews could only grab

<sup>(1)</sup> Saleh, Mohsen, *Series of Studies on the Palestinian Cause*, Sabah al-Fajr, Kuala Lumpur, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 2002, p. 20.

<sup>(2)</sup> Yaghi, Ismael, *the Historical Roots of the Palestinian Cause*, (Riyadh, Dar Al-Marikh, 1403AH/1983), p. 72.

about 2,000,000 donums; i.e. 7% of Palestine's lands (a total of 27,000,000 donums). Most of those lands were either governmental lands or were sold by non-Palestinian feudals staying in Lebanon or Syria<sup>(3)</sup>.

It is clear then that the Palestinians did not sell their lands as rumors keep spreading every now and then. Such rumors are not based on any scientific evidence. Even in cases when Palestinians had to sell their lands; they only did so because of the debts they had to pay but could not afford.

Britain followed a very serious policy, forcing some farmers to sell their lands. For instance, Palestine Newspaper issued on August 24, 1930 published a story quoting one of the farmers from Tulkrem saying, "I sell my land and property because the government forces me to pay taxes at a time I cannot afford to support myself and family financially. In such circumstances, I am forced to ask a rich person for a loan, and I pledge to pay back with 50% interest a month or two later. Then, I do not have the money so I renew the instrument doubling the amount of the original loan. At the end, I am forced to sell the land to pay back my debts<sup>(4)</sup>".

Arthur Wauchope, the British High Commissioner, was one of the British leaders to apply the loaning policy to the farmers. He lowered the taxes and offered agricultural loans. At the same time, he allowed the Jews to immigrate to Palestine. During his 5-year rule in Palestine, 250,000 Jews immigrated, and the Jewish activity in purchasing lands increased<sup>(5)</sup>.

## **Al-Kaf Al-Akhdar Revolution (The Green Palm)**

The British policy towards the Palestinian Arabs led to the eruption of several revolutions, all of which rejected the Jewish immigration and land grabbing, and demanded the Palestinians' right to self-determination. One of the first revolutions was Al-Kaf Al-Akhdar.

The Zionist Congress was first held in July 1929. The Zionists, among others, renewed their pledge to donate for the establishment of a 'national home' for the Jews in Palestine. The British Government pledged its commitment to the Jewish immigration, and the Jews' settlement in

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<sup>(3)</sup> Ibid: Saleh, **Series of Studies on the Palestinian Cause**, p.20.

<sup>(4)</sup> Al- Kayali, Abdulwahhab, **Modern History of Palestine**, (Beirut, Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, Ed. 10, 1990), p.223.

<sup>(5)</sup> Al-Aref, Aref, **History of Al-Quds**, (Cairo, Dar al-Maaref, ed.2, 1994), p.153.

Palestine. At that time, an armed group called ‘Al-Kaf Al-Akhdar’ carried out operations against the Zionists, the army and the British police. This group, under Ahmed Tafesh’s leadership, executed its operations in Safed and Akka in the end of 1929 until the first two months of 1930<sup>(6)</sup>.

## **The Second White Paper**

On October 21, 1930, after the instabilities of 1929-1930, the Second White Paper was issued. It was in favor of the Arabs as it indicated that the Mandate was not to help the Jews establish a ‘national home’ in Palestine only, but also to protect the Palestinians’ rights because Britain is committed to both the Jews and Arabs. As a result, limiting the Jews’ immigration to Palestine was necessary. However, Britain changed its position under the pressure of the Zionist Movement. Britain’s Prime Minister McDonald sent a letter to Chaim Weizmann explaining how the White Paper did represent Britain’s policy in Palestine. The Arabs called this letter ‘the Black Paper’ instead<sup>(7)</sup>.

## **The Second Islamic Conference**

As a protest against the above-mentioned policy, the Second Islamic Conference was held to defend Al-Buraq Wall on December 7, 1931 in the arena of Almasjid Alaqsa. A great number of Muslims from Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, Egypt, Hejaz, Tunisia, Burqa, Persia, Algeria, Morocco, Turkey, Chinese Turkestan, India, the Caucasus, Yugoslavia, Nigeria, Jawa and Ceylon<sup>(8)</sup> attended.

Some of the participants in this conference are Sheikh Mohammed Rashid Rida, the Tunisian leader Abdulaziz Al-Th’albi, the Poet of Islam Mohammed Iqbal, Prince Saeed Al-Jazaeri, Shukri Al-Qutli, and Shawkat Ali the leader of India’s Muslims<sup>(9)</sup>.

In the Conference, several decisions were reached: The establishment of ‘Almasjid Alaqsa University’, the emphasis on the Islamic history of the Buraq Wall and pledge to defend it, the establishment

<sup>(6)</sup> Ibid: Al-Kayali, **Modern History of Palestine**, pp. 219 – 221.

<sup>(7)</sup> Al-Mahjubi, Ali, **the Roots of Zionist Colonization in Palestine**, (Tunisia, Ceres for Publishing, 1990), p. 81.

<sup>(8)</sup> Ibid: Al-Aref, **History of Al-Quds**, p.154.

<sup>(9)</sup> Jarar, Husni, **People of Palestine: Facing British Conspiracy and Zionist Plotting 1920 – 1939**, (Amman, Dar Al-Furqan, n.d.), p.67.

of an agricultural company to save the lands and help the farmers and craftsmen, and the establishment of cooperative companies for loaning<sup>(10)</sup>.

Other decisions include founding an Arab-Islamic Bloc that could fight against the Jews' ambitions in the Holy Land, boycotting all Zionist products in the Islamic world, warning the Islamic world from the danger of Zionism and the importance of preventing Jewish immigration, resisting land sale to the Jews and inviting Muslims to buy them, condemning colonization by the Islamic world, and including the Arab Orthodox issue as part of the Arab cause<sup>(11)</sup>.

The Arab Orthodox had already held a conference a few days earlier in November 1931 supporting the national demands, and decided to have the Patriarch an Arab instead of the usual Greek; they also agreed not to recognize any patriarch who did not include the people in his election<sup>(12)</sup>.

Despite the importance of the Second Islamic Conference and its recommendations, most of the decisions remained on paper. The application mechanisms were not discussed. For instance, one of the decisions was to stand against the Jewish immigration; however, the contrary happened.

The following table shows the number of Jewish immigrants from 1920-1936:

Year	No. of Immigrants	%
1920	5514	1.95
1921	9149	3.24
1922	7844	2.77
1923	7421	2.63
1924	12856	4.55
1925	33801	11.96
1926	13081	4.63
1927	2713	0.96
1928	2178	0.77

<sup>(10)</sup> Ibid: Jarar, p.68.

<sup>(11)</sup> Ibid: Al-Aref, **History of Al-Quds**, p. 154.

<sup>(12)</sup> Ibid: Al-Aref, p.154.

1929	5249	1.86
1930	4944	1.75
1931	4075	1.44
1932	9553	3.38
1933	30327	10.73
1934	42359	14.98
1935	61854	21.88
1936	29727	10.52
<b>Total</b>	<b>282.645</b>	<b>100%</b>

(From Wafa News Agency)

This table shows that the number of Jewish immigrants in the same year of the conference reached 4075 Jews. Their number doubled in the following year and reached 9553 Jews, and greatly increased in 1933 reaching 30327 Jews.

### **The Arab Policy with the British Occupation**

The inner and outer political conflicts among the Arab Executive Committee members and attempts to impose family power on the Committee's decisions were crystal clear. In the meeting the Committee held on March 6, 1932 a dispute erupted between Al-Husseni and Al-Nashashibi families, forcing Musa Kazim Al-Husseini to withdraw from the meeting as way of protest<sup>(13)</sup>.

On September 9 of the same year, the Executive Committee held another meeting. The members' opinions varied on Committee's members joining official and governmental committees which were affiliated with the British occupation. After a long discussion, the members unanimously refused cooperating with the government. However, some members rescinded this decision and cooperated with the government. The British occupation publicly welcomed the new Arab cooperation<sup>(14)</sup>.

The desire to control, hesitation in making decisions, and lack of joint front against the British policy weakened the Arab position and facilitated the implementation of Zionist plans.

<sup>(13)</sup> Khilla, Kamel, **Palestine and the British Mandate 1922-1939**, (Al-Mansh'a Al'ama for Publishing and Distribution, Tripoli – Libya, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1982), p. 515.

<sup>(14)</sup> Ibid: p. 522.

## 1933 Intifada

In 1932, there was an abrupt rise in the number of Jewish immigrants from 9553 to 30,327; that is triple the amount. This stage of immigration played a major role in making Arab workers unemployed. Another reason is the immigrants who would pay money and buy the lands, which resulted in expelling Arab farmers and making their work wage-based or lead to their unemployment<sup>(15)</sup>.

Then, the Arab Executive Committee called for a march. On Friday October 13, 1933 about 30,000 Muslims and Christians gathered in Almasjid Alaqsa arena and headed to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The British police used force and tanks to disperse the demonstrators<sup>(16)</sup>. 35 Arabs and 5 British police officers<sup>(17)</sup> were wounded.

Arab women's role was to look after the injured and motivate them with gratitude for their sacrifices. The Executive Committee decided on calling for a huge demonstration to be held on Fridays, each week in various Palestinian cities visited by delegations<sup>(18)</sup>.

On April 15, 1933, a group of women from Al-Quds participated in a protest against General Allenby's visit. The protest continued to Masjid Omar where Mattil Mghanam, Christian, delivered a speech from the Masjid's minbar. They marched until the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where Tarab Abdul Hadi, Muslim, delivered a speech before Christ's tomb<sup>(19)</sup>.

These incidents are proof of Palestinian women's awareness of the importance of unity in resistance. This harmony was like a signal to the British Government and Zionist movement that Muslims and Christians were willing to defend their holy landmarks together, and that each would protect the other's holy places as their own.

<sup>(15)</sup> Ibid: Khilla, **Palestine and the British Mandate 1922-1939**, p. 539 – 540.

<sup>(16)</sup> "**Al-Fat'h**", 15(367), 1352 AH (1933), pp. 14-15. An Egyptian newspaper that was founded in Cairo around 1926-1947.

<sup>(17)</sup> Ibid: Al-Aref, **History of Al-Quds**, p.155.

<sup>(18)</sup> Ibid: Al-Fat'h, 15(367), 1352 AH, 1933, pp.14-15.

<sup>(19)</sup> Abdulhadi, Fayhaa, **Women from Al-Quds in the Memory of the People**, the Palestinian Al-Ayam Newspaper, (Ramallah, issued by Al-Ayam for Printing, Journalism, Publishing and Distributing, the article was published on October 20, 2013).

During that revolution, the Palestinian national leadership achieved one of its most important goals: To boycott the Zionist and foreign products. The first national exhibition was launched in Al-Quds on July 7, 1933. In the second exhibition, 180 Arab companies participated from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, East Jordan, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia. Britain stood against the exhibition and banned Egyptian airplanes from flying over Al-Quds, and the English consulates in Arab capitals rejected issuing visas to thousands of Arab expats who wanted to go to the exhibition<sup>(20)</sup>.

## Topic Two: Great Revolt 1936 – 1939

The causes that led the Palestinians to revolt were already in place. At that time, they loathed Britain for its policies and procedures as it issued Balfour Declaration, facilitated the Zionist immigration, set laws for land grabbing, disregarded the Jews' smuggling of weapons, trained Zionist gangs on using weapons and restrained Arabs from buying weapons.

This revolution consisted of three main stages: The first stage from April– October 1936 was characterized with armed resistance; the second stage from October – September 1937 was characterized with political struggle, strong resistance to the British policy, assassination of land sellers and fight against the project of dividing Palestine; and the third stage from September 1937 to September 1939 was an armed revolt<sup>(21)</sup>.

### The First Stage

When the British decided to go further with Balfour Declaration and the Zionists' attacks increased, the Arabs decided to initiate an armed revolt as they continued the popular one to protect their country and holy places. A report by Captain Camp from the British Intelligence said, "I have heard a lot of Arabs, Muslims and Christians, publicly scream that they will resist with force any attempt to establish a Jewish state"<sup>(22)</sup>.

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<sup>(20)</sup> Nassar and Tamari, Esam and Saleem, **Al-Quds under Mandate in Precious Memoirs 1914-1948**, (Al-Quds, Al-Maqdisiya Studies Center, 2005, p.526.

<sup>(21)</sup> **Encyclopedia Palestina**, General Section, (Damascus, the Encyclopedia Palestina Committee, ed.1, 1984), 1, p.622.

<sup>(22)</sup> Ibid: Al-Kayali, **Modern History of Palestine**, p.105.

Khalil Al-Sakakini, who was one of the objectors, wrote on October 26, 1935 that he went to the British Administration feeling furious at the Jews and Britain, so he applied for a firearm license<sup>(23)</sup>.

Others became more involved in resistance such as Father Ibrahim Ayyad who participated in the Revolt under the Arab-Palestinian party, which is the party of Hajj Amin and Jamal Al-Husseini<sup>(24)</sup>. He fought side by side with Abdul-Qadir Al-Husseini<sup>(25)</sup>.

The circumstances under which the Arabs lived paved the way for a new revolt, more powerful than any before. The Arab started preparing for this revolt so in April 25, 1936, a united leadership of Muslims and Christians was formed. The Supreme Arab Committee consisted of 10 people representing all parties<sup>(26)</sup>.

The first thing the Committee did was invite the people for a public conference held in Al-Quds on May 7, 1936. The attendants decided to start a strike and stop paying taxes. They started the strike on May 15, so the government announced the emergency law to be in effect, arrested a number of Palestinians and reinforced its military forces in the country<sup>(27)</sup>.

The more the violence against the Arabs was, the more the united the internal Arab front became. Muslims and Christians agreed to adhere to the decisions of the Supreme Committee in order to ensure the achievement of the Arab demands. Al-Sakakini said, "If the nation decides to stop paying taxes, I will be the first to do so. If the nation decides to include employees in the strike, I will be the first to do so..."<sup>(28)</sup>. The entire country answered the Committee's call. The protests and clashes with the British police began and motivating speeches were heard in all Masjids and churches<sup>(29)</sup>.

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<sup>(23)</sup> Al-Sakakini, **Al-Sakakini's Journals, Diaries, Letters and Perspectives**, 2006, the Sixth Book, part 3, p.166.

<sup>(24)</sup> **Father Ibrahim Ayyad Knight of the Church Absent from Christmas Festivals**, Al-Quds Online Newspaper, December 25, 2011.

<sup>(25)</sup> Foad Kokli, **Brotherly Relation between Muslims and Christians in Palestine**, Al Jazeera, July 22, 2007.

<sup>(26)</sup> Nassar and Tamari, **Al-Quds under Mandate in Precious Memoirs 1914-1948**, 2005, the Second Book, p.538.

<sup>(27)</sup> Ibid: Al-Aref, **History of Al-Quds**, p.157.

<sup>(28)</sup> Ibid: Al-Sakakini, **Al-Sakakini's Journals, Diaries, Letters and Perspectives**, 2006, the Sixth Book, part 3, p.247.

<sup>(29)</sup> Ibid: Shaheed, **Memories from Al-Quds**, p.110.



In their attempt to protect the holy landmarks from the Zionist danger, the Christians in Al-Quds sent letters to the Christians around the world demanding their help to save Al-Quds. That letter showed a bright aspect of the strike. It described the protest as comprehensive, encompassing all life fields such as trade, and ground and naval transportation. All people participated whether dwellers of cities, villagers or Bedouins; Muslims or Christians; the elderly, youngsters, or school students; men or women<sup>(30)</sup>.

The strike succeeded because all Palestinians harmoniously agreed on the demands of the Revolt, which would not have happened if it were not for the joint work between the Muslims and Christians whose mutual interests and desire to stop the Zionist project brought them closer. The decision to fight against the Zionist project was not made by one religion, one political party or a certain cultural association. It was a national decision made by all groups of the Palestinian community.

The high-profile officials working at the Palestinian government, Arab Muslims and Christians, submitted a petition to the Britain Mandate in August 1936 demanding the government to stop its biased policy for the Zionists, and to restore Arabs' trust through ending such crisis<sup>(31)</sup>.

The Arabs would explain their cause to the entire world. They formed special departments to manage the administrative and political work. They sent several Muslim and Christian delegations to Arab countries and Britain. The delegation that went to London included Jamal Al-Huseini, Shibly Jamal, Ezzat Tanous and Emile Al-Ghour<sup>(32)</sup>.

On October 8, 1936, the Palestinian leaders received three calls from King Abdulaziz Al Saud, King of Saudi Arabia; King Ghazi the First, King of Iraq; and Prince Abdullah of east Jordan. They asked the Palestinians to stop the revolution. They said, "It has been of great pain to see the events in Palestine. In agreement with our brothers the kings and Prince Abdullah, we urge you to return to peace to stop the bloodshed as we believe in the

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<sup>(30)</sup> Ayoub, Samir, **Essential Documents in the Arab-Zionist Conflict**, (Beirut, Dar Al-Hadatha for Printing, Publishing and Distributing, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1984), part 3, p.34.

<sup>(31)</sup> Ibid: Nassar and Tamari, p.526.

<sup>(32)</sup> Ibid: Nassar and Tamari, p.538.

good intentions of our friend the British government and its announced desire to achieve justice<sup>(33)</sup>”.

On the next day, the Supreme Arab Committee issued a statement calling for the end of the strike, as a response to the Arab rulers’ mediation<sup>(34)</sup>.

At that time of the revolution, more than 3,000 Arabs were martyred and 7,000 were wounded. The English arrested about 2,000 Arab youth. The revolt reflected the awareness of Muslims and Christians and joint work against their mutual enemy. The English and the Jews tried to spread rumors to separate Muslims from Christians; they failed<sup>(35)</sup>, however.

## **The Second Stage**

In 1936, Britain formed an investigation committee headed by Peel. It listened to the statements of the Jews’ leaders. It was first boycotted by Arabs, but they later stood before the committee after Arab leadership mediation. On July 7, 1937, the committee published its report which presented a project to divide Palestine: the Jewish part had Palestine’s most fertile lands; and the Arab part had denuded mountains. The British part had Al-Quds and Bethlehem. The committee proposed joining the Arab part to east Jordan so to expand the scope of British sovereignty in the territory<sup>(36)</sup>.

When the report was published, the Arab Palestinians erupted again. In the beginning of September 1937, the Arabs killed 3 Jews; then the Irgun organization killed about 13 Arabs. On September 26, anonymous people killed Andrews, governor of Galilee<sup>(37)</sup>.

## **The Third Stage**

Britain tried to terminate the Revolt. It arrested a number of leaders including Ahmed Hilmy Basha, Yaqoub Al-Ghusein, Foad Saba, Dr. Hussein Al-Khaldi and Rashid Al-Hajj Ibrahim and exiled them to Seychelles Island. Britain also bombed the villages and burned the

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<sup>(33)</sup> Timraz and Zaqout, Saeed and Nahid, **Documents of the Palestinian Cause 1936-1948**, (Gaza, the National Center of Studies and Documentation, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 2005), p.41.

<sup>(34)</sup> Ibid, pp. 41-42.

<sup>(35)</sup> Al-Tel, Abdullah, **The Danger of Global Judaism on Islam and Christianity**, (Beirut, Al-Maktam Al-Islami, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1979), p.270.

<sup>(36)</sup> Ibid: p.271

<sup>(37)</sup> Hadawi. John. Robert and Sami. *The Palestine Diary*. Vol. 2: 1945-1948, Beirut: PLO, Research center. 1970, p. 278.

farms<sup>(38)</sup>. In response, the Arabs expanded their Revolt across the entire country. Al-Qassam Fighters executed operations against the Jewish convoys. Sheikh Farhan Al-Sa'di<sup>(39)</sup> was then arrested. He was executed on November 22, 1937, while he was fasting. Britain wanted to push people away from the Revolt. However, the results were quite contrary to its expectations<sup>(40)</sup>. Because the Revolt grew bigger, it changed to its deceitful games and in 1938 it announced dropping the idea of division<sup>(41)</sup>.

At this stage, Muslim and Christian leaders continued on the same path they had chosen: To fight against the Zionist project. Doing so, they were subjected to all types of harm. Britain and the Zionists, as can be deduced, fought Muslims and Christians the same.

Britain then called for London Conference which was attended by representatives of different Arab countries, Arab Palestinians and Jewish leaders. The Palestine delegation included Jamal Al-Husseini, Awni Abdulhadi, Ragheb Al-Nashashibi, Alfred Roc, Amin Al-Tamimi, Musa Al-Alami, George Antonius, Yaqoub Al-Ghusein, and Foad Saba. The Conference started on February 7, 1939, but there were not any direct talks between the Arabs and Jews. Instead, each team would talk with the English alone. After one month, the Conference failed and officially concluded its events on March 17, 1939<sup>(42)</sup>.

As can be noted, Britain and the Zionists failed to break down the Islamic steadfastness during the popular struggle and political resistance.

The Palestinian Revolt fluctuated as it was very powerful sometimes and fragile other times depending on several factors such as the degree of

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<sup>(38)</sup> Ibid: Al-Tel, **The Danger of Global Judaism on Islam and Christianity**, pp. 271-272.

<sup>(39)</sup> Sheikh Farhan Al-Sa'di was born in Al-Mazar village near Jenin. He received his education at Jenin Primary School. He was fond of receiving religious lessons at the masjids and meeting with scholars. He participated in the national conferences and protests against the government. In 1929 Revolt, he formed a group of freedom fighters in Jenin to stand against the Zionist project. The government arrested him and imprisoned him for 3 years. After he was released, he moved to Haifa where he met Sheikh Izz ad-Din Al-Qassam. Al-Hout, Bayan, **The Leaders and Political Institutions in Palestine 1917-1948**, Beirut, Dar Al-Huda for Publishing and Distribution, 3rd ed., 1986, p.376.

<sup>(40)</sup> John and hadawi. Op. cit. p. 279.

<sup>(41)</sup> Ibid: Al-Hout, **The Leaders and Political Institutions in Palestine (1948-1917)**, p.384.

<sup>(42)</sup> Ibid: Al-Tel, **The Danger of Global Judaism on Islam and Christianity**, p. 273.

injustice the Palestinians felt, and the Arabs' agreement on resistance especially when all political attempts could not meet their demands of stopping the Jewish immigration, of preventing land sale to the Jews and of achieving independence.

What is definite, though, is that 1936 Revolt is the most powerful, most disturbing to the British Government and Zionist Movement; then comes the Buraq Revolution in second place.



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## Conclusion and Recommendations

### First: Conclusion

- 1- The saying that Palestinians sold their lands is a mere myth, a lie. The truth is the Palestinians clung to their lands, and were either killed or arrested for doing so.
- 2- Both Muslims and Christians worked against the Zionist project. The Masjids and churches worked together to protect Palestinians' rights.
- 3- The Palestinian leadership was hesitant at times due to political and family disputes.
- 4- Women played a major role at different times. Muslim and Christian women participated in the protests and were very effective in strengthening the internal front as they visited those injured in the protests.
- 5- The Palestinians took part in several armed revolutions. Nevertheless, the Great Revolt is considered to have the clearest aims, to have diversity in tools and to be longest.

### Second: Recommendations

- 1- Publishing facts that refute the lies promoted by the Israeli occupation and some Muslims nowadays. For example, expose the claims that Palestinians sold their lands, and debunk the myth that the Jews have a historical and religious right in Palestine.
- 2- Understanding that political disagreements are a healthy matter. However, the Palestinians must prioritize the interests of the country over the personal or party interests. Only through this can rights be regained.
- 3- Understanding that for any revolution to succeed, all groups of the society must have shared understanding of the objects and tools. Everyone must actively participate.
- 4- Not trusting leaders and rulers who pretend to care for the Palestinian people when they demand the end of a revolution or Intifada (this is for the Palestinian leadership to take into account).

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