

Hajj Amin's main opponents were the Nashashibis who were more pro-British than he was and their accusations against him that he was acting under Wauchope's instructions were ineffective. On the other hand there was no real challenge from the more militant Arab nationalist groups as the *Istiqlal* Party had ceased to be an effective organised force in the latter part of 1933, partly owing to Hajj Amin's efforts to sabotage their reputation and position within the national movement.<sup>80</sup> According to Emile Ghoury, one of Hajj Amin's more eloquent and educated assistants, the Mufti had worked out an understanding of cooperation and alliance with many of the leading *Istiqlalists* following the decline of the Party in 1933.<sup>81</sup>

In the wake of the 1933 riots, the Mufti persevered in his conciliatory attitude towards the British without attaching great hopes to any significant change in British policy. Wauchope was convinced that Hajj Amin was moderate and willing to help the Government maintain order:

I am confident that the Mufti likes me, respects me and is anxious to help me. . . He realizes the folly of unlawful demonstration and clashes with the authority but he fears that the criticisms of his many opponents that he is too British may weaken his influence in the country. The fact, however, that his influence is on the side of moderation is of definite value were it contrawise I consider wide-spread disturbances would be inevitable.<sup>82</sup>

Hajj Amin's reverence for authority, and 'the folly of unlawful demonstration' reflected his fear of British military prowess and his realization that the Arabs could not possibly win in a head-on collision with Britain. On the other hand as a leader of the national movement in Palestine he could not remain quiescent while Zionist immigration was assuming threatening proportions.

#### Self-Organisation

The Arab Bank, established in 1930, was strengthened in 1934 to become a major financial and political Arab national institution. An Arab agricultural Bank was started with a capital of £60,000 for development of Arab land. The (Arab) National Fund campaigned for public subscriptions and started buying lands that would otherwise have been sold to the Jews. An active propaganda campaign against sales of land to Jews was waged by the Supreme Muslim Council in the mosques and in the Arab Press. Small landowners were encouraged

to register their lands as family *Waqfs* to prevent subsequent alienation.

A more difficult task to cope with was the prevention of illicit Jewish immigration which was on the increase owing to greater Nazi pressures on German Jewry. This task was entrusted to the Arab Youth Conference which organised Arab Scout units to patrol the coasts and intercept boats smuggling Jewish immigrants during the night.<sup>83</sup>

Another measure of self-defence and self-organisation was brought about by the Histadrut's attempt to prevent the employment of Arab labour by Jewish entrepreneurs through 'intimidation of employer and employed'.<sup>84</sup> Arab Labour Garrisons to prevent intimidation and attacks by Jewish labour were formed in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa. These were followed by the formation of Arab Labour Committees which made their political debut on the occasion of the Balfour anniversary when the transport workers observed a national strike.

The third Arab nationalist demand, that of self-governing institutions could not be achieved without the cooperation of the British. Hajj Amin told Wauchope that the Arabs 'looked forward towards a Parliament with full powers and not to a Legislative Council with limited powers'.<sup>85</sup> The Arabs, in fact, were willing to accept a Legislative Council where the demographic composition of 'the population would be reflected'.<sup>86</sup> Zionist opposition to the Legislative Council proved insurmountable and no substantial progress on this issue was made before the latter part of 1935.<sup>87</sup>

Instead of establishing a national self-governing institution which would focus the Palestinians' attention on the basic issues at stake and promote a sense of purposefulness to the Arabs' political efforts against the JNH policy, Wauchope introduced an electoral side-show on the local municipal level. This innocuous dose of participatory democracy sharpened family dissensions and rivalries as might have been expected. However, the defeat of Ragheb Nashashibi in the Jerusalem Municipal elections of 1934 upset the Husseini-Nashashibi balance, which had been maintained since 1920, and concentrated more power in the hands of Hajj Amin. The bitterness engendered by the elections and the death of Musa Kazem dealt a final blow to the moribund Arab Executive, and each political faction proceeded to form a party of its own.

#### The Palestinian Arab Parties

The first party to emerge in December 1934 was the National Defence Party headed by Ragheb Nashashibi. Four months later the Palestine Arab Party emerged led by Jamal Husseini, the Mufti's political