HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY

Title	占領と抵抗の相克 ： 被占領地のパレスチナ人市長を事例に
Author(s)	鈴木, 啓之
Citation	境界研究, 3, 99-116
Issue Date	2012-11-09
DOI	https://doi.org/10.14943/jbr.3.99
Doc URL	https://hdl.handle.net/2115/61232
Type	departmental bulletin paper
File Information	05_summary_suzuki.pdf, 英文要旨

Hokkaido University Collection of Scholarly and Academic Papers : HUSCAP

The Resisting Palestinian Mayors: Non-Violent Struggles in the West Bank

SUZUKI Hiroyuki

This article focuses on Palestinian mayors in the occupied territories in the context of "civil resistance." Although there are many studies on the Palestinian resistance movement, only a few have broached the subject of the resistance movement within the occupied territories before the First Intifada (1987–1993). Since the West Bank forms the border between Israel and Jordan, this article analyzes the political struggle between these two states and pro-PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) supporters in the territories.

Chapter 1 illustrates the historical background of the mayors in the West Bank. The Ottoman Empire's *Tanzimat* allowed Arab notables to assume positions in the local government as well as the army. Hence, there were also some notable Palestinian families such as the al-Husayni, al-Nashashibi, and al-Ja'abari. After the Arab–Israeli War of 1948, King Abdullah of Jordan eventually

annexed the West Bank to his country in 1950. At that time, the notable mayors in Nablus and Hebron supported the annexation because they allied themselves with King Abdullah owing to his patronage and client relationships. The Israeli government intended to reproduce and co-opt this connection; hence, it permitted municipal elections in 1972. This election resulted in the victory of the traditional elite, who maintained a quiet, cooperative attitude toward Israel.

Chapter 2 discusses the changing political environment in the territories that resulted in the victory of a new generation of mayors in the election of 1976. In particular, three critical changes occurred: there was an increase in the PLO's popularity, a decline in Jordan's authority, and an expansion in voting rights in the election. The PLO established the Palestine National Front (*al-Jabha al-Waṭanīya al-Filasṭīnīya*) in 1973 in the occupied territories, marking the beginning of a full commitment toward political activity in the territories. As for Jordan's authority, it began to decline after the Black September events of 1970. Then, the 1973 Arab–Israeli War confirmed that Jordan could not assume a positive role in Palestine's liberation because it did not have a presence in the war. Further, constituency populations expanded threefold from 1972 to 1976 because of a revision of the municipal law. These critical changes in the political environment, as well as the 1976 uprising in which former mayors had to play the role of non-violent resistance actors, paved the way for pro-PLO candidate victories in the 1976 election.

Chapter 3 deals with the pro-PLO mayors and their political activities in the West Bank. In the second election, which was held in 1976, pro-PLO candidates won, and they adopted important political roles in the occupied territories. For example, Karim Khalaf of Ramallah and Bassam al-Shak'a of Nablus demonstrated a strong nationalistic political attitude toward the occupation and expressed their support for the PLO. A repercussion of the signing of the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel in 1978 was the establishment of the National Guidance Committee (NGC, *Lajna al-Tawjīh al-Waṭanī*), which opposed the accords. Besides the mayors as its supporters, the NGC was also supported by trade union leaders, women's organizations, and the student union.

Chapter 4 investigates the effect of Israeli policy on political activities in the occupied territories. The Village League (*Rawābiṭ li-l-Qurā*) was a puppet organization of the Israeli authority in the occupied territories. It was designed as an organization to counter the power of the mayors and the NGC. Once it became clear that this attempt was failing, the Israeli authority adopted more harsh measures toward the mayors, such as deporting them to lands outside the West Bank and discharging them from their duties. In 1980, Fahd al-Qawasmi of Hebron and Muhammad Milhim of Halhul were deported to Jordan. They were outstanding mayors in the occupied territories and were thus targeted by the Israeli authorities. The mayors also faced threats from Jewish settlers. For instance, Shak'a and Khalaf were victims of assassination attempts when bombs were planted in their cars.

Shak‘a lost both his legs and Khalaf lost one leg, but they retained their positions as mayors, which resulted in their becoming the most popular leaders in the territories. Then, in 1982, the Israeli authority decided to discharge most of the Palestinian mayors including Shak‘a and Khalaf. This marked the end of the era in which mayors had been political leaders.

This article sheds light on the non-violent resistance in the occupied West Bank from the 1960s to 1982, by analyzing the role of Palestinian mayors. Since the West Bank is bordered by Israel and Jordan, these two states strongly influence the territories. However, an increasing number of PLO supporters challenged the hegemony, and they finally received strong support from the people, as can be observed in their victory in the 1976 municipal elections. As it became clear that the pro-PLO political wing was growing stronger, Israeli authorities attempted to purge the country of the nationalist mayors and finally discharged most of them. This is a very important fact because after the discharge of the mayors, there were some “leaderless” uprisings in the territories. These uprisings could be considered the precursors to the Intifada of 1987.