All-Palestine Government Founding and Falling Prelimination and Factors

Dr.Issam Mohammad Ali Adwan

Associate Professor of Modern and Contemporary History Al-Quds Open University

*****Corresponding Author:** *Dr.Issam Mohammad Ali Adwan*, *Associate Professor of Modern and Contemporary History Al-Quds Open University*

Abstract: *The research dealt with the prelimination and factors for the establishment and fall of the All-Palestine Government, which was established in 1948, as a Palestinian official entity, which gained Arab recognition. The research method has adopted history as an appropriate method for tracing the foundations and factors of the downfall. The research has two chapters:The first chapter dealt with the establishment of the All-Palestine Government, premises and factors. It touched upon the Higher Arab Authority that called for the establishment of this entity, and dealt with the project of the temporary civil administration in Palestine, whose founding was approved by the League of Arab States, and then dealt in some detail with the establishment of the All-Palestine Government and the reasons and factors that stood behind Its establishment, the method of its establishment, its administrative organization and its provisional (constitution) system. The second chapter dealt with the end of the All-Palestine Government, premises and factors. It dealt with the beginning of the positions of Egypt, Iraq and Jordan regarding the establishment of the government, then it dealt with the factors of the failure of the government, including Palestinian subjective factors, Arab factors, the most dangerous of which is the Jordanian factor, it also touched on the factor of Egypt and the Arab League, and ended with international factors such as the role of Britain and the United Nations in thwarting this government. The conclusion focused on the most important results of the research.*

Keywords: *All-Palestine Government – Palestinian entity – Palestine – Palestinian political system.*

INTRODUCTION

The All-Palestine Government is an independent Palestinian entity that was killed as soon as it was born because a Palestinian state could not be established and efforts are being made from all sides to establish the Zionist entity under the name of the State of Israel. A unique experience, which was carried out by the Arab Higher Committee representing the Palestinian people from the mid-1940s until the end of the aforementioned entity, was not repeated. It is unique in its timing: it is the most appropriate for the establishment of a Palestinian government. Unique in its members and its National Council: they were the leaders of the Palestinian struggle during the thirty years that preceded it, unique in their independence: in light of Arab governments closely linked to colonialism and its goals, unique in their position: they were launched from inside Palestine, as they were unique in their assassination: friend and enemy were swarmed against them Everyone has their own ambitions and aspirations, hence the importance of this topic.

The research aims to define the prelimination of establishing the government, and the influencing factors. It also aims to show the prelimination of the end of the government and the governing factors. The researcher followed the historical research method, and the research consists of two chapters:

1- The first chapter dealt with the establishment of the All-Palestine Government (prelimination and factors).

2- The second chapter dealt with the end of the All-Palestine Government (prelimination and factors).

Chapter 1

The Establishment of the All-Palestine Government (Prelimination and Factors)

The First Topic: The Arab Higher Committee and the Palestinian Entity:

Under the auspices of the Council of the League of Arab States held in Bludan, Syria, the "Higher Arab Commission"[1]was formed on 12/06/1946 by four people: Ahmed Helmy Abdel-Baqi and Hussein Fakhri Al-Khalidi (representatives of the Arab Supreme Front). Jamal Al-Husseini and Emile Al-Ghouri (representatives of the Arab Higher Committee), and it was decided to allocate the presidency to Haj Amin Al-Husseini[2].

The Higher Arab Commission considered Cairo as its main center in which members who are prohibited from entering Palestine work. It has also taken in Jerusalem another center where members who are in Palestine work. The commission managed the national cause about two years after its establishment, as the Anglo-American policy was working in understanding with the Jews to achieve their control over Palestine. So the commission organized the ranks of the people of Palestine and prepared them for the upcoming battle with the Jews and worked to provide them with weapons and equipment despite the lack of resources and the British authorities' ban on that. In Egypt, the Commission established several factories, workshops, and stores for repairing, maintaining and storing weapons. It also established a factory for packing ammunition in Damascus and warehouses in Damascus, Beirut, Sidon, Salloum, Marsa Matrouh, Al-Hamam and Al-Arish, and the same in Palestine.

The commission also established the Holy Jihad Army, led by Abdul Qadir Al-Husseini and others who trained militarily in Iraq and Germany. During the Palestine war in 1948, the commission rented some Yemeni planes, but Yemen loaned them three planes to transport weapons free of charge, and members of the commission toured Europe, America and others to defend the Palestinian cause[3].

When the forces of Jordan under the leadership of Glob Pasha took control of the area between Hebron and Jenin, King Abdullah, in his capacity as the commander-in-chief of the Arab armies, announced the dissolution of the Holy Jihad Army, and ordered the confiscation of its weapons and equipment and the pursuit of many of its soldiers and officers, and abolished the Arab Supreme Commission, and worked to drain its resources by laying his hand on taxes and endowment funds[4], the commission was forced to close its center in Jerusalem and consolidate its position in Damascus, Beirut and Gaza, in addition to its main center in Cairo[5].

When Britain announced its intention to abandon its mandate over Palestine and referred its case to the United Nations, the Arab Higher Committee led by Amin al-Husseini realized the importance of preparing for the event and finding a constitutional framework to fill the void that would result from the end of the mandate. So, Amin Al-Husseini proposed a project for an Arab Palestinian government to the Arab League Council, which was held in Aley, Lebanon on 10/07/1947. Al-Hussaini attended it without an invitation. Al-Husseini's presence was opposed, and his proposal was rejected by the representatives of Iraq and Jordan, claiming that the Mufti's leadership would be confronted with widespread opposition around the world[6].

The Arab Commission reinstated its proposal to the League of Arab States following the issuance of the partition decision, which was in early February 1948, to approve a Palestinian government to take

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[1]See details about the composition of the Arab Higher Committee: Izzat Tannous, The Palestinians (a Glorious Past and a Brilliant Future) , Part One, Research Center, Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut, 1982, pp. 302-3.

[2] Governorate, Ali, Palestinian Political Thought before 1948, The Palestinian Encyclopedia – Part Two, The Palestinian Encyclopedia Authority, Beirut, 1990, Part 3, p. 551.

[3] Muhammad Amin Al-Husseini, (Al-Hajj), Facts about the Palestine Question: stated by: Hajj Muhammed Amin Al-Husseini, Mufti of Palestine (chief Muslim Islamic legal religious authority) and Head of the Arab Higher Commission, Office of the Higher Arab Commission for Palestine, Cairo, 1373 AH / 1954 AD, pages 84-94.

[4] 4Muhammad Adnan Bakhit (supervision), Abdullah Bin Al-Hussein Papers – Palestine 1948, Fifth Volume – Section Three, Amman: Center for Documentation and Studies of the Levant, University of Jordan, 2015, Document No. (42/358 and 41/358) Dated May 12, 1948, p. 58; Document No. (208/358) dated May 17, 1948, pp. 142-3.

[5] Al-Husseini, Facts about the Palestine Question, pp. 84-94.

[6] Sakhnini, Issam, Palestine, the State (The Roots of the Question in Palestinian History), Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1985, p. 217.

over the affairs of public administration at the end of the mandate on May 15, 1948. It also proposed the establishment of a temporary system in the country in the name of the "General Palestinian Administration" consisting of the Arab Higher Authority for Palestine in its capacity as the spokesperson for the Palestinian people, with the recognition of the British Mandate[7], and the United Nations, as well as the Arab League, and the proposal came as follows:

A public administration will be established in Palestine, consisting of the Higher Arab Commission for Palestine, to declare the independence of Palestine as a democratic state as soon as the mandate ends on May 15, 1948, but the League of Arab States did not approve the project, so the commission renewed its claim again in April 1948, and it was repeated university rejection[8].

The Arab countries did not know the way to deal with Palestine when the British Mandate ends, while Syria and the Palestinian national movement called for the necessity of resorting to a military solution in favor of the Arabs. Saudi Arabia and Egypt opposed this trend, while Jordan sees military intervention as an opportunity to seize and annex parts of Palestine. King Abdulaziz bin Saud advised the Palestinian delegation at the Bludan Conference in 1946, not to be deceived by the Arabs' statements that they would liberate Palestine, and that the Palestinians should fulfill the duty of liberation and the Arabs should support them[9].

After the Jews announced the establishment of their state in May 1948, the Arab Higher Committee renewed its request for the establishment of a Palestinian government, fearing a political vacuum in the areas designated for Arabs in the partition decision. Instead of responding to its demand, the Arab governments proceeded to establish a weak civil administration, which angered the Arab Authority and considered this an interference in its private affairs and an attempt to distance it from the leadership of the national movement, especially since its opinion was not taken and the administration did not include the country's higher political affairs[10].

The Second Topic: The Temporary Civil Administration Project in Palestine:

On the night of July 10, 1948, the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States announced the decision of the League's Political Committee to establish a temporary civil administration to run public civil affairs and necessary services, without political competencies[11].

The administration was taken over by a board consisting of a president and nine members, each of whom supervised a civil department[12], and did not include foreign affairs. The administration's work extends to all areas subject to or to be subject to Arab armies, based on the laws that were in force at the end of the British Mandate, guided by the directives of the Arab League Council[13].

The Political Committee wanted the civil administration to be meager by its demand for full economy, and by not specifying the type of the money that it would hand over to the administration, whether it was a loan or a gift, thus it allow for the purchase of this administration by the greedy in Arab countries that would support it financially, as well as the financial control of the administration, which clearly shows definitely seeking to dominate it and tie it financially.

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[7] The British delegate stood before the investigation committee, defending the right of the Arab Higher Commission to represent the Palestinians, saying: (Although the Arab Higher Commission is not considered an official recognized body like the Jewish Agency, but the truth is that the Arab Higher Commission is the only body that represents the Arabs of Palestine without a doubt) See: Al-Ahmad, Najib, Palestine Historically and Struggle, Dar Al-Jalil Publishing, Amman, 1985 AD, pp. 349-350.

[8] Sakhnini, State of Palestine, pp. 217-218.

[9] Ibrahim Ibrash, The National Dimension of the Palestinian Issue (Palestine between Arab Nationalism and Palestinian Nationalism), Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 1987. Pp. 78-79.

[10] ibid and pg.

[11] The League of Arab States: The General Administration of Palestine Affairs, "The Main Documents in the Question of Palestine," Group Two, 1947-1950 AD, Atlas Press, League of Arab States, Cairo, (D.T) pp. 152-154.

[12] The announcement was not stated in the name of the Arab Higher Committee, and perhaps that was a deliberate skipping from it. See: George Jabbour, The Arab Dimension of the Palestinian Issue, Palestinian Encyclopedia – Part Two, Part V, Encyclopedia Authority, Beirut 1990, p. 806.

[13] It did not differentiate between Palestinian areas close to these or those Arab countries. See: Jabour, ibid and the page. The text of the third item can be understood that the Civil Administration is an autonomous rule for the Arabs of Palestine under Arab occupation by Arab armies.

The Board of Directors consisted of Ahmed Helmy Pasha as Chairman of the Council, Jamal Al Husseini for Internal Security, Awni Abdel Hadi for Social Affairs, Hussein Fakhri Al-Khalidi for Health Services, Suleiman Toukan for Transportation, Ali Hasna for the Judiciary, Raja'i Al Husseini for the National Economy, Youssef Zion for Publicity Affairs, and Amin Akl for Agricultural Affairs[14].

Under this project, the Civil Administration was stripped of the minimum degree of independence in action, and was linked to the Arab League and the Arab governments participating in the Palestine war. Despite the political marginalization of the Civil Administration, it did not see the light. Clashes renewed after the expiry of the first armistice on 07/09/1948, only one day after the decision was taken regarding the Civil Administration, and a day before the decision was officially announced[15].

Perhaps the disapprove of the Arab Higher Committee to approve the aforementioned and modified project from what it proposed is another reason for its failure, or because of the rapid developments in the general situation in Palestine and the circumstances of the war[16].

The Third Topic: the Establishment of the All-Palestine Government

The idea of establishing an Arab government in Palestine dates back to the meeting of the Higher Arab Commission in Cairo on January 6, 1948, in which the commission declared the launch of the first step in creating a political system in the region by forming national committees, and decided to take other steps by forming a general national administration for all of Palestine during month and it has a general national council[17].

Jamal Al-Husseini (Vice-President of the Commission) explained that a General National Council will be formed from members of the Higher Arab Authority, heads of various municipal councils, heads of local councils in villages, and representatives of national committees in the districts (regions), and their representation will be at the rate of one representative for every 20,000 citizens, With the aim of assisting the League of Arab States and supervising the conduct of defensive work for Palestine, receiving donations, subscribing and spending them. Where the new Palestinian government will first meet in Cairo or Beirut (as its headquarters) until it is stationed in an area within the Arab Triangle in Palestine (Nablus, Tulkarm, Jenin) and that it will not recognize the partition resolution of 1947, and it will undertake public services in the region, and it will discuss the issue of partition with the United Nations Committee in charge of this[18].

The decision of the Arab League to establish a temporary civil administration came to hinder and circumvent the project to establish a Palestinian Arab government. Thus, the Palestinians remained excluded from participating in the formulation of decisions related to Palestine until the Arab League felt the need for a Palestinian entity to represent Palestine before the General Assembly of the United Nations, which will convene in Paris in the spring of 1949. Then, it discussed the issue of the Palestinian entity again in its meetings in September 1948, and the representatives of Jordan declared their strong opposition to declaring an independent Palestinian entity, so Palestinian delegates toured the Arab capitals to convince their rulers of the necessity of declaring an Arab government in Palestine (as they did shortly after the idea was presented in January). Arab governments approved the idea, with the exception of Jordan. It was soon approved by the Political Committee of the Arab League without Jordan's approval; This is due to the relevance and legitimacy of the idea, and considered that its implementation belongs to the Palestinian people alone. If they implement it, the Arab governments will recognize it and help them financially and morally[19] .

Iraq did not accept the idea of a Palestinian government headed by Amin al-Husseini, but it did not adopt Jordan's position after popular support for it declined. Meanwhile, the regent of Iraq worked

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[14] See: The League of Arab States, Key Documents in the Palestine Question, pp. 152-154.
[15] Sakhnini, Palestine the State, p. 219.
[16] The Palestinian Encyclopedia – Part One, Part Three, p. 342-3.
[17] Palestine Newspaper, Year 31 Issue 261-6808 on Wednesday 07/01/1948 AD, Microfilm No. 123681 (70)
[18] Ibid, No. 262-6809 on 01/09/1948.
[19]Hassan Saab, The Palestinian Issue in the League of Arab States, The Palestinian Encyclopedia – Part Two, Part 5, pg. 919.

hard to solidify his Arab nationalist credentials by taking a strong stand against partition, even trying to persuade King Abdullah to accept the All-Palestine government "temporarily" that the new government would fail and that Arab Palestine would be obligated to go to Transjordan at the end ultimate[20].

The proposals of the international mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, on September 2, 1948, prompted some Arab parties to agree to form a Palestinian government to prevent the implementation of his proposals calling for the implementation of partition with directions to annex the Arab section to Transjordan. Egypt was one of the first of these countries to reject the idea of annexation, which made the Political Committee of the League of Arab States agree on September 8, 1948, to Egypt's request for the establishment of a Palestinian government[21].

Bernadotte's recommendations were consistent with the directions of the British government, and implicitly accepted by the American government, which saw that the annexation of the Arab part of Palestine to Jordan would create a viable state, eliminate Amin al-Husayni and his followers, allow the establishment of a Jewish state[22], be acceptable to both the British and the Jews, and serve American interests.

Thus, we find that the reasons and factors behind the establishment of the All-Palestine Government are:

1- The desire and vision of the Arab Higher Committee to create a Palestinian entity that would fill the political and administrative vacuum left by Britain.

2- The desire of the Arab Higher Authority to assist the League of Arab States and to supervise the conduct of defense work for Palestine.

3- A number of Arab countries rejected Bernadotte's project to annex Arab lands from Palestine (according to partition) to Transjordan, and Egypt specifically rejected King Abdullah's ambitions to annex parts of Palestine to Jordan.

4- The desire of the Arab League to placate Arab public opinion, and for fear of criticizing governments for their failure to protect the Palestinians, and to absolve themselves of the results of the war for fear of popular anger, and the withdrawal of their armies[23].

The temporary civil administration met in Gaza City on September 22, 1948, and Ahmed Helmy Abdel-Baqi* informed the Arab governments and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States of declaring all of Palestine and its known borders before the end of the British Mandate over it as an independent state and the establishment of a government in it known as the All-Palestine Government on democratic foundations[24]. The All-Palestine Government has also informed the Arab governments that refuse to annex the West Bank to Transjordan, and have taken Gaza as its headquarter[25].

The Higher Arab Commission decided to form the National Council of personalities and bodies that have a representative character, given the difficulty of holding general elections in Palestine due to the outbreak of the war[26]. Accordingly, the Prime Minister of the Government, Ahmed Helmy Abdel-

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[20]Shlaim, Avi. "The Rise and Fall of the All-Palestine Government in Gaza." Journal of Palestine Studies, vol. 20, no. 1, 1990, p. 46.

[21]Adeeb Salih Al-Lahibi, The All-Palestine Government, A Study of the Circumstances of Origin and the Mechanism of Collapse, SURRA MAN RA'A Magazine – Samarra University, Volume 8, Issue 29, Year 8, March 2012 AD, p. 44.

[22] Sandra Berliant Kadosh. (1984). United States Policy toward the West Bank in 1948. Jewish Social Studies, 46(3/4), 231, 233. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4467261

[23]Shlaim, Avi. "The Rise and Fall of the All-Palestine Government in Gaza." Journal of Palestine Studies, vol. 20, no. 1, 1990, p. 40, 45

* Born in Sidon in 1882, he was appointed Minister of Finance in Syria during the reign of Faisal in 1918. See a brief biography of him in: Al-Nakba, by Al-Arif, vol. 3, p. 704. It was said that he is of Bosnian origin. See: Sir Alec kirk bride: From the wings: Amman Memoirs 1947- 1951, chapter 5: "The Government of All Palestine", Frank Cass: London (no date) p.56-69

[24] The League of Arab States, Key Documents in the Palestine Question, Document No. 43, p. 454.

[25] Saab, The Palestinian Issue in the League of Arab States, p. 919.

[26]Sakhnini, Palestine the State, pp. 202-221; and Abu al-Naml, Hussein, Gaza Strip 1948-1967 CE, Economic, Political, Social and Military Developments, Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, April 1979, p. 21.

Baqi, invited 151 personalities to form the National Council. The invitation included the following bodies:

The Higher Arab Authority, members of the ministry, heads of municipal councils, heads of local and village councils, heads of chambers of commerce, accredited national committees, heads of unions of doctors, pharmacists, lawyers and engineers, heads of tribes and clans, members of political delegations that represented the country, heads of political parties, representatives of sectarian bodies such as the council The Supreme Islamic and the Orthodox Executive Committee and the Union of Christian Churches[27].

The conference was considered as close as possible to the representative character of the Palestinians, as:

A. The Arabs of Palestine recognized the Arab Higher Committee as their representative, as were the Arab governments, the British government and the United Nations**.

B. The last elections for municipal, local and village councils in Palestine took place in 1946/1947.

C. The national committees were formed at the end of the year 1947 and the beginning of the year 1948, with the knowledge of the people of the regions in which they were established and with their agreement and according to a special system established by the Arab Higher Committee[28].

D. Representing all segments of society, especially the educated, through professional syndicates, political parties, sectarian representations, representatives of political delegations, and heads of clans.

The Palestinian National Council held its first meeting in Gaza on September 30, 1948, with the attendance of 85 people, and the attendance rose the next day to 97 people[29].

It was said that the number of attendees reached 87 members, and 63 others were absent, including 7 members who did not receive the invitation cards, 28 members who apologized for not attending but announced their support for the conference, and the majority of those who could not attend were representatives of the region under the influence of the Jordanian government who telegraphed to the Gaza conference saying: "We were prevented by the Jordanian authority from coming to Gaza, we support you and the members of your government." Instead of allowing the delegates of Jericho to attend its military governor transferred them to Amman to attend the sham meeting that took place at it[30].

The attendance was distributed on the first day as follows: 8 of them were members of the Arab Higher Committee, 10 from mayors, 14 from the heads of local councils, 21 from the representatives of the national committees, 12 from the members of delegations that were delegated in the past to defend the Palestinian cause in Europe, 6 from Clan sheikhs, 4 representatives of the Syndicates of Engineers, Doctors, Pharmacists and Lawyers[31]. Perhaps the remaining ten are members of the new government.

The Palestinian National Council, meeting in Gaza City on October1,1948, announced the decision of the independence of all of Palestine based on the basic and historical right of the Palestinian Arab people[32]. Most of the Palestinians, especially the refugees, received the news with great joy. For the first time in their lives, they heard about a Palestinian government, which kindled in them a glimmer of hope amidst all the gloom and torment of the previous year, and they also received Hajj Amin al-Husseini with festive performances[33].

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[27] Sakhnini, State of Palestine, p. 221.
** Jordan used to recognize the Arab Higher Committee as the representative of the Arabs of Palestine until the Jordanian armies entered Palestine in May 1948, when King Abdullah announced his non-recognition of the Arab Higher Committee, and confirmed this at the Amman Conference on 10/1/1948, see Abu al-Naml, p. 21.
[28] Abu al-Naml, Gaza Strip, pp. 21-22.
[29] Sakhnini, Palestine, the State, p. 221.
[30] Abu al-Naml, Gaza Strip, p. 22.
[31] Aref Al-Arif, The Nakba: The Nakba of Jerusalem and the Lost Paradise 1947-1952 AD, Part Three, Al-Asriya Library, Sidon, Beirut, (d.T), p.703.
[32] The League of Arab States, The Main Documents in the Palestine Question, Group Two, Document No. (44), p. 455.
[33] Shlaim, The Rise and Fall of the All-Palestine Government in Gaza, p. 42.

The head of the government was entrusted to Ahmed Helmy Pasha Abdel-Baqi, Jamal Al-Husseini as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Michel Epikarius as the Ministry of Finance, Awni Abdel-Hadi* the Ministry of Social Affairs, Raja'i Al-Hussaini as the Ministry of Defense, Dr. Hussein Fakhri Al-Khalidi as the Ministry of Health, and Suleiman Abdul Razzaq Toukan** the Ministry of Transportation. Dr. Foti Freij is the Ministry of Economy, Ali Hasna is the Ministry of Justice, Youssef Zion is the Ministry of Propaganda, and Amin Akl is the Ministry of Agriculture, and Anwar Nusseibeh is appointed as Secretary of the Council of Ministers[34]. It was reported that Akram Zuaiter was entrusted with the Ministry of Education[35].

The Council issued a statement declaring that the attempt to establish a Jewish state in Palestine is an act of aggression against all Arabs, with global Judaism aimed at undermining peace and disturbing security. The Council appeals to the Arab nation and the Islamic world, governments and peoples, to thwart it and take the hand of the Palestinian people in their work to save Palestine with all the determination and strength the Arabs have. The Council adopted the flag of the Hashemite Arab Revolt as the flag of the All-Palestine Government*, and approved a temporary constitution and an organ of the state[36].

The Temporary (Constitution) System

The Palestinian National Council approved a temporary system for the All-Palestine Government, which provides for the formation of the government from a National Council with a president and two deputies who together form the National Council, a Council of Ministers and a Supreme Council consisting of the President of the National Council as President and the Prime Minister, and the President of the Supreme Court as members, and the formation of a National Defense Council from the President of the National Council, the Prime Minister and Minister of National Defense. Protocol powers of the Supreme Council were determined[37].

Under this system, Haj Amin al-Husseini, who had been elected as Speaker of the National Council, became President of the Supreme Council. The council also gave its confidence to the ministry by a majority of 64 votes against eight votes against, and 11 demanded to postpone the vote of confidence until after the discussion of the system[38]. The government gained confidence, based on a ten-point work program that it presented, the most important of which are:

1- Palestine be declared with its well-known board as on 15 May 1948, an independent democratic government of national sovereignty and capital of Jerusalem.

 2- Mobilizing the forces of the nation to save Palestine and responded aggression.

 3- Care for the sons of martyrs and their families and injured by militants.

4- Organizing the lives of refugees from the nation and securing their needs and returned to their places[39].

The National Council rejected the Jews' attempt to establish a state for them in Palestine, rejected the report of Count Folke Bernadotte, and called for general conscription and the consolidation of the laws that prevailed before the end of the Mandate with the formation of a committee to revise them, and authorizing the government to make financial loans of no more than five million pounds[40].

Most of the Arabs of Palestine welcomed these decisions, with the exception of the mayor of Hebron, Beit Sahour, Beit Jala and Bethlehem[41]. On October 15, 1948, three Arab governments recognized the government of Palestine: Lebanon, Syria, and Saudi Arabia[42], as well as recognition All Arab

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* He accepted the ministry and then resigned.
 ** Not accepted by the Ministry.
[34] Al-Arif, The Nakba, vol.3, pp. 704-705.
[35] Al-Ahmad, Palestine: History and Struggle, p. 538.
[36] Saab, The Palestinian Issue in the League of Arab States, Volume 5, pg. 920.
* That is, the three colors are horizontal (green, white, and black) and the red triangle is without stars. See: Main Documents, pg. 455.
[37] The League of Arab States, Key Documents in the Palestine Question, Document No. (44), pp. 457-458.
[38] Sakhnini, Palestine State, p. 222.
[39] Ibid., p. 223; Abu al-Naml, Gaza Strip, p. 23.
[40] Abu al-Naml, Gaza Strip, p. 23; Sakhnini, State of Palestine, p. 223.
[41] Munira Daoud Maali, The Role of Hebron in the Palestinian National Movement 1917-1948, unpublished MA thesis, supervised by Dr. Abdul Qader Jabarin, Hebron University, Hebron, 2011, p. 170.
[42] Al-Arif, The Nakba, Part 3, pg. 706.

governments except Jordan[43], as recognized by the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan[44]. The government was invited to represent Arab Palestine in the session of the Arab League Council, which was held on October 30, 1948, and the Council decided to refer some issues related to Palestine to it[45]. And a leadership for the management of combat affairs was formed from the southern region[46], as there was military coordination between the units of the Holy Jihad Army operating in southern Palestine and the Egyptian forces, so that they were militarily affiliated with the Egyptian forces, and administratively by the Ministry of Defense in the All-Palestine Government[47].

Chapter II

The End of the All-Palestine Government Prelimination and Factors

The First Topic: the Positions of the Arab Countries towards the Establishment of the All-Palestine Government:

The governments of the Arab countries, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen, recognized the All-Palestine Government government, but the Jordanian government did not[48].

But the recognition by those governments of the All-Palestine Government did not mean anything in reality, as this government did not exercise its sovereignty over Palestine due to the Zionists, Egypt and Jordan sharing the lands of Palestine, which is supposed to be under the sovereignty of the All-Palestine Government, just as the United Nations did not recognize it[49].

- **Egypt's Position:**

Some believe that it was the Egyptian government that allowed the establishment of a Palestinian Arab government, and that it supported, financed and protected it so that this government would gain the support of the Palestinians, in an effort by the Egyptian government to influence King Abdullah's ambitions in Jordan, which aim to annex what can be liberated from Palestine to Transjordan[50], or to defy Jordan[51].

There are those who saw that Egypt had set up the government of Gaza and supported the Mufti* to find a pretext for its withdrawal from Palestine. As soon as Egypt withdraws, it will not care much about whether the Mufti government remains or not, meaning that its support will only be at the moment of its withdrawal so that it can say that it has handed over Palestine to a government of its sons[52].

Others believe that Egypt does not want to occupy southern Palestine, but rather wants to install a government of its own making so that it will be in control of it**, and in this case, the Egyptian regular army will withdraw, and Egypt will continue its support for the Mufti with money, propaganda, weapons and instructions…etc. In other word, Egypt It will impose a mandate on the management of the Mufti[53].

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[43] The Palestinian Encyclopedia – Part One, Part 3, p. 343.

[44] Anwar Juma'a Abu Mor, The Historical Development of the Palestinian State Project 1964-1999, an unpublished master's thesis, supervised by Dr. Nihad Sheikh Khalil, The Islamic University of Gaza, 2014, p. 31.

[45] Muhammad Ali Allouba, Palestine and its Neighbors: Causes and Consequences, Cairo: The Arab Bayan Committee, 1954, p. 149; Saab, The Palestinian Issue in the League of Arab States, Part 5, pg. 920.

[46] Al-Arif, The Nakba, Part 3, pg. 707.

[47] Ibid and pg.

[48] Mahdi Abd al-Hadi, The Palestinian Question and Projects for Political Solutions 1934-1974 AD, Al-Mataba al-Asriyya Publications, Saida, Beirut, 1975, p. 173.

[49] Abrash, The National Dimension of the Palestinian Cause, p. 81.

[50] Kirk bride, 'The Government All-Palestine', chapter 5, p.58-61.

[51] Saab, The Palestinian Issue in the League of Arab States, Part 5, p. 921.

* This agrees with the opinion of the British Ambassador in Amman, who accompanied the establishment of the All-Palestine Government during the performance of his job, and he is Ambassador Alec Keer Kibride.

[52] Governorate, Muhammad Ahmad Suleiman, Jordanian-Palestinian Relations: Politics, Economic and Social, 1939-1951, Dar Al-Furqan and Dar Ammar, Amman, 1983, p. 191.

** It also agrees with the opinion of the British Ambassador, Alec Keer Kipride, in Amman, which he mentioned in his book (From the wings).

[53] Muhammad Ahmad Governorate, Jordanian-Palestinian Relations: Politics, Economic and Social, 1939-1951, Dar Al-Furqan and Dar Ammar, Amman, 1983, p. 191.

- **Iraq's Position:**

Iraq's position was in favor of a Palestinian government on the condition that it would not be led by Mufti Amin Al-Husseini, given Al-Husseini's participation in supporting Rashid Ali Al-Kilani's revolution against the Hashemite rule in Iraq in 1941, however, he did not respond to the pressures of King Abdullah in Jordan[54]. Perhaps because Iraq sought to obtain a financial loan from Egypt, it gave verbal consent, but it did not hand over Nablus to be run by the government of all of Palestine, which is important and practical, and that handing it over to Nablus will not comfort the government, as the connection of Nablus with Gaza will be cut only through the Israeli occupation or Jordan, and its withdrawal from Nablus will facilitate the occupation of the Arab army and the expulsion of the Mufti factor there[55].

The British Foreign Office tried to raise the fears of the guardian of the throne of Iraq that any growth in the power of Amin al-Husseini and his government would be at the expense of the Hashemite family that rules Iraq and Jordan, and that the annexation of parts of Palestine to Jordan is also in Iraq's interest[56].

- **Jordan's Position:**

Although the Arab governments understood the necessity of establishing the new government and agreed to that on September 23, 1948, King Abdullah resisted the establishment of the new government and his resistance to it developed into an open campaign against it. He considered the Arab position in support of it as a kind of renunciation of responsibility[57], describing the leadership of the Palestinian government as the gang that the people of Palestine detest, and blaming them for the disaster of Palestine[58], and with this pretext he paralyzed the work of the Holy Jihad Army of the All-Palestine Government in the areas under the control of Arab Legion[59].

King Abdullah sought to hold another Palestinian conference in Amman, headed by Sheikh Suleiman Al-Taji Al-Farouqi, on the same day that the Gaza Conference was held on 10/1/1948. Where the meeting in Amman denied that the conference in Gaza represented the Palestinian people, and the king held a second conference in Jericho on 01/12/1948, headed by Sheikh Muhammad Ali Al-Jabari, mayor of Hebron, in which the unity of the Palestinian and Jordanian lands was announced, and Abdullah pledged allegiance to King of Palestine. At the end of December of the same year, the king gathered a third conference in Ramallah, in which the conferees supported the decisions of the Jericho Conference and called for taking measures to ensure the implementation of those decisions, and King Abdullah toured parts of Palestine during which he took the pledge of allegiance to himself[60].

In fact, a few delegations swearing allegiance to the king were self-starting; It was the military rulers in Transjordan who helped collect signatures and send delegations to Amman. The Jordanian regime also used bribery to urge some supporters of the "Mufti" government to transfer their loyalty to King Abdullah[61]. The Jordanian army commander, Globe Pasha and his aides also facilitated the transportation of the people to attend these conferences[62].

King Abdullah of Jordan explained the reasons for his resistance to the establishment of the All-Palestine Government in a letter to Mahmoud Fahmy al-Naqrashi Pasha (Prime Minister of Egypt) and to the Arab League, focusing on the following:

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[54]Shlaim, The Rise and Fall of the All-Palestine Government in Gaza, p. 45
[55] Governorate, Jordanian-Palestinian Relations, p. 191, which reflects the British interpretation of Iraq's ambiguous position contained in the Fo document. 371/68642.
[56] Shlaim, The Rise and Fall of the All-Palestine Government in Gaza, p. 46
[57] Bakhit, The Hashemite Documents, Volume Five, Section Two, Document No. (133-b), dated 9/30/1948 AD, p. 106.
[58]Ibid., Volume Five, Section Two, Document No. (127 – AH), dated October 4, 1948 AD, p. 108.
[59]Shlaim, The Rise and Fall of the All-Palestine Government in Gaza, p. 48
[60] The Palestinian Encyclopedia – Part One, Part 3, p. 343.
[61]Shlaim, The Rise and Fall of the All-Palestine Government in Gaza, p. 44
[62] Ma'ali, Dor al-Khalil, 173.

1. We fear for the safety and status of our country from any weak state that may be formed in Palestine, that belongs to the Arabs and becomes weak for survival or that the Jews take possession of it, which is mainly a British argument[63].

2. Or, once it has been adapted, it will be recognized by the organization of nations that recognized the Jews, so partition will be a fait accompli, which is what we fought against.

3. In order to prevent the people of Palestine from blocking the road, they have scattered the hands of Sheba in choosing for themselves what they want after the dilemma is over[64].

4. In a press interview, he also called for dissolving the All-Palestine Government itself, leaving the Egyptian forces took control of Gaza, and the Jordanian army took control of the West Bank[65].

Jordanian documents refer to a state of convulsion that afflicted the Jordanian king and the Jordanian government following the announcement of the establishment of the All-Palestine Government, it was filled with slanderous terms and accusations of alienation from patriotism, an insistence on dwarfing it as a one-party government that is popularly hated, and it has been issuing orders and instructions to prevent dealing with it in any way, and to pursue its supporters in the areas under Jordanian control of Palestine. And in an illogical justification, the Jordanian government considered itself more worthy of Palestine and its people than the Palestinian government whose establishment was supervised by the Higher Arab Commission representing the Arabs of Palestine. Rather, it accused Ahmed Helmy of wasting the money of the people of Lod, and demanded the Egyptian government to hand him over to Amman for accountability, and threatened to withdraw from the Arab League and withdraw from the Palestinian territories controlled by the Jordanian army[66], as if he was doing the Arabs and Palestinians a favor.

When Israel launched its massive attack on southern Palestine on October 15. , Jordan stood by and watched, distancing itself, hoping that this attack would lead to the downfall of the chances of survival of the "Gaza government", which means its acceptance of Israel's occupation of Gaza and the Negev on the condition that it will be transferred to a Palestinian government[67].

Thus, the recognition of the Arab countries in the All-Palestine Government became the same whether or not there was no benefit from it on Palestine, and King Abdullah was able to achieve his goals by annexing the West Bank, embodying the division of Palestine, but not into two parts,into three parts, one with the Jews, one with Egypt, and a division with Jordan.

The Second Topic: The End of the All-Palestine Government:

The support of the Arab countries for the Palestinian government was not sufficient if a simple popular government was to be formed. As a result of external pressures, the support of the Arab League began to decline[68], and the government of Palestine was not invited to attend the meeting of the League Council in October 1949, although it was invited to the meeting that preceded it in November 1948. With the endeavor of Mustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, the government of Palestine was invited to attend the meeting that took place in March 1950, despite Jordan's protest, and the expenses of the National Council and the Government of All Palestine since its formation until the end of 1949 amounted to 21,054 thousand pounds, the Arab Commission paid it out of the sums collected in the name of (the Palestinian cause). In 1952, the Jordanian government asked the Arab League to withdraw its recognition of the All-Palestine Government, but the League rejected this request and decided:

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[63] Op Cit, p. 46

[64] Al-Arif, Al-Nakba vol.3, p. 708. Al-Arif had seen this book from King Abdullah the day after he sent it to him; Governorate, Jordanian-Palestinian Relations, p. 194.

[65] Khalaf Khazar Al-Khraisha, King Abdullah bin Al-Hussein and the Palestinian cause – Documents, Qudsiya for Publishing and Distribution, Irbid, Jordan, 1991, p. 65

[66] Bakhit, The Hashemite Documents, Volume Five, Section Two, Document No. (121 - H), p. 109; Document No. (119-H), p. 110; Document No. (50-A) dated 10/12/1948, p. 111-2; Document No. (19-H), p. 124; Document No. (45-D), p. 130.

[67] Shlaim, The Rise and Fall of the All-Palestine Government in Gaza, p. 48

[68] Shaima Muhammad Abd al-Hadi Shehab, international recognition and its impact on the political and diplomatic status of the State of Palestine, an unpublished master's thesis, supervised by: Prof. Abd al-Rahman Abu al-Nasr, Academy of Administration and Politics, Gaza, 2016, p. 73.

1- Maintaining it, provided that its formations are limited to the Prime Minister, who is Ahmed Hilmi Pasha, and its General Secretary Jamil Al-Sarraj, and four employees: Tahsin Al Hadath, who was entrusted with the affairs of refugees and the subsidies paid to them, Abdel Fattah Al Sharif, who was entrusted with the affairs of Palestinian students, and Ihsan Sorour (Passports), and Adeeb Al-Ansari (writer).

2- The abolition of the ministries that made up the government when it was formed, after the formation of the government, the ministers had abolished, each of them working in an area:

   - Amin Aqel (Minister of Agriculture) was appointed as an employee at the League of Arab States.

   - Dr. Foti Freij (Minister of Health) opened a medical clinic in Heliopolis.

   - Michel Abka Rios (Minister of Finance) has become a lecturer at the American University of Beirut.

   - Raja'i Al-Husseini (Minister of Defense) was appointed as an advisor to the Ministry of Transportation in Saudi Arabia.

   - Youssef Zion (Minister of Propaganda) established a drug store in Cairo.

   - Anwar Nusseibeh (General Secretary) joined the Jordanian government and was appointed Minister of Education and Defense.

   - Ali Hasna (Minister of Justice) also joined the Jordanian government and was appointed as Deputy Minister of the Interior in the West Bank.

   - Jamal Al-Husseini (Foreign Minister) joined Ibn Saud and appointed him as an advisor to his government.

   - Awni Abdel Hadi (Minister of Social Affairs), Jordan's ambassador to Egypt.

3- The government budget was reduced to less than a quarter. After the university paid Prime Minister Ahmed Helmy Pasha 1,200 pounds a year, and each minister 720 pounds, it paid the president only his salary, as well as the new Secretary General Jamil Al-Sarraj, and the other four employees receive their salaries from the income of passports and they were collecting a hundred piasters for each passport.

From the beginning of its formation to the year 1954, the All-Palestine Government issued 11,400 passports, and these passports were recognized by the Afghan government and all Arab governments except Jordan[69] .

Four members of the Ministry of the All-Palestine Government out of ten left it and occupied positions in the Jordanian government:

   - Ali Hassan: Deputy Minister of Interior in Jordan, then Minister in 1952.

   - Dr.Hussein Fakhri Al-Khalidi: He practiced medicine for a while, then became the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Jordan in May 1953.

   - Awni Abdel Hadi: Ambassador of Jordan in Cairo on October 11, 1951, then Minister in 1956.

   - Akram Zuaiter: Minister of Education in the All-Palestine Government: He joined the service of the Jordanian government and then became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1966[70].

Thus, the role of the All-Palestine Government was reduced to three missions:

   1- The presence of its president in the meetings of the Arab League as a representative of the Arabs of Palestine.

   2- Issuing passports that it used to grant to those residing in Gaza Strip who requested them, and some Arab countries have recognized this.

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[69] Al-Arif, The Nakba, part 3, p. 710-711.
[70] Sakhniny, Palestine the State, pp. 231-232.

3-   Providing some special services to Palestinian citizens who request them, suchas mediating appointments in some Arab countries, and accepting some Palestinian students in the institutes of these countries[71].

It is worth noting that King Abdullah, after completing the annexation of the West Bank, in the period following the convening of the first Palestinian National Congress in Gaza, and after obtaining approval from the British government to share the Arab part of Palestine between him and the Egyptian government, with the approval of the British government for his aspirations to provide a port him in Gaza[72], he tried to reach a settlement with the Arab Higher Committee, according to which the Gaza Strip would be annexed to his kingdom. Jamal Al-Husseini, who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the All-Palestine Government, conveyed to Haj Amin Al-Husseini an offer from King Abdullah to accept the position of Viceroy in the Arab part of Palestine, including the Gaza region, this proposal was ignored due to the lack of confidence of the Supreme Arab Authority, and Amin al-Husseini, especially in King Abdullah and his intentions, especially after the Amman conference, and because the Egyptian government has full authority in the Gaza Strip and it is not easy to dispose of it in favor of Jordan in light of the historical conflict between Farouk and the Hashemites for leadership[73].

The budget of the All-Palestine Government, which it receives from the League of Arab States, has shrunk from 25 thousand pounds that should have been paid to the government at the beginning of its work, to 3 thousand Egyptian pounds in 1954, then 3,528 pounds in 1955, then 3,612 pounds in 1956, then 4,416 pounds in 1957, and the last budget reached Annually approved by the government for the period from 01/07/1964 to 30/06/1965, to an amount of 4,864 Egyptian pounds[74]. The government agucny at that time consisted of:

The Acting General Secretary of the Government (Ahmed Hilmi Pasha, Prime Minister of the Government had died in 1963) Adviser – Director of Passports – Director of Social Affairs – Assistant Director of Accounting – Assistant Director of Passports – Archive Clerk – Driver – Mattress – Guard – Reporter, and the said amount was allocated to the budget for its expenditure as salaries for these employees, with the exception of 96 pounds for telephones and telegrams, 120 pounds for publications and petty cash, 352 pounds for the rent of the government headquarters. The actual end of the government came with the death of its president, Ahmed Helmy on June 29, 1963[75].

The Third Topic: Factors of Failure of the All-Palestine Government:

Several Palestinian, Arab and international factors combined to thwart the All-Palestine Government project:

First: At the Palestinian Level (Subjective Factors):

1- Since the beginning of the Palestinian struggle, and with the occurrence of the British occupation and until the end of the Mandate, the Palestinian leadership represented in the Executive Committee, the Arab Higher Committee or the Arab Higher Committee did not feel the specificity of the Palestine issue and that it belongs to the Palestinians, rather, it believed that the issue of Palestine was primarily an Arab issue, and an Islamic issue in the second place. The All-Palestine Government came, despite its national independence, which drew the features of the special Palestinian entity, but it continued to deal with its cause on the basis that it is the cause of all Arabs, which made it wait for the recognition and approval of the Arab countries, represented by the Arab League, with this nascent government, and then move its headquarters to Cairo to be

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[71]Sakhniny, Palestine the State, pp. 232.

[72] Bakhit, The Hashemite Documents, Volume Five, Section Two, Document No. (136 – AH), dated January 23, 1949, p. 135.

[73] Abu al-Naml, Gaza Strip, p. 52.

[74]Issam Adwan, The Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah) 1958-1968, Madbouly Library, Cairo, 2010, p. 32.

[75] Sakhniny, Palestine the State, pp. 232-233.

close to the Arab League to follow up on its outstanding issues with it, the government may be excused for the good nationalist intentions it practiced, but the persistence in this nationalism was not appropriate in light of the colonial domination of the Arab countries.

2- The clear lesson from the experience of seeking assistance from the Arabs and the Arab governments during the Mandate period, especially in the 1930s, is that the Arab governments will not provide the Palestinians with more than moral support. As for arms, there is no possibility, and the Higher Arab Commission should have learned from this lesson, especially since the amount of financial and military aid that the Arab countries gave to Abdul Qadir Al-Husseini in 1947, when he took the initiative to fight the battle, clearly indicated that there was no hope for a military and war extension on the part of the Arabs. It is not a new experience and is supported by what happened in the revolution of 1936, which continued militarily until 1939, without Arab participation. Based on those experiences, the Arab Higher Committee, before presenting a project for a Palestinian Arab government, was supposed to provide it with sufficient needs away from all Arab aid linked to colonialism.

3- Disregarding the unity of the internal Palestinian ranks, as the British occupation the policy of (diviedand rule) divided the Palestinian national movement, for Suleiman Al-Taji Al-Faruqi, who had opposed the Husaynids since the beginning of the British Mandate and split from the Executive Committee, is the same one who split from the efforts of Palestinian independence, joining King Abdullah in The Amman Conference on 10/1/1948, and before the Arab Higher Committee decided to unify its Palestinian front so that it would not be divided between a supporter of the government and another who opposes it and supports unity with Jordan, as happened in Hebron[76].

4- The psychological defeat that the members of the ministry experienced in the All-Palestine government, even if Arab pressure was applied to this government, it disintegrated and its members dispersed to other works, and some of them turned to work with the governments of Arab countries that rejected the Palestinian entity project, and perhaps most of them were of nationalistic inclinations and tendencies, and those calling for Arab unity. So their hopes, especially after the failure of the All-Palestine Government and the restriction on it, met the hopes and ambitions of King Abdullah, who is seeking to establish an Arab state in Greater Syria.

5- Some believe that the procedures of the Arab Supreme Council to reject the partition decision were not sufficient, so it was necessary to establish a Palestinian government that would be ready when the mandate ended, and that this be done by taking the opinion of the majority of the people, not to leave matters to the Arab countries to manage them according to their interests and connections[77].

Second: At the Arab Level:

A. Jordanian Factors:

1- Jordan had a major role in thwarting the experience of the All-Palestine Government, which ended with elections for the National Assembly on the two banks on 04/24/1950 AD, which approved the establishment of complete unity between the two banks of Jordan in one state, the "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan." Britain recognized this unity, then Iraq followed[78].

2- King Abdullah, in his capacity as the Commander-in-Chief, announced the dissolution of the Holy Jihad Army and the abolition of the Arab Supreme Committee[79], and the Jordanian government ordered the demobilization of the Holy Jihad Army unless it was under the command of the Arab Army. The demobilization took place on 10/3/1948 AD, after it refused The Holy Jihad Army subsumed under the Arab Army[80], and thus the All-Palestine Government was emptied of its military content that strengthens its entity.

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[76]Maali, Dor al-Khalil, pp. 171-2.

[77] Henry Kitten, The Palestine Question, translated by Dr. Rushdi Al-Ashhab, Palestinian Ministry of Culture, Ramallah, 1999, p. 86.

[78]Jabbour, The Arab Dimension of the Palestinian Cause, Part 5, p. 807.

[79] Al-Husseini, Facts about the Palestine Question, p. 93,

[80] kirk, From the wings, p.59

3- King Abdullah considered arming the Palestinians under the leadership of Al-Husseini a threat to his old ambitions in Greater Syria, his interest met that of the British in keeping the Palestinians unarmed, and he declared his ambition inside and outside the Arab League[81].

Britain supported the accession of the Arab section of Palestine to Transjordan in several positions: in the report of the British Royal Commission in 1937, and in Bernadotte's Report in 1948. Thus, it gives the green light to King Abdullah to annex what the Arab army forces seized from Palestine to Jordan, which is what happened[82]. This meaning was made clear in several reports, including the report of the British High Commissioner in Jerusalem to the British Foreign Office on 30/09/1948, in which he analyzed the situation regarding the possibility of annexing the Arab part of Palestine to King Abdullah and how to achieve this goal[83].

B. Egyptian Factors:

1- There is no evidence that the Egyptian government, when it entered the Palestine war, intended to annex parts of it to Egyptian sovereignty, and it took the initiative to impose an Egyptian mandate in place of the British mandate from the moment it entered the Gaza Strip, the General Administrative Governor arrived in Gaza on May 27, 1948, to exercise his powers with the help of a number of Border Force officers, and employees seconded from the various Egyptian ministries. And when a temporary Palestinian civil administration was announced in July 1948, nothing changed, and the Palestinian administration remained just names announced, which is the same deal with the All-Palestine Government, which, as soon as the meetings of the Palestinian National Council ended in Gaza, the Egyptian authorities tightened their grip on Hajj Amin al-Husseini, to limit his activity in the Gaza Strip, then summoned him to Cairo in a manner similar to arrest on October 17, 1948, and placed him under house arrest in Cairo, in preparation for the end of the war and the signing of the Treaty of Rhodes, which took place on February 24, 1949, and it was wanted the Gaza Strip to remain silent so as not to affect the treaty, which explains the termination and freezing of the forces of the Holy Jihad Army in the Gaza Strip before signing the treaty, with financial restrictions on the Palestinian government[84], and preventing the Mufti (who is the head of the Supreme Council of the Government) from entering Gaza nor visiting the refugee camps there.. Everything was done in preparation for the Rhodes Treaty and the settlement of the case.

2-It seems that the general trend prevailing in the region, including Egypt, and United Nations is that the Palestinian issue is settled through a comprehensive solution that guarantees security and stability for the nascent Israel, and that Egypt necessarily assumes an essential role, such as the one that Jordan played towards this settlement, and this is supported by the following facts:

- Britain, which was practically ruling Egypt, was the one who worked to find compromise political solutions to Palestine Question. In 1920s, it proposed to the Arabs of Palestine the establishment of an Arab agency for them as well as for the Jews, and its various investigation committees recommended the partition of Palestine.

- The establishment of an Arab Palestinian government and its preoccupation with the Palestinian reality means the renewal of the Palestinian cause for which settlement was intended. It was necessary for the Arab countries, such as Egypt and Jordan, to play a role in ending the Palestinian entity and dissolving the Palestinian identity and dealing with the Palestinians as refugees, which is the policy followed by the United Nations in settlement projects for Palestinian refugees in cooperation with Egypt (such as the North Sinai project for housing and resettlement of refugees), and resettlement of refugees in Jordan as an alternative homeland.

- Israel's military, human and economic capabilities were not capable of occupying the densely populated Gaza Strip, and the West Bank with its vastness and population density as well, so it agreed to a temporary truce for it and permanent for the Arabs, which is the Rhodes Agreement of 1949, even if Israel managed to occupy those areas, it occupied them and that was In 1967, it ended the role of Egypt and Jordan after 1967.

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[81] Saab, The Palestinian Issue in the League of Arab States, vol. 5, p. 917.
[82] Johanna Caldwell, Inter-Arab Rivalry and the All-Palestine Government of 1948, Jerusalem Quarterly 62, p. 59.
[83] Governorate, Jordanian-Palestinian Relations, p. 187-188 for document No. Fo.371/68642
[84] Sakhnini, Palestine Al-Dawla, pp. 225-228; And Abu al-Naml, Gaza Strip, pp. 24-29.

_ Egypt did not send its forces to Palestine to liberate it, but rather in anticipation of the general sentiments among the masses that were calling for armed intervention against Zionism, as well as the competition of the Muslim Brotherhood who sent their volunteers to Palestine[85].

_ The policy of the Arab armies to strip the volunteer Arabs of Palestine and the guerrillas of their weapons, claiming that they were defending them, which led to the settlement of the Palestinian issue and the obliteration of the Palestinian entity and not allowing the Palestinians to liberate their country.

3- There were many projects proposed regarding the future of the Gaza Strip as a self-contained existence, ranging from to merge it with Jordan, or to merge it with Egypt, or hand it over to Britain in order to transfer its forces present at the time in the Suez Canal[86]. All of them are heading towards the liquidation of the Gaza Strip, and no official Arab proposal was presented to hand over the Strip to the Higher Arab Commission, or to the Government of All Palestine, as it is the official Palestinian body recognized at the time as a representative of the people of Palestine. On the contrary, the Arab Higher Committee and the All-Palestine Government were transferred from the Gaza Strip (forcibly) to Cairo, at a very early time, and it is absolutely clear that handing over the Gaza Strip to the All-Palestine Government could have turned it into an actual government instead of being a government in exile[87].

4-With the termination of the Palestinian issue in accordance with United Nations resolutions, especially the partition resolution of 1947, the official Egyptian administration signed the armistice agreement and then the Lausanne Protocol in 1949, then President Abdel Nasser closed the headquarters of the All-Palestine Government in Cairo in 1959, and he went towards calling for the establishment of another Palestinian entity since 1960, and with its establishment, he announced in apress conference in September 1965, that the Palestinians had a political entity that deals with United Nations resolutions, the first of which is the Partition Resolution, which he support it since 1955[88].

C. Arab League Factors:

1. At its meeting in Alia in Lebanon in 1947, the Arab League rejected the idea of   an Arab government for Palestine, until it saw the need for a Palestinian entity to represent Palestine in the third session of the United Nations in Paris in 1949[89], in this way, it was not interested in establishing and supporting a strong Palestinian entity. When the Arab League recognized the All-Palestine Government, it invited it to the session of the League Council held on October 30, 1948[90], but it did not invite it for the next session in 1949, to please Jordan, and if it was keen to implement its decision recognizing the government, it would not have responded to Jordan.

2- The Arab countries participating in the 1948 war determined their vision for solving the Palestinian issue after the end of the war, by adopting the partition in Resolution (181), as stipulated in the Lausanne Protocol on May 11, 1949, and therefore there is no place for a Palestinian government that rejects partition.

3. The Arab League narrowed down the All-Palestine Government financially and instructed it to demobilize the forces of the Holy Jihad Army in the Gaza Strip on February 20, 1949. This request came in the context of preparing Gaza in preparation for the Rhodes Agreement between Egypt and Israel, which was signed on 24/2/1949, and confirms that there is no financial hardship, and that there is a large sum with the Upper Nile Valley Authority that has been collected for the cause of Palestine, and the Arab League has pledged it to the government to expedite the demobilizing the forces[91].

4- The efforts of the Arab League to pressure Jordan were not enough to discourage Jordan from annexing the West Bank, and it is known that Jordan and the Arab League were submissive to Britain, the owner of the idea of   annexation and its rejection of the establishment of a Palestinian government led by Amin al-Husseini.

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[85] Abrash, The National Dimension of the Palestinian Cause, p. 81.

[86] Abu al-Naml, Gaza Strip, pp. 52-54. See details about the Egyptian-British negotiations regarding the transfer of British bases to the Gaza Strip, pp. 52-57.

[87] Ibid., p. 51.

[88] Adwan, The Palestinian National Liberation Movement, p. 254.

[89] Saab, The Palestinian Question and the Position of the Arab League, Volume 5, pg. 919.

[90]Ibid., p. 920.

[91] Abu al-Naml, Gaza Strip, pp. 26-28.

Third: On the International Scene:

A. England:

1-Britain bears the legal and administrative responsibility for organizing the affairs of Palestine. After Britain announced its intention to end its mandate on May 14, 1948, it should have prepared the country for a new local administration[92]. Although it was committed to implementing the partition decision, it was necessary that it not leave Palestine without an Arab government[93], but it was preoccupied with arrangements for that with Jordan.

2-British diplomatic efforts during 1947-1948 focused on arranging the Jordanian occupation of the Negev and the area designated for Arab Palestine[94]. On September 30, 1948, the British High Commissioner in Jerusalem proposed to the British Foreign Office the union of the Arab region (of Palestine) with Transjordan, or half of it with Jordan and the other with Egypt, with British financial support[95].

The High Commissioner's report indicates that Britain was convinced of the Palestinians' inclination to fight despite their suffering, and that most of them did not want to deal with Jordan[96], a fact which King Abdullah denied in his answer to a question published by Fata Al-Arab newspaper on 10/26/1948, in which he said About the All-Palestine Government: "We cannot impose on the people of Palestine, in their present plight, a government that they have proven not to want." [97]

3- Britain, which came with its mandate over Palestine without the desire of the Arabs, to establish a national home for the Jews in it, it is unreasonable to end its great effort and deep planning by returning from it and agreeing to an Arab government for all of Palestine (its name is the All-Palestine Government), It was normal for it to exercise all its influence in the region to end this unwanted entity, so it intervened with Egypt, and instructed to withdraw the Mufti from Gaza to Cairo through the Director of the Border Force, Major General Hussein Sari Amer. It was fabricated by the Mufti that he had sent to the Soviets informing them of his intention to establish the All-Palestine Government on the model of the Soviet governments, and this ploy was not discovered until a year after the Mufti was transferred to Cairo[98], and it also gave the green light to Jordan to annex the West Bank to it according to its desire.

B. United Nations Body:

1- The issuance of the United Nations Partition Resolution of 1947, which made it reject the establishment of an Arab state on all of Palestine "as the General Assembly of the United Nations, in its session in 1948, refused to consider this government an official government, but rather considered it a fake government" [99], Which prevented it from having an audible voice in international forums.

2_ And in the desire of the United Nations to find a possible solution, it sent Anglo-American envoys to ask Egypt if it wanted to annex Gaza and Beer Sheva or not, If it agreed to annex them to it, Ramallah, Ramleh and Nablus would be annexed to Jordan, and if it refused, all Palestine would be annexed to Jordan on the condition that Britain financially support it to be able to employ the refugees[100].

3_ Instead of the United Nations recognizing the Palestinian government to take over the supervision of the Palestinian refugees with Arab and international support, in December 1949, it established the "United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees" to provide relief to Palestinian refugees in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Gaza Strip, In the beginning, it undertook the expenditures on these, the agency made the Palestine issue a refugee issue instead of recognizing their entity.

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[92] Caldwell, Inter-Arab Rivalry and the All-Palestine Government, p. 53
[93] Kitten, The Palestine Question, p. 85.
[94] Kadosh. United States Policy toward the West Bank in 1948. P. 249.
[95] Governorate, Jordanian-Palestinian Relations, p. 188.
[96] Ibid, p. 187.
[97] Al-Khraisha, King Abdullah bin Al-Hussein and the Palestinian cause - Documents, p. 65
[98] Al-Arif, The Nakba, Part 3, pg. 709.
[99]Sakhnini, State of Palestine, p. 226.
[100] Governorate, Jordanian-Palestinian Relations, pp. 195-196.

4_ The United Nations, through the international mediator, supervised the permanent armistice negotiations in Rhodes, and the signing of the Lausanne Protocol on 11/5/1949. It did not involve the Palestinians in any of these negotiations, nor did the Arabs involved in them require the presence of the Palestinian government or representatives of Palestine. Based on Israel's signature of the Lausanne Protocol; The United Nations accepted Israel as a member on May 11, 1949[101], thus dealing a blow to the Palestinians, who were working hard to end the remnants of their Palestinian government.

CONCLUSION

The research dealt with the circumstances of the establishment and end of the All-Palestine Government, the first chapter dealt with the premises and factors for establishing the government, and the second chapter dealt with the premises and factors of the end of the government, and the study concluded the following results:

1- The Higher Arab Commission for Palestine, which is recognized by the Arabs, Britain and internationally, as representing the Palestinian, is the one that has undertaken the project of the All-Palestine Government.

2- The formation of the Palestinian National Council, which was held in Gaza on 10/1/1948, was as close as possible to representing the Palestinian with all its orientations, parties and segments, which gives it legitimacy.

3- The League of Arab States did not respond to the proposals of the Arab Higher Authority regarding a Palestinian administration, but it designed a temporary Palestinian civil administration that is completely linked to the Council of the League of Arab States and its political committee, ignoring the approval of the Higher Arab Commission or the concern for the independent Palestinian entity.

4- The temporary civil administration in Palestine is just a project that has not been implemented, giving the Palestinians autonomy independent of military and political matters, which the League of Arab States has maintained.

5- The Higher Arab Commission was aware early on of the importance of the presence of an Arab government in Palestine, but the Arab governments represented by the League of Arab States were too ignorant to be aware of the danger of the next stage after the end of the British Mandate, or that they were submissive to Britain, the compassionate mother of the Jews and their state.

6- The personal goals of some Arab leaders, especially in Jordan, were a major obstacle to Palestinian independence and to the All-Palestine Government, and the confined Arab interests were far from eliminating the Zionist entity and presence in Palestine.

7- The Jordanian position on the All-Palestine Government was the most clear of all the positions of the Arab countries, and it was inevitably rejected, relying on the principled position of Britain and America, while the positions of the other Arab states were ambiguous, so they destroyed the Government of Palestine while claiming to embrace it.

8- The Amman, Jericho, Ramallah and Nablus conferences did not represent the Palestinian. Their leadership was neither elected nor diverse as the Gaza Conference, and it had no right to speak in the name of Palestine in the accession of King Abdullah to the throne of Palestine, and it was an example of the internal Palestinian weakness that helped thwart the Palestinian entity.

9- The constitution of the All-Palestine Government (its temporary system) was preparatory, arranging and studying in advance. Those in charge of preparing the Palestinian conference in Gaza proved their ability to formulate a Palestinian entity in the fastest time, which indicates the Palestinians' readiness for independence immediately after the end of the British Mandate were it not for the obstacles of the Arab countries.

10- King Abdullah did not present evidence that the Palestinians did not support the government of all of Palestine, and the Palestinians were not able to hold a referendum, and they received

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[101] Muhammad Al-Majzoub, The Palestinian Issue at the United Nations, The Palestinian Encyclopedia - Part Two, Volume 6, p. 152.

the news of the establishment of the government with joy and hope, just as Hajj Amin Al-Husseini had welcomed warmly in Gaza.

11- The accusation of the All-Palestine Government of being Egyptian is unfounded, as Egypt is a key element in thwarting the government's experience since the end of the Palestinian conference program in Gaza, and the claim that Egypt made the government to give the responsibility of the Palestinian cause and withdraw, is not true; Because the government was thwarted and Egypt continued to rule the Gaza Strip until Israel occupied it in 1967.

12- The All-Palestine Government continued to exist, in form and not in substance, until the death of its president in 1963, and the Arab regimes disintegrated to create a new Palestinian entity linked to the Arab countries with new specifications, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

13- Factors of government failure:

A_ The Palestinian factor is by relying on the Arabs, not arming and preparing for the moment of independence, internal disagreements, defeatism and nationalism among the elements of the government.

B_ The Jordanian factor aiming to annex the Arab part of Palestine to the Hashemite Kingdom with British support.

C_ The Egyptian factor because of its association with the English, its bargaining over Gaza in exchange for the canal and the Muslim Brotherhood competition until they were liquidated.

D_ The English factor aiming to divide Palestine eternally into an Arab part and a Jewish part, with the Arab part being annexed to Jordan.

E_ The Arab League factor, which did not recognize the government early and did not support it after its establishment, but rather worked to reduce its forces and employees and did not limit Jordan's activity aimed at thwarting it.

F_ The United Nations factor, which did not recognize the All-Palestine Government, while it recognized Israel.

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AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Issam Mohammad Ali Adwan, is a full-time lecturer at Al-Quds Open University since 1998 until now. Part-time lecturer in a number of Palestinian universities. I received the rank of Associate Professor in History from Al-Quds Open University in March 2012 . 25 books published on East Center for Research and Culture website, and many other articles and research contributions.