

The Reconstruction of the Palestinian National Identity Post-Nakba
Conceptualising the Impact of Fatah's Rise Through Western National Theory
1948-1982

by

Raed Ayad

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Abstract

Regional intricacies and rivalries have produced complex social conditions throughout the Middle East. Yet, the study of nationalism and identity has regularly been viewed through a uniform, often Eurocentric lens, which is not wholly applicable to the Palestinian identity. This thesis will explore the Palestinian identity through Western theory, providing a unique look into the reconstruction of said identity post-Nakba.

In a geopolitical system, where rights and responsibilities fall within the parameters of sovereign nation states, understanding a stateless nation, namely the Palestinians, through existing approaches can prove to be limiting. Therefore, the author of this thesis will initially attempt to define how the Palestinian identity may fit into modern theory, providing a critical analysis of the manner in which nations are defined.

Hence, the approach of this research entails dividing the Palestinian narrative into three nuanced stages post-Nakba; the refugee, the revolutionary and the statesman. Each stage was studied separately, exploring the impact of identity and nationalism theory as the Palestinian narrative developed. Researching the development of the identity, as it evolved through these stages, allows one to understand the base of the Palestinian identity as it's accepted today.

During the initial refugee period the Palestinians were required to look inwards. The construction of identity is a collective formation of those who feel a sense of belonging to one another, and in this case through being excluded from another group. Once this was

realised, the Palestinians entered the revolutionary period, during which, Pan-Arab fervour began its decline. Recognising the opportunity at hand, Fatah took control of the PLO and began to separate themselves politically from the Arabs. Throughout the era of the statesman the PLO gained recognition as the sole representative of the Palestinians-by both the Arabs and the United Nations, initiating the PLO's journey towards recognition by developing a national authority.

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Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the Palestinian people, not only for their steadfastness and perseverance, but for their sacrifice. This is your story, embrace it, share it, and pass it down from generation to generation.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my nieces: Amal, Haifa, Gemma, Nahida, and Salina. You are the reason why this work matters, be Canadian, be Italian, be Palestinian. They say you will never know where you're going until you know where you come from. This is where we come from.

List of Abbreviations

ALA- Arab Liberation Army
ALF- Arab Liberation Front
BDS- Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions
DB- Deuxième Bureau
DFLP- Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
EU- European Union
EUS- Egyptian Union of Students
FPS- Federation of Palestinian Students
IDF- Israeli Defence Forces
IJM- Islamic Jihad Movement
ISIS- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
NPF- National Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine
NWC- National Water Carrier
PASSIA- Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs
PFLP- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PFLP-GC- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine- General Command
PLA- Palestine Liberation Army
PLF- Palestine Liberation Front
PLO- Palestine Liberation Organization
PNA- Palestinian National Authority
PNC- Palestine National Council
PPSF- Palestinian Popular Struggle Front
SSNP- Syrian Social National Party
UAR- United Arab Republic
UNGA- United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNRWA- United Nations Relief Works Agency
UNSC- United Nations Security Council

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Illustration 2: Examples of Ibrahim Ghannam's work

Illustration 3: Examples of Naji Al-Ali's work

DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing, which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. It has not been previously submitted, in part or whole, to any university or institution for any degree, diploma, or other qualification

In accordance with the School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication guidelines, this thesis does not exceed 100,000 words, and it contains less than 150 figures.

PhD from the School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies
University of East Anglia

Name: Raed Ayad

Date: December, 2017

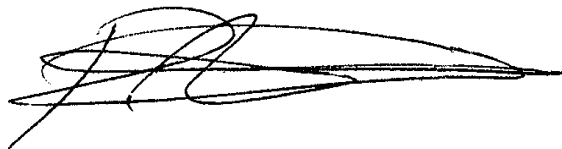
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The Reconstruction of the Palestinian National Identity Post-Nakba

Conceptualising the Impact of Fatah's Rise Through Western National Theory

1948-1982

I ensure that this dissertation is all my own work and all my resources are noted.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Raed Ayad', written in a cursive style with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Raed Ayad

On the heels of the *Nakba* (catastrophe) of 1948, the Palestinian nation was in a state of flux. The majority of Palestinians were forced to live, either under the control of either the Israelis in Palestine, the Egyptians in the Gaza Strip, the Jordanians in the West Bank or as a pauper society in refugee camps located in surrounding Arab states. When exploring the millions of Palestinians who live outside of historic Palestine- as in any exiled community, there were those who chose to identify as Palestinian, those who chose to assimilate to their new surroundings and those who, due to the conditions imposed on them, were forced to identify as a Palestinian. This thesis will focus on the idea that many Palestinians were forced to view themselves as Palestinians, as “different”, setting the structure for the identity to last through undeniable hardship.

As the Palestinian/Israeli conflict remains to be one of the world’s most contentious, it has, for the Palestinians, become a battle merely to exist. While the Israelis are protected by full international rights within the state system, the Palestinians are under constant threat, especially as time continues to pass from the initial expulsion. For those in the diaspora, as well as those living within the occupied territories, what it means to be Palestinian is may be becoming blurred, but for many, according to London based Palestinian journalist Abdel Bari Atwan; “their Palestinian identity is deeply rooted, and they are possibly more radical when it comes to the identity than me, or my parents.”¹ For many, this may be difficult to comprehend, considering that much of the theory on nationalism and identity focuses on the pertinence of a state structure in ensuring the viability of an identity.

¹ Atwan, Abdel Bari, Phone Interview, Toronto, Canada. July 13th, 2017.

The fact that there are Palestinians, four generations removed from the Nakba, still attached to their Palestinian identity depending predominantly on memories and history of a land that was never home to over half the Palestinian population makes the question of Palestinian identity an important case to the study of national identity as a whole. Professor Iain Chambers postulates the dilemma faced by those in exile by saying; “It is impossible to “go home” again, for neither home nor migrant stayed the same.”² For that reason, I decided to explore the Palestinian identity as it developed post-Nakba, not acquiescing to, but attributing the colonization of the past and the reality of the present to the make-up of the Palestinian identity.

The first step in developing a post-colonial identity starts with what Wayne Norman refers to as a *tabula rasa*, a clean slate. When discussing the Palestinian identity with Bassam Abu Sharif, he was direct in claiming that “the identity of the Palestinians can be defined in a very accurate way, the same way we define all people of the Arab nation, they are Arabs.”³ While this has merit, the Nakba forced the Palestinian national identity to be much more complex than other Arabs. Pairing this complexity with the Arab failures in the 1948 war and the treatment of Palestinians by Arab governments advances the need for an understanding of the Palestinian identity as it exists outside the scope of their broader Arab identity.

While I will not argue against the impact of French/British colonization, Israeli

² Chambers, Iain. *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. London: Routledge, 1994. Pg. 74

³ Abu Sharif, Bassam, Phone Interview, Mississauga, Canada. August 25th, 2017.

occupation and American intervention in the conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis I set out to explore the concept of the “Palestinian” as they initially carved their space out amongst their fellow Arab nations before having the opportunity to do so in the international arena.

Aims and Objectives

The core objective of this research is to critically analyse and conceptualise the resurgence and restructuring of Palestinian national identity between 1948-1982 by applying the elements of Western national theory, thereby providing an original contribution to our understanding of the construction of this specific identity. This thesis intends to explore the idea that there are situations where people are forced to acclimate to their surroundings and act accordingly thus creating a distinct identity, in this case, I will consider the story of the Palestinians coming together in the refugee camps as a national re-awakening. While the Palestinians may draw on a historical connection to their lost homeland or cultural expressions of nationhood, when studied in the scope of Western nationalism theory these expressions will not entirely satisfy the determinants.

Abdel Bari Atwan’s beliefs parallel this notion, arguing that:

The Palestinian identity is based on the intifada as it is based on the struggle, any other identity you want to develop based on dancing and art, that’s fine, you want to live in peace and be different from the norm that is fine but here is no denying that the basis of being Palestinian was developed when the *feda’yeen* (*freedom fighters*) began fighting for our freedom.⁴

Ernest Gellner, who has been regarded as the “father of nationalism,”⁵ argues, all that is relevant in the study of nationalism is half the story.⁶ In a world where rights and

⁴ Atwan, 2017. op.cit

⁵ Malešević, Siniša, and Mark Haugaard. *Ernest Gellner and Contemporary Social Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. Pg. 6

responsibilities of a nation are defined through the state system, people may be disregarded, even if they have their own history and connection to a territory. It is for that reason that it was essential that the Palestinians became proactive in developing their own socio-political identity to be able to prosper or, in this case, survive. With that said, this thesis is not disregarding the importance of history or memory, but attempting to define the Palestinian national identity through a distinctive prism, which in this case is Western theory.

Notwithstanding Gellner's views, the Palestinians were forced to restructure their identity as a people living either in exile or under occupation. This thesis will not spend much time focusing on the history of the Palestinians and their long-standing attachment to Palestine but rather will scrutinise events that transpired which forced, and later allowed, the Palestinians to self-author their political identity. Examining Palestinian nationalism through the prism of Western theory allows for an alternative approach to Palestinian self-understanding. Though the Palestinian people enjoy a rich culture and history that existed before the Nakba that continued to flourish following the events in 1948 and while there is vast literature signifying the pertinence of the Palestinian cultural identity, this thesis will complement the existing literature by examining the identity through the existing, albeit uniform, theory available on nationalism.

⁶ Mortimer, Edward, and Ernest Gellner. "Adam's Naval: 'Primordialists' vs. 'Modernists'." *People, Nation and State the Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1999. 31-35. Pg. 32

The reasoning behind the timeframe chosen, starting with the defeat of the Arab armies in 1948, is the fact that the Palestinians lost their homes, their land and ultimately their sense of identity. The Palestinians entered a decade defined by historian Rashid Khalidi as the “lost years”;⁷ where the Palestinians, either in exile or living under occupation in the Palestinian territories, were searching for answers. This predicament forced them to depend on building alliances with fellow non-Palestinian Arabs.

These allegiances had an adverse effect on building Palestinian identity post-Nakba due, in part, to the fact that while the Arab states were allies, they remained young nations concerned with developing their own states. In the search for answers, two prevalent schools of thought emerged- the first being of the Arab National Movement (*Harakat al Qawmiyin al Arab*), which became the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in 1967 and the second being the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (*Harakat al Tahrir al Watani al Filistini*), which later became known as the popular Palestinian political faction Fatah. Although George Habash, one of the founders of the Arab National Movement, was a patriotic and revered Palestinian, he believed that the national movement to liberate Palestine was an Arab cause. The founders of Fatah on the other hand, held an affinity for other Arabs but believed that the Palestinian national movement must be controlled by Palestinians, which in turn, would strengthen Arab unity.

⁷ Khalidi, Rashid. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York : Columbia University Press, 1997. Pg. 179.

This research intends to examine these two pertinent paths of Palestinian identity after the *Nakba* of 1948, the ethnosymbolic, yet, politically constructed, ethnic Arab identity and the reconstructed Palestinian identity reborn, not on the heels of trauma, but in a call for liberation. The shift from a traditional ethnosymbolic identity based on the unification of the Arab world to an exclusive modern constructivist identity will be surveyed through the run-up to the six-day war in 1967, the 1968 battle of Karamah and Black September in 1970, Arafat's 1974 UN speech culminating in the war in Lebanon and the Sabra and Shatila Massacre of 1982.

These events are essential in studying the resurgence of the Palestinian identity, starting with the war of 1967, which dispelled the myth that "Arab unity will lead to the liberation of Palestine" when Israel defeated Jordan, Syria and Egypt in under a week. Further, the battle of Karamah in 1968 was the first military action the Palestinian Liberation Army took against the state of Israel since its inception in 1948, providing a major propaganda tool for Fatah and Yasser Arafat allowing him to gain the support needed to be elected as the chairman of the PLO. Furthermore, the events that took place in Jordan in September of 1970 reinforced the mistrust amongst the Arab nations when Jordan and the PLO entered into a bloody conflict. Understanding that the PLO could not be kept at bay and that they could not continue to withstand conflict with other Arab states, both sides began working towards mutual recognition. In exchange for recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people by the Arab world, and later the United Nations, the PLO began to make concessions to their claim to the whole of Palestine. This began the development of Beirut as the epicentre of Palestinian politics, ultimately resulting in

the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the expulsion of the PLO from *Blad il' Sham* (Greater Syria) and the subsequent massacre of the Sabra and Shatila camps.

In order to organize the progress of this thesis, I have decided to divide the three-decade process into three separate sections. To do this, I chose the refugee, the revolutionary and the statesmen. Though it is understood that all three of these terms offer their own complexities, this thesis intends to explore how these three stages directly impact the Palestinian national identity, as explored through the theory offered in the Literature Review. The reasoning behind the use of these terms is that, in their simplest state, best describe the three major sections in this thesis.

The Research Questions:

- What events had to take place in order for the Palestinian political factions in the Arab world to be able to control their own narrative/cause and for the Arab, then later the Western world to recognise the PLO as the sole representatives of the Palestinian people?
- Why is it essential to explore the Palestinian national identity through a Western theoretical standpoint and how does the understanding of the Palestinians through these theories benefit the Palestinian narrative?
- Does the Palestinian identity, as reconstructed post-Nakba, fall within the parameters of Western theory available on the study of nationalism and identity?
If yes, how?

Hypothesis:

Commencing with the second question, though the Palestinian cultural and historical attachment to their lost homeland is essential in understanding the Palestinian narrative, the Palestinians are still fighting, simply to exist. While the understanding of the Palestinian identity through Western theory may not be relevant to those living in the East, it may help in allowing people in the West to be more sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. Moreover, it may allow people in the Western world to further comprehend the conflict in the Middle East and the competing accounts that define the region.

The separation of the Palestinian cause from the broader Arab cause was a process of self-understanding, appreciating the severity of the situation at hand and finally the realization of the pertinence of the Palestinians coming together and controlling their own destiny. Only when the Arab world exhausted all their options with regards to the Palestinians, and ultimately the Israelis, did the Arab world begin to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. In return, different Arab states, namely Egypt, were able to begin negotiating a peace settlement with Israel.

With regards to the understanding of the Palestinians in the parameters of Western theory, I believe that the study of nationalism may be explored through different trains of thought. Starting with the exploration of an identity through sociological parameters, in which the Palestinian history, at least as Arabs, may satisfy the determinants of the available theory. As the identity matures, pairing the forced removal of Palestinians from their homeland with the fact that the end-goal of the Palestinian national movement is

independence in Palestine, it becomes a political study. The Palestinian political identity is not as clearly understood as their sociological identity. It is understood that there are a Palestinian people, and that many of them are attached through their different but similarly rooted struggles, but whether or not they may satisfy the factors tied to statehood is still questioned by not only cynics, but supporters of the Palestinian cause. The Palestinian development of national identity has set its own precedent. Though there are similarities with other national battles of liberation, the Palestinian story provides its own respective uniqueness. The Palestinian identity as it is understood pokes holes in nearly all theories on identity and nationalism.

For that reason, it is essential to understand that much of what is available on the study of national identity is quite uniform and myopic whereas the reality is generally far-sighted, while offering a number of variables from case to case.

Complexities of the Palestinian Identity

The difficulty in defining the identity of a people, who are globally dispersed, living in refugee camps or under occupation in their homeland, presents a challenge. This is especially true when some, including former United States Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, argue that the Palestinians are an “invented people”⁸ or, according to former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, have never even existed.⁹ While this research does argue that the Palestinian identity is a construction, the same may be said for the Israeli

⁸ "Palestinians are an Invented People, says Newt Gingrich ." *The Guardian*. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Sept. 2013. <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/10/palestinians-invented-people-newt-gingrich>>.

⁹ Butt, Gerald. " BBC News. Profiles. Golda Meir." *BBC News*. N.p., n.d. Web. 18 June 2013. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/events/israel_at_50/profiles/81288.stm>

identity and the double standard being presented by elected officials of the United States and Israeli governments poses a dangerous obstacle to peace. Zachary J Foster, in his article titled “What’s a Palestinian? Uncovering Cultural Complexities”¹⁰, which was a response to Speaker Gingrich as well as former Republican Presidential Candidate Mike Huckabee, who also argued that there is “no such thing as Palestinians,” provided a slight glimpse into the usage of the term “Palestinian” but was concluded in arguing:

The decades of debate all beg a central question: Is Palestinian identity an invention? The answer, however, is self-evident—of course it is. American, Chinese, German, and Israeli identities are inventions too. All national identities are invented. Nations do not exist in nature; they exist only in our minds.¹¹

Arguing whether or not the Palestinians existed prior to the 1900’s, or whether or not the Jews have a legitimate right to what was known as the land of “Palestine” makes for an essential debate, though one which is outside of the scope of this thesis. In Foster’s article, he refers to a Fox News article written in response to Speaker Gingrich’s statement where the writer states:

Modern-day Palestinians bristle at the implication that they were generic Arabs. Palestinians are culturally Arabs -- they speak Arabic and their culture is broadly shared by other Arabs who live in the eastern Mediterranean. But they, for the most part, identify themselves as Palestinians, just as the Lebanese, Jordanians and Syrians also identify themselves with a specific national identity.¹²

The quote above is essential in shaping the motive behind this thesis. While history and culture do bring the Arabs together, politics and reality have driven them further apart and just as the Arab states and Israel were provided with the right to develop their own nation, this thesis will argue that it is necessary for the Palestinians to enjoy that same

¹⁰ Foster, Zachary J. "What's a Palestinian?" *Foreign Affairs*. N.p., 11 Mar. 2015. Web. 1 Aug. 2016.

¹¹ *Loc.cit.*

¹² "Gingrich Describes Palestinian People as 'Invented' | Fox News." *Fox News*. FOX News Network, 10 Dec. 2011. Web. 1 Aug. 2016.

right, namely amongst their Arab allies. With that said, once it is accepted that the Palestinians do exist, defining their identity faces further complexities, often shaped by the time and place of their “expulsion” or "flight" from historic Palestine and the country they currently reside in.

Internally, for the approximately five million Palestinians that live within Israel, Gaza or the West Bank, the way in which their identity is defined regularly reflects the region as well, hence their nuances among Palestinians from Gaza, the West Bank or Israel (The latter also known to Palestinians as *il dakhel* (the inside), *il shamal* (the north) or '48). This situation has forced the geographical differences amongst Palestinians to act as a shaper of their identity and therefore requires further analysis.

This dilemma makes the Palestinian case an important one, not only for geopolitical and security reasons in the strife-torn Middle East, but also for the study of identity politics and Diaspora studies. When it comes to the study of Diaspora and exile, there are generally two groups of people, amongst others, receiving the majority of the attention: the Jews and the Palestinians. They are connected in many ways, a connection that is rooted much deeper than the territorial conflict over a tiny piece of land tucked into the centre of the Middle East. They share complex issues of identity and exile and both face and/or have faced a strenuous uphill battle to securing freedom, security and self-determination.

The Palestinians have faced a number of setbacks in their liberation movement over the last century starting with the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the crackdown of the 1936 Arab Revolt, the UN Partition Plan of 1947, the Nakba of 1948, the Naksa (Setback) of 1967, Black September of 1970, the massacre of Tel el-Zaa'tar camp in Lebanon at the hands of the Syrians, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1978, the Sabra and Shatila massacre in 1982, the Camp Wars starting in 1984, the Intifada of 1987, the Oslo Agreement of 1993, the Al-Aqsa Intifada of 2000, the Jenin Massacre of 2004, the Waksah (Humiliation) of 2007, Operation Cast Lead of 2008, Operation Pillar of Defence of 2012 and Operation Protective Edge in 2014. Despite all these setbacks, the ongoing siege in the Gaza Strip, the brutal occupation of the West Bank and the unresolved refugee question that has no end in sight, the Palestinian people remain steadfast in continuing to identify themselves as Palestinians, irrespective of their current residence.

I have chosen to focus on the three different stages of the Palestinian experience: the refugee, the revolutionary and the statesman and how these different determinants were impactful in developing the base for the Palestinian identity between 1948 and 1982. While there are a number of political organisations who have shaped Palestinian history, when exploring the growth of the Palestinian identity as a separate entity amongst the Arab world in the early years after the Nakba, it is Fatah and PFLP who, initially, represented the Pan-Arab vs. the Palestinian ideologies with the PFLP representing the former and Fatah the latter. Though Hamas, who were founded in 1987, play an integral

role in the Palestinian question, this thesis intends to prove that the base of “what it means to be Palestinian” originated and developed itself through the 1950’s to the 1980’s.

What does it mean to be Palestinian?

While there is no shortage of stories, documented by Palestinians all over the world, there still exists a cynical approach to the Palestinian narrative. The Palestinian narrative is built on these stories, stories of exile and despair, being Palestinian has evolved into being lost, into being confused and conflicted. While this complex identity has fuelled a resistance to a half-century old military occupation, the Palestinians in the Arab world and further afield have continued to face constant scrutiny. The rest of this section will explore this scrutiny and the general account of what it means to be Palestinian.

In order to proceed in exploring the events that led to a resurgence in this dichotomised, yet nationally unified identity it would be beneficial to explore the difficulties associated with identifying as a Palestinian.

There are a number of methods in which this complex identity can be explored. On the surface, the lack of a legitimate national assembly along with the lack of a geographically unified state with its “population” heavily dispersed may be referenced. While the aforementioned are all important one does not need to look further than the national football team as anecdotal evidence to consider the intricacy of the Palestinian identity.

On the 30th of May 2014, the Palestinian national team beat the Philippines 1-0 in the final of the Asian Football Challenge to qualify for the 2015 Asian Cup to be played in

Australia. For the first time in their history, the Palestinian national team qualified for an international tournament. While their qualification has political implications and was a symbolic victory for the Palestinian people, the makeup of the team itself provides for a noteworthy identity paradox. The players identify themselves as Palestinians and are representing the “State of Palestine”, but this is not a traditional national football team. They face a number of barriers amongst one another, mainly geographical: Midfielder Husain Abu Salah, is an Israeli citizen who speaks Hebrew, he transferred from his Israeli team to a team located in the West Bank in order to better represent Palestine. In defence, stands centre-back Omar Jarun, whose family is from Tulkarem, but he was born and raised in the United States and currently plays in Canada. He has never been to Palestine and communicates with his teammates in a southern American accent, alongside him on the defensive line stands Roberto Bishara; born in Chile, who doesn’t speak Arabic, or much English for that matter. Behind them stands Mohammad Shbair, a goalkeeper from Gaza, who has spent years away from home, not due to war or exile but due to his papers not being in order after playing a friendly match in Sudan. It is no surprise that the team has not seen much success on the international stage considering the language barriers and the fact that a number of the players cannot practice together due to travel restrictions placed on them by Israel.¹³ The players, while facing travel restrictions in addition to other detrimental actions by the Israeli forces, including getting shot in the feet on the way home from practice¹⁴, will be able to benefit and gain support from FIFA. It should

¹³ Montague, James. *Thirty-One Nil: The Amazing Story of World Cup Qualification*. London: Bloomsbury Plc., 2014. Pg. 15-16

¹⁴ Al Jazeera English. "Shooting Renews Calls for FIFA to Kick out Israel." *Al Jazeera: The Stream*. 5 Mar. 2014. Web. 1 Nov. 2014. <<http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/201403052234-0023531>>.

further be noted that although just a football team, they are defined in terms of resistance against the occupation, being referred to as *Muntakheb il Fada'iyah* (The National Team of the Freedom Fighters).

Meanwhile, for the rest of the Palestinians, upon travel, the question of identity can be summed up in one statement posed by Rashid Khalidi: “Step out of line and follow me.”¹⁵ Many Palestinians, who have attempted to travel to Palestine, Israel or any of the surrounding Arab countries, tend to face severe difficulty. Even those lucky enough to obtain a passport, according to Khalidi, are provided with a rude awakening as to their identity when approaching a border crossing.¹⁶ Without a legitimate state authority and an identity that is constantly questioned, the shame and humiliation of being held under such scrutiny is no stranger to the Palestinians. While a number of Palestinians have successfully obtained citizenship abroad, those living in the vicinity of the conflict still face a number of barriers when travelling. With the lack of a state and a number of difficulties attached to being a Palestinian the affinity to Palestine and the Palestinians has been preserved by the aforementioned collection of common memory and tragedy that has been romanticized through culture and symbolism.

Palestinian Cultural Identity

When asked about cultural resistance, Edward Said had the following to say:

Take the Palestinian situation as a case in point. There's a whole assembly of cultural expression that has become a part of the consolidation and persistence of Palestinian identity. There's a Palestinian cinema, a Palestinian theater, a Palestinian poetry, and literature in general. There's a

¹⁵ Khalidi, 1997. Op.cit. Pg. 4

¹⁶ Loc.cit.

Palestinian critical and political discourse. In the case of a political identity that is being threatened, culture is a way of fighting against extinction and obliteration.¹⁷

On the other hand, when I asked Abdel Bari Atwan about the notion of cultural resistance, he had an opposite view on culture and identity, saying that “the Palestinians should use arts, and speeches. Those ideas were encouraged by the west” followed by:

If 5% of the population wants to enhance the identity through the arts and through singing or dancing that’s fine, but the majority believe that the true identity is through intifada, fighting the occupation by all means. It is a fighting identity, and you are seeing that being passed on through generations.¹⁸

While this debate is a popular one amongst scholars, Rebecca Stein and Ted Swedenburg argue that the Palestinian narrative did not fully embrace the concept of cultural identity before the Oslo years.¹⁹ Instead, according to Stein and Swedenburg Palestinian scholarship in the West was dominated by two paradigms, that by the nation or the “Marxist historiographical and/or political economic paradigm,” characterized by occupation, colonization and the Palestinian fight for self-determination.²⁰ Though this thesis, which is attempting to define the Palestinian identity through Western theory, is mainly focused on the socio-economic and political factors of identity this section will provide a brief introduction to Palestinian cultural resistance and the challenges faced.

¹⁷ Said, Edward W., and David Barsamian. *Culture and Resistance: Conversations with Edward W. Said*. Cambridge MA: South End Press, 2003. Pg.159

¹⁸ Atwan, 2017. op.cit

¹⁹ Stein, Rebecca L., and Ted Swedenburg. “Popular Culture, Relational History, and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel.” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, 2004, pp. 5–20. Pg. 1

²⁰ Ibid. Pg. 6

As argued by Joseph Massad, the pertinence of song has not been incorporated into the theoretical analysis of anti-colonialism and nationalism.²¹ As this thesis argues, the reality at hand is that Western national theory is dominated by factors provided and protected through the state structure. Almost all political movements are driven by expression through art, music and poetry. The Palestinian liberation movement is no different. Though the theory does not give much credence to cultural identity, I feel that it would be essential to briefly explore expressions of identity through music, literature and art.

Music

Like much of the initial pro-Palestinian expressions post-Nakba, much of nationalist music in the region either called for Pan-Arabism or was sung by non-Palestinians, some famous names include Farid al-Atrash (Syrian), Fairouz and Najah Salam (Lebanon) and Mohammed Abd al-Wahhab (Egypt). This can be accredited much to the fact that the radio stations themselves were controlled by the Egyptians, and the Nasser revolution of 1952 provided a place for the heart of the cultural revolution.²² Similar to most political movements, music was used to echo the popular sentiments of the day.

Similar to the political discourse, music was also used as a battlefield of nationalism amongst the Arabs and the Israelis. According to Nasser Al-Taei, both Arabs and Israelis would use music to reflect their connection to Jerusalem. One example of this, by one of

²¹ “Liberating Songs: Palestine Put to Music.” *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2003, pp. 21–38. Accessed in Stein, Rebecca L., and Ted Swedenburg. *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*. Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2005. Pg. 175

²² *Ibid.* Pg. 177

the more influential voices in the region was the work of Fairouz. Her song *Zahrat al-Mada'in (The Flower of All Cities)*, which was described by Al-Tae as “one of the most popular and dramatic Arab songs about Jerusalem,”²³ echoed the Arab attachment to the city of Jerusalem through its importance to both the Christian and Muslim faiths referring to both the “old churches” and “wiping out the sorrow from the mosques.” Ending the ballad with the following:

The house is ours,
And Jerusalem is ours.
And with our hands,
We will bring to Jerusalem its beauty and peace.
And to Jerusalem
Peace is coming.²⁴

This song, written by the Rahbani brothers, was performed at the Cedars Festival in Lebanon in the summer of 1967, and actually resulted in Fairouz being awarded the key to the city. While Fairouz, and the Arabs, used this time to express dismay towards the 1967 war, Israeli songwriters used this opportunity to celebrate the capturing of Jerusalem. Al-Tae cites songs such as *Lakh Y'rushalayim (Your Jerusalem)* and *Y'rushalayim Shel Zahav (Jerusalem of Gold)* as the norm in Israeli popular music at the time, reflecting what Motti Regev referred to as “ideological dominance and political centralism with Zionist motifs.”²⁵ Though both sides turned to music in order to develop their cultural identities, Israeli society made sure to censor Palestinian music. Inbal

²³ Al-Tae, Nasser. “Voices of Peace and the Legacy of Reconciliation: Popular Music, Nationalism, and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East.” *Popular Music*, vol. 21, no. 01, Jan. 2002, pp. 41–61. Pg. 44

²⁴ Ibid. Pg. 45

²⁵ Ibid. Pg. 47

Perelson, in his research focusing on power dynamics represented through music in Israel, claims:

It is hardly necessary to mention that Arabic songs with strong social and political messages were never aired, not even in the special programmes for the Arab minority in Israel. These Arabic songs were totally marginalised by the institutions whose judgements go to make up the canon of Israeli popular music, and although the Arab minority in Israel did operate within its own institutions of canonisation, they themselves were politically and socially marginalized.²⁶

It was not only music that was censored, and not only the Israelis who did the censoring, when the Jordanians ruled over the West Bank, there was strict censorship on literature with any political expression. Israeli attempts at censoring Palestinian literature were not as successful as their attempts to ban Arabic nationalist music. Hanan Ashrawi warrants this to the *Al Ard* movement,²⁷ which, according to Fouzi Al Asmar, Palestinian poet and one of the founders of the *Al Ard* movement “was established before the PLO, and the charter of the PLO contains many ideas first formulated by Al-Ard.”²⁸ Unfortunately for *Al Ard*, the Palestinians faced tremendous difficulties in developing a Palestinian political body in the State of Israel.

Literature

Even though Israel and Jordan would actively attempt to censor Palestinian literature, there were still avenues in which to share nationalist poetry and literature. Either through the communist parties and publications in Israel or through public readings.²⁹ The difficulties did not hinder the impact of Palestinian poetry, as it was, and arguably

²⁶ Perelson, Inbal. “Power Relations in the Israeli Popular Music System.” *Popular Music*, vol. 17, no. 01, Jan. 1998, pp. 113–126. Pg. 116

²⁷ Ashrawi, Hanan Mikhail. “The Contemporary Palestinian Poetry of Occupation.” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1978, pp. 77–101. Pg.78

²⁸ Ginsburg, Terri. “Al-Ard: The Seed of the Palestinian struggle.” *Your Middle East*. Web. 29 Apr. 2013.< www.yourmiddleeast.com/features/alard-the-seed-of-the-palestinian-struggle_11306.>

²⁹ Ashrawi, 1978. Op.cit. Pg. 80

remains, the Palestinians strongest tool of expression. Hanan Ashrawi reiterates this idea, noting that:

Poetry is the most popular and dominant genre in Palestinian literature, and the one closest to the people as a whole. This can be attributed, in part, to the strong oral tradition in Palestinian culture and the ease with which catchy expressions and verses are retained and repeated. Also, like the rest of the Arab nation, Palestinians are a verbal people, easily captured and moved by language, often swayed more by the external beauty of rhythm, music, and sound of the oral expression than by the internal meaning and coherence. The number of poets is expanding rapidly, each poet assured some amount of recognition and at the same time not checked by a solid critical current.³⁰

While there are many Palestinian literaries, many of which were essential in defining the Palestinian national experience, as this section is serving as an interlude to Palestinian cultural identity, I will introduce three of popular Palestinian literaries: Mahmoud Darwish, Edward Said and Ghassan Khanafani. Darwish, born in 1942 in the now demolished village of Birweh, started his career like many of the Palestinian writers who still lived in their homeland, writing for the communist party *Rakah*.

Darwish encapsulated the Palestinian tragedy, though he was only a child at the time of the Nakba, he witnessed his village of Birweh destroyed by the Jewish militias. After the Nakba, he lived his life under Israeli military rule, harassed and imprisoned countless times. In the early 1970's he left his homeland to live in exile in Beirut, only to be exiled once again in 1982 when the PLO was forced out of Lebanon. Though did reside in Paris, Darwish was then allowed to return to his homeland, where he lived under occupation in Ramallah, only to die in Texas. Though Darwish, in his poem titled *Diary of a Palestinian Wound*, famously proclaimed that, "my homeland is not a suitcase and I am not a traveler/ I am the lover and the land is the beloved,"³¹ Darwish never truly found a

³⁰ Ibid. Pg. 84

³¹ "Poetry and Imagery of Mahmoud Darwish in the Palestinian Nationalist Movement." *Palestinian Culture and Society*, Georgetown University, Web.

home, as postulated by Rashid Khalidi in an obituary about Darwish, saying that he was:

Never truly at home anywhere—whether in Beirut before 1982, or in Ramallah, Amman, or Paris after that—and never bound by material or personal ties, Darwish led a peripatetic existence until death finally found him in, of all places, Houston, Texas, where his overburdened heart finally gave out after a third major heart operation. In this unexpected end, in this incongruous place, Darwish further incarnated the peculiar and surreal ongoing odyssey of the Palestinian people.³²

Darwish was always moving, in a constant state of exile and oppression, which is partially the reason that his work was so popular to the Palestinian people. Darwish experienced the theft of his homeland, lived as an internally displaced refugee, was held in Israeli prisons, lived through the wars in Lebanon, lived in further exile in Paris, and saw what was left of his homeland slowly be taken away when living in Ramallah, ultimately combining nearly all the Palestinian tragedies in one experience. It is no surprise that Darwish was tapped to further the agenda of the PLO and was known as the “unofficial national poet,”³³ even though he embraced the idea of being politically independent.

Darwish was always reluctant to work with the PLO, nonetheless, he would still attempt to support their endeavours. He, along with Edward Said, authored the 1988 Declaration of Principles, a document that allowed Rashid Khalidi to claim that if the Palestinians ever do gain their own state, we must remember Darwish as one of the founding fathers due to the manner in which he penned this historic declaration. Like many Palestinians, Darwish was never able to fulfill this dream, and was fiercely opposed to the Oslo Declaration of Principles signed by Arafat in 1993. He removed himself from the PLO’s

<[³² Khalidi, Rashid. “Remembering Mahmud Darwish \(1941–2008\).” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2008, pp. 74–77. Pg. 75](https://apps.cndls.georgetown.edu/projects/palestinian-culture-and-society/exhibits/show/poetry-and-imagery-of-mahmood-/my-country-is-not-a-suitcase.></p></div><div data-bbox=)

³³ Said, Edward W. “On Mahmoud Darwish.” *Grand Street*, no. 48, 1994, pp. 112–115. Pg. 112

Executive Council and, according to Said, told Arafat to go find another people to lead in response to Arafat claiming that the Palestinian people are an ungrateful people.³⁴ While no longer part of the PLO's executive committee, he remained, and still remains, one of the central figures of the Palestinian narrative. Khalidi postulated his impact as the following:

The passing of Mahmud Darwish, however, may mark the end of an era during which Palestinian aspirations evolved from the narrow focus on survival and steadfastness in the bitter new post-Nakba world after 1948, and from nostalgia for a return to an imagined idyllic existence before that traumatic rupture, and toward an increasingly broad-minded and tolerant humanistic approach to a resolution of the conflict, and toward the Israelis.³⁵

When discussing the Palestinian narrative, for a number of people, Edward Said is the first name that comes to mind. He was extremely well-versed, eloquent, respected in both Eastern and Western circles, and essential to his integrity, he was never shy to pointing out the failures of the West or accepting the failures of the Arabs and Palestinians. Said's work on the question of Palestine was incredibly important (as cited throughout this thesis), but it was his work on post-colonial studies that allowed him to be as impactful as he was. To encapsulate this, I will share an anecdote from his daughter Najla's work titled *Looking for Palestine*:

To very smart people who study a lot, Edward Said is the "father of postcolonial studies" or, as he told me once when he insisted I was wasting my college education by taking a course on postmodernism and I told him that he didn't even know what it was:

"Know what it is, Najla? I invented it!!!"

I still don't know if he was joking or serious.

To others, he is the author of *Orientalism*, the book that everyone reads at some point in college, whether in history, politics, Buddhism, or literature class. He wrote it when I was four.

³⁴ Ibid. Pg. 113

³⁵ Khalidi, 2008. op.cit. Pg. 76

As he explained once, when I pressed him to put it into simple English: “The basic concept, is that... historically, through literature and art, the ‘East’, as seen through a Western lens, becomes distorted and degraded so that anything ‘other’ than what we Westerners recognize as familiar is not just exotic, mysterious, and sensual but also inherently inferior.”³⁶

This idea was prevalent when the British and French colonial overseers drew lines in the sand, ultimately dividing the Arab world in the manner they most saw fit. It was prevalent when the British decided to give Palestine to the Jewish people, and it remained prevalent in the manner in which the Palestinians have been silenced since the 1948 war. Important to note here, it is also prevalent when exploring the Palestinian national identity, which is one of the reasons why I decided to explore the identity in a way that may “satisfy” Western theory. Not because I feel that Eastern traditions are inferior, but due to the reality that the state system is the manner in which rights and responsibilities are defined and the Western powers are partially responsible for the difficulties faced in the Arab world.

On Said though, to the Palestinians, he was not “the father of postcolonial studies”, but more so a representative of the Palestinian cause, who was “A Palestinian who was born in Jerusalem and was forced as a result of the 1948 catastrophe to live in exile, the same way as many hundreds of thousands of Palestinians.”³⁷ Even with his popularity, and his accomplishments, he never wavered. Like Darwish, he represented justice for Palestinians, he was not impacted by attachments to any political party, nor driven by self-interests. As he puts it:

³⁶ Said N., *Op.cit.* Pg. 2

³⁷ Mattar, Philip. *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*. New York: Facts on File, 2005. Pg. 434.

My sense of belonging to the Palestinian people, my pride in their heroism, and my pain at their sufferings and defeats are not things people can take away from me: they are certainly more lasting and deeper than crude and opportunistic and the ephemeral desires of leaders.³⁸

Though Said was a world renowned scholar, dedicated to peace, his profound impact was seen as a threat to the Zionist entity. They jumped on any opportunity to discredit Said, for example, when he was in Lebanon on a family vacation in the year 2000, he was photographed throwing a stone towards an Israeli guardhouse. Right away, this photo was in newspapers all throughout the United States, the Freud Society of Vienna later cancelled a lecture he was slated to give³⁹ and people called on him to be reprimanded by Columbia University, where he was teaching at the time. Though he called it a “symbolic gesture of joy” that Israel ceased their occupation in Lebanon, and Columbia argued that he did not intend to attack anyone and no law was broken.⁴⁰ To encapsulate the pressures of being Edward Said, I will return to his daughter Najla, who followed up her anecdote on postmodernism with the following:

To other people, he is a symbol of Palestinian self-determination, a champion of human rights, equality, and social justice. A “humanist” who “spoke truth to power”.

And then still other people insist he was a terrorist, though anyone who knew him knows that’s kind of like calling Gandhi a terrorist.⁴¹

Prior to the declaration of a guerrilla struggle against Israel, the Palestinians turned to the pen. Their voice and the expressions of many of the artists throughout the camps and the occupied territories created symbols that have become staples of the Palestinian identity.

³⁸ Loc.cit

³⁹ Smith, Dinitia. “A Stone’s Throw Is a Freudian Slip.” *The New York Times*, 10 Mar. 2001, <www.nytimes.com/2001/03/10/arts/a-stone-s-throw-is-a-freudian-slip.html?mcubz=0>

⁴⁰ Arenson, Karen W. *Columbia Debates a Professor’s ‘Gesture’*. *The New York Times*, 19 Oct. 2000, <www.nytimes.com/2000/10/19/nyregion/columbia-debates-a-professor-s-gesture.html?mcubz=0>

⁴¹ Said N., 2013. Op.cit. Pg. 3

Ghassan Kanafani, known for his fictional novel *“Men in the Sun”*, was assassinated in Beirut by the Israeli Mossad by means of a car bomb, killing him and his 17-year-old niece in 1972. When Kanafani was assassinated, the *Daily Star* in Lebanon described him as “the commando who never fired a gun. His weapon was a ballpoint pen and his arena newspaper pages. And he hurt the enemy more than a column of commandos.”⁴² Unlike the authors mentioned above, Kanafani had political affiliations. While he was dedicated to his political attachments, his writing was not bound by that allegiance. Prior to his assassination, during an interview with a Scandinavian radio station Kanafani claimed; “In my political work I defend the organization to which I belong. But in my stories I give my characters the freedom to express their own positions without reservation.”⁴³ In doing so, Kanafani was able, through his writing, to provide insight into the complexities of the Palestinian identity. The Palestinians all have their own stories, their own tragedies, but for the nationalist, the climax of their story is based either on returning to, or remaining in, Palestine.

Elias Khoury, a Lebanese writer, believes that Kanafani’s characters represented his own personal quarrel, being an Arab nationalist, all the while trying to reclaim a Palestinian identity that was lost in 1948. Khoury considers two different underlying concepts behind Kanafani’s work. The first was, what he calls the stories about “borderlands,”⁴⁴ where the protagonist is stuck between “death and the desert” as they attempt to cross through the Arab desert lands and lines drawn in the sand. After the Arab defeat in 1967, Kanafani,

⁴² Knopf-Newman, Marcy Jane. *The Politics of Teaching Palestine to Americans: Addressing Pedagogical Strategies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Pg. 119

⁴³ Al-Madhoun, Rasem. “Ghassan Kanafani: The Symbol of the Palestinian Tragedy.” *Jaddaliyya*, 23 Aug. 2013, < www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/6885/ghassan-kanafani-the-symbol-of-the-palestinian-tra.>

⁴⁴ Khoury, Elias. “Remembering Ghassan Kanafani, or How a Nation Was Born of Story Telling.” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 42, no. 3, 2013, pp. 85–91. Pg. 87

according to Khoury, embraced a “new notion of Palestine not predicated on the yearning for a lost past, but on a kind of social realism.”⁴⁵ This awakening of the Palestinian reality was not something faced by only Kanafani, but by almost all Palestinians. Though Kanafani was only 36 years old when he was killed, he was at the crossroads of the Palestinian story, somewhat of a chameleon in the manner in which he was able to narrate the Palestinian tragedy from a number of angles. So much so that, without firing a single bullet, the Mossad thought it in their best interests to assassinate him.

Art

In the preface to Kamal Boullata’s seminal and riveting work on Palestinian Art, John Berger argues that:

For a people whose identity and land have been annexed and denied for at least three generations, the struggle to preserve and celebrate their identity takes many forms. There is the intransigence of physical resistance...There is poetry which precisely re-members...And there are the visual arts, which because they are vivid and visual, are able to dress, to adorn, embroider, veil and disclose that identity...Palestinian artists, who create, each in her or his personal way, so that their anonymous heroic land with its ancestral olive trees may survive.⁴⁶

The olive tree remains as an integral tool of Palestinian nationalism, it is used by politicians, environmentalists, economists, activists, poets, artists, and writers to represent the longing for the land of Palestine. Before the olive tree, the Palestinians turned to the orange trees of Jaffa. Not to deny the pertinence of these two images, but prior to the loss of Palestine in 1948, it was the cactus tree that was the centre of Palestinian national art. Kamal Boullata argues that it was Nicola Saig’s depiction of the cactus tree, at an

⁴⁵ Loc.cit

⁴⁶ Boullata, Kamal, and John Berger. *Palestinian Art: From 1850 to the Present*. London, Berkeley and Beirut, Saqi, 2009. Pg. 23

exhibition in 1933, that birthed the notion of a “national art.”⁴⁷ The cactus, *sabr* in Arabic, had a colloquial importance to the Palestinians, as the word *sabr*, is also a term used for patience. While important to the Palestinians, it was also used by the early Jewish settlers in their own art. They often depicted this new fruit, one that was strange to their native lands in Europe, reflecting on a new beginning.⁴⁸ Though new to the settlers, the cactus tree was at the centre of Palestinian life for centuries prior.

Beirut was the epicentre for Arab arts and culture. Though Palestinian art in Beirut was not exactly part of the cultural tradition that gave Beirut their aforementioned nickname. Boullata has this to say on Beirut; “Beirut was not only where Palestinian artists were able to re-member Palestine in their art, but it was also the place where ‘defiant memory’ could be born.”⁴⁹ Many Palestinian artists found their muse while in the camps of Lebanon, for the purposes of this research, I will introduce three Palestinian artists from the refugee camps, Ismail Shammout, Ibrahim Ghannam and Naji Al-Ali.

Ismail Shammout was one of the many Palestinians forced out of their homes by Jewish settlers. His town, Lydda, was one of the more brutal evacuations where the Palestinians were literally forced out at gunpoint. His expulsion took him to Gaza, and later to Egypt, where he was involved in the anti-Colonial struggle of the time and in fact, his first art exhibit was an event that was inaugurated by Gamal Abdel Nasser and attended by Yasser Arafat. Shammout’s work was reflective of his own experiences, his portfolio is

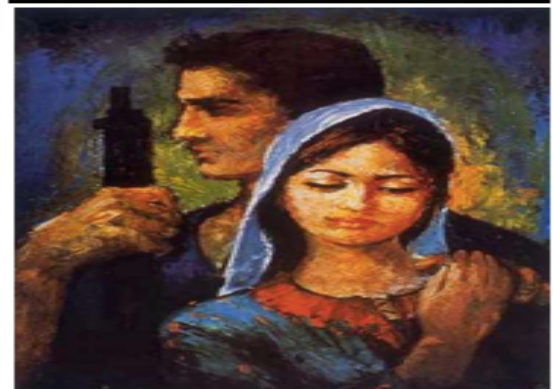
⁴⁷ Ibid. Pg. 186

⁴⁸ Ibid. 185-6

⁴⁹ Ibid. 159

mired with poor, confused figures fleeing persecution. Late in his career, at one of his most revered exhibits, near the exit, he left a blank canvas with a note proclaiming that this blank canvas is left for the next Palestinian painter who will continue the struggle.⁵⁰

As the director of the PLO's art department, he was responsible for a number of political adverts, and magazine covers. Though he was used as a tool for certain political programmes, Shammout's work transcends generations, as he reflects not only the exile, but the struggle to return as well. A number of his images represent the essence of the Palestinian struggle. The images below provide a slight insight into Shammout's work and the manner in which, with his own unique style, his work represents the exile from their homes (top right, bottom left), the Tel el-Zaatar massacre (top-left) and the Palestinian revolutionary (bottom right).



⁵⁰ Ibid. 131-133

*Illustration 1: Examples of Ismail Shammout's work*⁵¹

The next artist, Ibrahim Ghannam, is not the most “popular” Palestinian artist, he did not travel the world, nor did he engage with the wider artistic community. Unfortunately for him, his bout with polio restricted him to a wheelchair at a young age. Born in the lost village of Yujur, he was exiled to Tel el-Zaatar refugee camp, and later to Mar Elias camp after Tel el-Zaatar was razed in 1976. Ghannam's work was tragic, unlike other artists, he did not set out to invigorate people with hope through his work. Instead, he captured memories of his lost land and a simpler time. A land that ceases to exist, and according to Boullata, never photographed.⁵²



⁵¹“Ismail Shammout.” *The Palestine Poster Project Archives*, <www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/ismail-shammout?page=1>

⁵² Boullata, Berger, 2009. Op.cit. Pg. 139

Illustration 2: Examples of Ibrahim Ghannam's work. ⁵³

Naji Al-Ali captured the hearts and minds of the Palestinians through his symbolic cartoon caricatures that he learnt to draw on the walls of the *Ain el-Helwah* refugee camp. Al-Ali used his talents to portray images of Israeli-American alliances and to raise his concerns with the politics of the Arab World. Though loved by many, Al-Ali's work was seen as a threat and thereby resulted in his assassination in London in 1987,⁵⁴ not before giving birth to the Handala image.⁵⁵

The child Handala is my signature, everyone asks me about him wherever I go... I drew him as a child who is not beautiful; his hair is like the hair of a hedgehog who uses his thorns as a weapon. Handala is not a fat, happy, relaxed, or pampered child. He is barefooted like the refugee camp children, and he is an icon that protects me from making mistakes. Even though he is rough, he smells of amber. His hands are clasped behind his back as a sign of rejection at a time when solutions are presented to us the American way.⁵⁶

The Handala, an image of all Palestinian and underprivileged children throughout the world, was born as a ten-year-old and will remain a ten-year-old. Handala is a depiction of Al-Ali who was ten years old when he was expelled from Palestine and he will not age a single day until he returns to Palestine. The Handala is present in most of Al-Ali's cartoons and is seen standing in the carnage with his back turned to the world and the observers. Al-Ali emphasised Israel, the United States, the refugees, and the Arab world. To encapsulate this "Palestinian'ness" as well as his disdain, an example of each is provided.

⁵³Ibrahim Ghannam." *The Palestine Poster Project Archives*,
<<https://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/ibrahim-ghannam>>

⁵⁴Knopf-Newman, 2011. Op.cit. Pg. 18

⁵⁵Boullata, Berger, 2009. Op.cit. Pg. 139

⁵⁶LeVine, Mark, and Gershon Shafir. *Struggle and Survival in Palestine/Israel*. Berkeley: U of California, 2012. Pg. 435

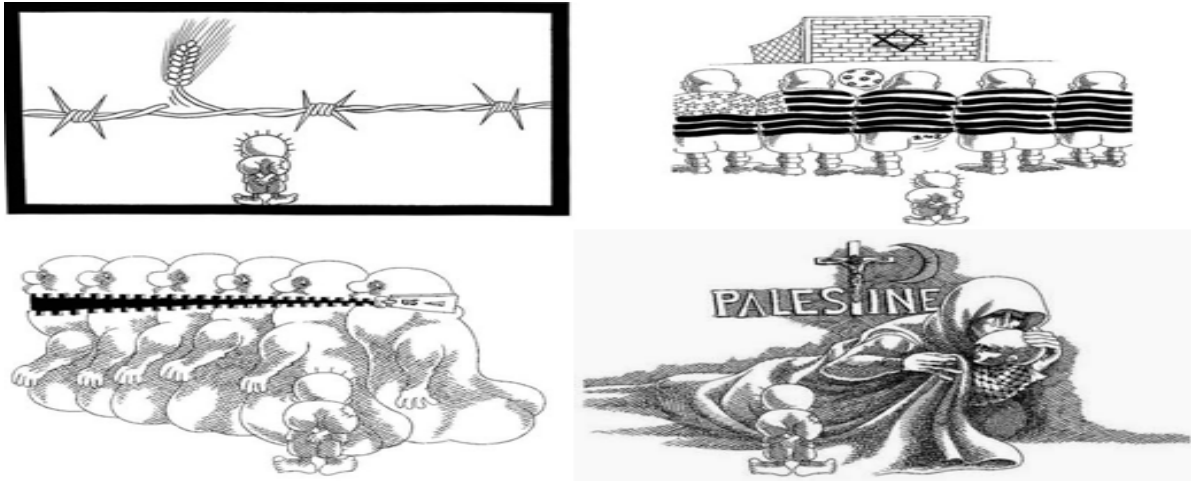


Illustration 3: Examples of Naji al-Ali's work⁵⁷

The above photos provide a slight insight into the messages Al-Ali depicted to the world. These images depict the steadfastness, the right of return, religious unity as well as the “fat-cats” of the Arab world and the manner in which they are controlled by the United States.

Handala has become much more than a cartoon, but a popular image for the Palestinians. He is on key chains, on jewellery and is a representation of the young Palestinians determined struggle within Palestine and everlasting connection to the homeland of the Palestinian Diaspora. The Palestinians have developed a number of symbols to reinforce their existence, arguably the only images stronger than that of Handala or the work of Kanafani, were the images of the *Feda'yeen*, Yasser Arafat's kuffiyeh and the Palestinian flag, all of which were symbols of the revolution. These symbols were insufficient in allowing the Palestinians to transplant themselves in the international arena, but it allowed for a starting point for the reinvention of Palestinian identity. Before the

⁵⁷ Ali, Naji Al, and Joe Sacco. *A Child in Palestine: The Cartoons of Naji Al-Ali*. London: Verso, 2009. Pgs. 5, 15, 7, 57 (As they appear clockwise)

development of symbolism, it was the reality lived by the refugees in the camps which allowed for Palestinian identity to shift away from Pan-Arabism and articulate what it meant to be Palestinian.

The Romantic Palestinian Identity

“Since our history is forbidden, narratives are rare; the story of origins, of home, of nation is underground. When it appears, it is broken, often wayward and meandering in the extreme... Thus Palestinian life is scattered, discontinuous, marked by the artificial and imposed arrangements of interrupted and confined space, by the dislocations and synchronized (sic) rhythms of disturbed time.”

-Edward Said⁵⁸

Edward Said was arguably the most popular and influential Palestinian thinker and the narrative on Palestinian identity has generally reflected the romantic attachment to a lost homeland found in Said's writing. While this sense of attachment is important in ascribing to a national memory, the attachment and autonomy of a single nation must mature in a manner applicable to the modern nation state. National identifiers such as an anthem, a flag, dress and custom are defined as a national “tool kit” by Orvar Löfgren.⁵⁹ While these identifiers were essential in the resurgence of the Palestinian identity, this thesis will look past the tool kit, to focus on the necessity of a people under threat coming together. Notwithstanding the findings of Edward Said, concluding that Palestine was an Arab/Islamic country by the end of the seventh century,⁶⁰ Khalidi's theory proving the Palestinian national consciousness through Benedict Anderson's concept of print-capitalism and the thousands of stories of dispersal, loss, tragedy and life by the

⁵⁸ Said, Edward W., and Jean Mohr. *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives*. New York: Columbia UP, 1999. Pg. 20

⁵⁹ Craith, Máiréad Nic, Ullrich Kockel, and Reinhard Johler. *Everyday Culture in Europe: Approaches and Methodologies*. New York: Routledge, 2016. Pg. 8

⁶⁰ Said, Edward W. *The Question of Palestine*. New York: Vintage, 1992. Pg.10

Palestinians who survived the Nakba, there is a clear problem. Irrespective of whose land it is, who the chosen people of God are or whose prophet ruled over the land in the centuries past, Palestinians were denied the inalienable human rights of their home, history and self-determined identity in 1948. Don Peretz wrote in an article in the United States Institute for Peace that the Palestinian identity is three-fold, arguing that after the mandate the Palestinians had to transform from being Syrian Arabs under Ottoman rule to Palestinians under British rule and when they started to act on this newfound identity they were forced to shift to an identity defined by statelessness and it was not until 1967 that they began to accept the “refugee” tag and use it as a identifier in their struggle for return and self-determination.⁶¹ It was after the defeat of 1967 that the Palestinians were forced to accept reality, a harsh reality for the elders of the Nakba who held on to the notion of Pan-Arabism, coined by Edward Said was “Palestinianism”⁶², united with their Arab neighbours but isolated in their resistance against Israeli colonisation.

In her ground-breaking work on the peoplehood of Palestinians, UK-based Professor Dina Matar stated the Palestinian problem in this manner: “there was no longer a centre of gravity in which to identify, and no landscape to claim, but that of the imagination.”⁶³ Matar, amongst others, developed her work on Palestinian identity based on stories of those who survived or were born with the after effects of the Nakba. Palestinian writer Fawaz Turki was one of the stories Matar included in her work, in which he wrote; “I just

⁶¹ Loc.cit.

⁶² Said, Edward W. *The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination, 1969-1994*. New York: Pantheon, 1994. Pg. 4

⁶³ Matar, Dina. *What It Means to Be Palestinian: Stories of Palestinian Peoplehood*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011. Pg. 56

know that for my own generation our last day in Palestine was the first day that we began to define our Palestinian identity.”⁶⁴ While Turki did point to the surge of identity post-Nakba he went on to define it through the memory of the olive trees, stone houses, land and sea that many Palestinians have never and will never see.⁶⁵ While their reality consisted of expulsion, occupation and oppression, the Palestinians, as declared by Yasser Arafat in the second intifada as were exemplifying *il sha'b il jabareen* which literally translates to strong ones or remnants of giants. There was a sense of hope and dedication along with a strengthened national consciousness. At this time the Palestinian identity had no viable structure to either strengthen or solidify it, but it remained evident and revitalised in the ghettos of the refugee camps and in the homes of the Palestinians.

Home is a reflection of self, a place of comfort, familiarity and family, for the Palestinians, the question of home has its own complications. Professor Iain Chambers postulates the dilemma faced by those in exile: “It is impossible to “go home” again, for neither home nor migrant stayed the same.”⁶⁶ In answering the question of what it means to be Palestinian, what stands out is the romantic attachment to a homeland that is foreign to many. Parents draw on childhood memories, dreams and realities, passing them down to their children. The symbolism of “Palestinianism” has been entrenched into the minds, homes and memories. It is this symbolism that has strengthened the viability of Palestinian identity, in turn threatening the feasibility of the Israeli occupation. Artists representing this tradition have been targeted, including, novelist Ghassan Khanafani who

⁶⁴ Ibid. Pg. 61

⁶⁵ Loc.cit.

⁶⁶ Chambers, Iain. *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. London: Routledge, 1994. Pg. 74

was assassinated in Lebanon in 1971, and Naji al-Ali, a cartoonist, was also assassinated in London in 1987. Al-Ali's character "*Hanthala*" has resonated for decades with all who claim to be Palestinian, a child who Al-Ali claims "is neither beautiful, spoiled, nor even well-fed. He is barefoot like many children in refugee camps,"⁶⁷ acts as a constant re-enforcement of a lost identity and lost childhood in that maturation and freedom is linked directly with return to the "homeland". A Palestinian home, in New York, London, Moscow, Beirut, Gaza or Jerusalem will generally have the same feel, there will be a picture of Jerusalem, decorative plates made of mother-of-pearl, Palestinian *tatreez* (embroidery) with a Palestinian flag incorporated into one of these decorative pieces. Another major identifier, according to Palestinians, is their cuisine.

The Palestinians have a culture defined largely through its cuisine, an attachment that has survived time and exile. The daughter of Edward Said, Najla, in her memoirs asked: "Why doesn't anyone know what hummus is? Why do I have Arabic bread?"⁶⁸ Further, American-Palestinian author and spoken word artist Suheir Hammad echoed this crisis when she noted in her biography: "When it became too cool to eat hummus, falafel, *tabouleh* and pita bread with everything, it was too late. I had already wasted years trying to trade my *labneh* sandwiches for peanut butter and jelly, which I didn't even like."⁶⁹ It is difficult to quantify the importance of aged yogurt, chopped up parsley and crushed chickpeas to the general public, but with the likes of hummus and falafel being

⁶⁷ El Fassed, Arjan. "Naji Al-Ali: The Timeless Conscience of Palestine." *The Electronic Intifada*. 20 Jan. 2004. Web. 10 Nov. 2014. <<http://electronicintifada.net/content/naji-al-ali-timeless-conscience-palestine/5166>>.

⁶⁸ Said, Najla. *Looking for Palestine: Growing up Confused in an Arab-American Family*. New York: Riverhead, 2013. Pg. 46

⁶⁹ Hammad, Suheir. *Born Palestinian, Born Black*. New York: Harlem River, 1996. Pg. 51

recognised by some as Israeli cuisine, it has been added to the list of cultural identifiers that the Palestinians have lost during the Nakba. The foods that are being stripped away from the Palestinians do not only hinder the culture, but the economy as well. Palestinians have been and continue to be an agrarian society, this has obstructed the history, aspirations and the livelihood of the Palestinian people. Outside of hummus and falafel, the most historic and significant symbol of the Palestinian culture is olive oil, known to have a thicker texture and distinct taste. Israeli destruction of the olive groves, some of which are hundreds of years old, and appropriation of the olive oil acts as both a theft of livelihood and of culture and identity.

In a conversation with Salman Rushdie, Edward Said referred to a story in which he was hosting a friend for breakfast that consisted of the herb *zaa'tar* (thyme). Although this herb is eaten throughout a number of Arab countries, his friend commented: "It's a sign of a Palestinian home that it has *zaa'tar* in it."⁷⁰ Said then explained to Rushdie that the Palestinians view anything that they do as a Palestinian identifier. Although Said's quote simplifies a complex notion, it is the basis of the resurgence of the identity. The Palestinians are Palestinians, because they say so and choose to be. As argued by the likes of Brubaker⁷¹ and Guibernau⁷²; identity is constructed, to belong or to oppose those of which one shares likeness. The Palestinian identity has its own multifarious

⁷⁰ Said, 2004. op.cit. Pg. 115

⁷¹ Brubaker, Roger, and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond Identity." *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1-47. Pg. 6

⁷² Guibernau, Montserrat . "Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity: a critical assessment." *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (1/2) (2004): 125-141. Pg. 135

characteristics, in that, the identity is not only pushed to differentiate from their colonisers but as well their Arab allies.

It is these nostalgic memories and customs that were passed down to what was supposed to be the lost generation of Palestinians after the Nakba. These stories of a lost landscape and culture along with the heroic nature of the likes of Sheikh al-Qassam and Abdel Qader al-Husseini fuelled the lost generation to become the revolutionary generation that attempted to put the Palestinians on the map, both literally and figuratively.

This research will attempt to build on these memories, the passionate attachment and the different national identity theories to devise an applicable model of the Palestinian national consciousness as it has developed post-trauma. Being that the ethnosymbolic history of the Palestinians elicits many parallels to their neighbours, namely those of the Levant, there has been an overwhelming tendency to neglect the fractures and fragmentations between, say a wealthy bureaucrat in Amman versus a fisherman in the Gaza Strip. Although the example provided prompts for socioeconomic differentiation, a long time before the fragmentation of Greater Syria the people mentioned above would differ in cuisine, language and in some cases physical make up. Further, a Christian family in Jerusalem would be far more similar to their Muslim neighbour than they would be to a Christian living in Beirut, the same goes for the Muslim Jerusalemite and a fellow Muslim living in Damascus or Beirut. While miniscule, the cultural differences did exist, it was particularly the events after 1948 that forced these regional differences to become national identifiers.

In closing, the Palestinian romantic identity can be best defined by author and founder of the Electronic Intifada Ali Abunimah, asserting: “Palestine exists because Palestinians have chosen to remember it. But memories fade and people die, and some are better at remembering than others. Memory is no longer enough. It is time to write history and time for each of us to become a historian.”⁷³ The Palestinian identity has remained out of the history books and the museums, due, in part, to its resistance. As Abunimah noted, memory fades, thus it is important for modern contemporary Palestinian studies to understand the events that led up to and solidified the base of the evolving Palestinian identity after they lost their homeland as well as how we ought to re-conceptualise the manner in which Palestinian identity is studied. This thesis traces the rise and formation of the distinctive Palestinian identity, developing the arguments above and examining the construction of Palestinian identity in the 1960’s.

Chapter Structure

The thesis is organised as follows:

Introduction. This chapter provides the aims, objectives and hypothesis of the research in addition to the research questions and methodology. Further, the Palestinian identity crisis will be explored. Highlighting the difficulties faced living in Israel and the Arab world and the development of a romantic attachment to Historic Palestine.

⁷³ Abunimah, Ali. "Dear NPR News..." *The Link* 31.5 (1998). Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc. Web. 19 Nov. 2014. Pg. 4 <<http://www.ameu.org/getattachment/c7b04b7f-c7f8-4f35-9383-f21df7d3465b/Dear-NPR-News.aspx>>.

Chapter One: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework. This chapter sets out the different types of literature to be explored. Focusing on secondary data, the concepts of the nation and nationalism leading to the different theories of national identity are explored. The main classical theories of nationalism that will be used throughout the thesis will be those of Ernest Gellner and Anthony Smith. Aside from the classical theories, this chapter examines the different aspects of belonging and developing an affinity to a nation through history, self-determination and the Diaspora. When exploring contemporary identity, the essential theorists used are Montserrat Guibernau, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, Michael Billig, Wayne Norman, Craig Calhoun, Charles Taylor and Roger Brubaker. Upon conveying the relevance of these theories, the chapter concludes with a discussion on how these directly impact and influence the trajectory of Palestinian identity.

Chapter Two: Research Methodology introduces the methods that will be used, interviews and content analysis through written and episodic records. These methods will allow for a holistic approach when exploring the Palestinian narrative, including biographies, foreign policy, UN resolutions and first-hand accounts of the interviewees.

Chapter Three: Zionism, Palestine and the British Mandate explores the events leading up to and throughout the British Mandate over Palestine. The framework will begin with the exploration of the French-British negotiations and the promises that were made to the Arab rulers. Following the negotiations, the Arab resistance in Mandatory Palestine as well as the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 will be presented. Though this thesis is focused on the events post-1948, for the reader to understand the make-up of the Middle East in the 20th century it is essential to provide a historic framework. The fact that the

Israelis and Palestinians are in conflict is well-known, the reasoning behind that conflict and the wider geo-political problems in the Middle East are far more complex. In attempt to clarify an aspect of these complexities this chapter will provide a summary of the break-up of Greater Syria by France and England, the rise of Zionism, and the initial rise of Palestinian nationalism.

Chapter Four: Pan-Arabism. This chapter studies the growth of Pan-Arabism and the socio-economic reasoning behind its popularity. Further, the ideologies and actions of Arab nations that held a direct influence towards the Palestinian question are tested in order to explore whether or not the concept of Pan-Arabism was in itself a construct driven by political motive that may have had an adverse effect on the Palestinians and their quest for self-determination.

Chapter Five: The Refugee. This chapter provides the refugee story, focusing on the settlement and initial treatment of the refugees in Lebanon. The “Palestinian Problem” was primarily viewed as a refugee problem, while some may have hoped that the refugees of Palestine would transition into their fellow Arab countries swiftly, this was far from the reality. This thesis will show that one of the major downfalls of Pan-Arabism and the need for a separate Palestinian identity was based on the lack of hospitality amongst some parties throughout the Arab world. This will be portrayed through exploring the social, economic and security issues faced by the refugees and the manner in which this began to create a divide amongst the Palestinians and their fellow Arabs.

Chapter Six: The Revolution. This chapter explores the dynamics, which motivated and impelled the Fatah leadership, in their various styles, to move, however gradually towards an autonomous Palestinian revolution. Drawing on primary data as well as

autobiographical accounts, this chapter analyses the initial thinking of Fatah members and the reasoning behind the separation from the broader Arab movement. Following the founding of Fatah and their actions in the early 1960's, this chapter considers the Six-Day War, the Battle of Karameh and the subsequent events that had a direct impact on the trajectory of the Palestinians.

Chapter Seven: The Statesmen. This chapter will test the influence of the actions of Fatah and the Palestinians towards the United Nations and the Western World. Identity is a self-construct and the Palestinians exist because they choose to, while this may satisfy a sociological study, in the realm of politics recognition of said identity is arguably just as important. In the case of the Palestinians and Israelis, the concept of statehood and place to nurture their respective identity is the conflicting issue. Both parties may have formidable arguments, regardless, geopolitics and international intervention has played a large role in the successes and failures of each party. This chapter explores the initial concessions made by the PLO, in an effort to reach a peaceful solution with Israel and gain recognition from the United States. Much of the thesis up until this point deals with events in which the Palestinians were up against fellow Arabs. It is in this chapter, I argue, that Israel entered into the equation in an attempt to do away with the Palestinian entity.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Recommendations: This chapter will provide concluding arguments detailing the extent in which the hypothesis has been proven. At no point in the time period covered did the Palestinians enjoy the state structure needed to satisfy all the determinants of nationalism theory, but in essence, it was the lack of the state structure that define the unique Palestinian national identity. This was especially

evident in the refugee stage, evolving into the call for social action in the revolutionary period, which perpetuated the need for a separate Palestinian entity, concluding with the Palestinians coming full circle in attempt to create a state structure that wasn't available to them in the earlier years. The conclusion will also address the shortcomings and the reasoning behind ending the story in 1982.

Chapter 1: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1.1 The Paradox of Identity

In their work, *Suicide of the West* (2006), Richard Koch and Chris Smith investigated the paradoxical nature of the question: ‘Who am I?’ The paradox lies in the fact that we ask the question as individuals, yet we can only define our existence and its meaning beyond our role as individuals, by reference to a group or groups.⁷⁴ One’s sense of identity can be defined through a mixture of many different outlets, be it religious, national, economic, regional or simply through an affiliation to a sports team or a political party. As the world moves further to the right in accepting neoliberal economic principles, people have been forced to become more individualistic and according to Koch, this shift in individualism furthers the need for a collective identity.⁷⁵ Since humans are generally social, the need for social inclusiveness is necessary to uphold the values of society.

Although identity promotes collectiveness, it is driven by personal choice and for the most part, it is not concrete. A person may convert to another religion, cheer for another sports team, and/or move to a new region, many believe the only aspect of identity that cannot be changed is one’s ethnic identity. As Israeli historian Shlomo Sand proclaimed; “Identity is not a hat or an overcoat!”⁷⁶ Sand claims that identity exhibits itself to the situation at hand, in order to fit in, or stand out. Identity can be shaped, reshaped and even merged, integral to this, according to Sand, are those identities that must be worn as

⁷⁴ Koch, Richard, and Chris Smith. *Suicide of the West*. London: Continuum, 2006. Print. Pg. 11

⁷⁵ Loc.cit.

⁷⁶ Sand, Shlomo. *The Invention of the Jewish People*. London: Verso, 2010. Pg. 10

a “hat”. Religion is one example, one cannot simply be both Muslim and Christian or Hindu and Jewish, another example is pre-nationalist patriotism. Before the days of migration and immigration, people would not generally define themselves as loyal to more than one nation.⁷⁷ Of course this has changed, hyphenation of national identity has become highly popular, the final institution that does not promote inclusiveness is the religious one. Religious identity may, similar to national identity, according to Andreas Wimmer, create a “blurred” boundary or identity.⁷⁸ An American Jew, for example, may have a stronger connection to the “Jewish State” obliging them to join the Israeli Defence Forces or someone born and raised in the United Kingdom, instead of trying to integrate into their local community, might rather risk their life to defend the Muslim *Ummah* by fighting for a group such as Al-Qaeda or the Islamic State.

For the Palestinians, understanding one’s national and ethnic identity is integral in reaching the goal of freedom and self-determination. Consequently, it is important to note that history suggests that nationalism can be highly dangerous, as was seen in the first half of the 20th century in Europe. Due, in part, to the two World Wars, Europe spent the latter part of the aforementioned century promoting the “European” identity through the economic principles adopted by the European Union (EU).⁷⁹ The EU, aided by the fall of the Soviet Union, has been successful in bringing an imperfect peace to the region. Nevertheless, this has not brought an end to nationalism in Europe, as can be seen with the United Kingdom’s vote to leave the EU. The crisis in the Ukraine has rekindled Cold-

⁷⁷ Ibid. Pg. 11

⁷⁸ Wimmer, Andreas. "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 113 (4) (2008): 970-1022. Pg. 989

⁷⁹ Koch and Smith 2006, op.cit., Pg. 23

War anxieties and has seen a re-entrenchment of old players and attitudes. At the end of the day, the EU Parliament is made up of representatives from different nations and each respective country still has its national governing body.

The decentralisation of politics combined with the idea of uniform citizenry can successfully mask national identity and promote multiculturalism. However, in difficult and trying times, people can and often do resort to stand with those “similar” to them in order to define and/or understand their own national identity. For example, prior to the civil rights movement in the United States, the African-American community found itself faced with an identity crisis. They were American citizens, they were growing in the ranks and serving in the military, yet they were still regarded as second-class citizens by the state. In order to rise above the discrimination, they organised, not as Americans, but as African-Americans, creating a nation within a state that is still campaigning for equality.

Similar to its southern neighbour, Canada has faced its own issues as the Quebecois Francophones struggle to find their place in the country. Nevertheless, the two countries have been able, aside from the aforementioned predicaments, to create a set of principles that define an identity that has been accepted by the citizens of the state. To be American or Canadian is to be a citizen of a state that defines one’s identity as an accepted culture enshrined into a mosaic that allows people to silence their national aspirations for what is best for society in general. A majority of states throughout the world do not have this luxury. The growth of independence after the Second World War has divided regional

ethnic groups into nation states and this has caused a number of conflicts over the past half century.

1.2 The Construct of Identity

According to Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor, self-identity cannot be completely defined by name or genealogy. He argues that identity is expressed through commitments made determining what is good and/or bad, what must be done and what one chooses to support.⁸⁰ Taylor posits that identity may be developed through a number of angles, namely through moral, spiritual and national determinants. What is interesting about the ideas proposed by Taylor is his argument that people will identify to a religion or nation not only to attach themselves to the spiritual view or national consciousness, but in order to define what is right and wrong, what is of value and what is admirable. This is an important view as it contradicts the idea that people choose to belong to a group based on similar views, rather they may identify themselves with affiliation to a group in order to determine their views.

Similar to Taylor, Craig Calhoun argues that there are three forms in which identity may be determined; nationalism, ethnicity and kinship.⁸¹ While separate, these three “forms of social solidarity”, as referred to by Calhoun, may be used to forge communities, while neglecting others, the concept of kinship has allowed for multi-ethnic communities to flourish. Calhoun suggests that a fault of a number of writers is the fact that nationalism and identity is derived in a manner defined by self-interest and state building according to

⁸⁰ Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1989. Pg. 27

⁸¹ Calhoun, Craig J. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 1997. Pg. 29

a pre-existing bond. As nations and communities mature, an identity may be based on a pre-historic notion, but it evolves as a “specific form of continuing social and cultural reproduction”. As connections develops it is essential to explore the two levels of identity construction. One based on historical events and human action versus the development of national allegiances based on personal relations and cultural experiences. Even a classical thinker such as Geertz argues that in order for a group to evolve, the identity must be formulated with allegiance to a civil state.⁸² While that resonates with the common Western view by putting state building and nation building into the same context, the concept of nation building must have an end goal of self-determination.

While state building and civil society are essential to developing an everlasting identity, without a constant “time and place” it is difficult to ensure the viability and survival of an identity. This provides for the essentialness of developing symbols and national traditions for a group of people to rally around. Michael Billig, the author of *Banal Nationalism*, speaks of ordinary and hot nationalism and the symbolism of a society going on with its regular business versus one that is struggling for change. He references Roger Rogowski’s definition of nationalism, which argued that nationalism is when a nation is striving for unity and independence. With that said, nationalism is the process of allowing a national group to flourish into a nation-state.⁸³ Central to the national movement are the national symbols and national traditions that may remain dormant, only to be recognised and/or celebrated in times of commemoration or, in the case of the Palestinians, when threatened.

⁸² Ibid. 31

⁸³ Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage, 1995. Pg. 43

Eric Hobsbawm, in his essay “The Invention of Tradition” alluded to the fact that both Israeli and Palestinian nationalism, regardless of their history in the holy land, only began developing national traditions at the end of the First World War.⁸⁴ While this concept is relevant to the research, the problem lies in the double standard being applied by lawmakers and opinion makers in the Western world and Israel. As noted in the preceding introduction, the likes of Newt Gingrich and Israeli lawmakers have alluded to the Palestinians being an “invented people”, disregarding the fact that the same can be argued when describing both the state of Israel and the United States. Nevertheless, being that the land of historic Palestine has always been a home to many cultures and religions, including, but not limited to, Arabs, Jews, Assyrians, Druze and Germans, there were a number of languages and cultures spoken and/or practised in the region. It was at this time that both the Jewish settlers and the Arab inhabitants began to see the importance of language and as portrayed by Hobsbawm, “inventing traditions”. Billig refers to a quote by Yasser Arafat in 1993, in which he says, “The Palestinian state is within our grasp. Soon the Palestinian flag will fly on the walls, the minarets and the cathedrals of Jerusalem.”⁸⁵ Billig cites that this view of Arafat, the concept of flagging nationalism is a means to an end. The Palestinian flag is the most central symbol of Palestinian nationalism and has been referred to by Arafat and others as a representation of resistance and solidarity, but the end goal is for Palestinian nationalism to become banal.⁸⁶ Nationalism in free states has become dormant, only to be reignited in times such as

⁸⁴ Hobsbawm, E. J. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1983. Pg. 13

⁸⁵ Billig 1995. op.cit. Pg. 41

⁸⁶ Loc.cit.

international sporting tournaments, national holidays and commemoration. Arafat dreamt for the Palestinian flag to wave freely in Jerusalem, but in the same token, in the end, Arafat's dream was for the national flag to be just that, a national flag, not a symbol of resistance. Once the Palestinians are given a sense of normality and a sense of independence, they will no longer need to constantly portray the existence of their nation, thus allowing an identity to further develop into a nationality backed by a state entity.

Nationalism scholar, Montserrat Guibernau, in her work *Belonging*, illustrates that self-identity is a construct and that one may shape his/her own identity through choosing to belong to a group or being excluded from or choosing to reject the identity of another, more dominant group.⁸⁷ Over one's life they may construct and re-construct this self-identity, it is no different for the Palestinians. In time of accommodation the Palestinians found both a sense of belonging and a sense of exclusion in their new surroundings. The state of Israel did provide citizenship to those who remained, but they were excluded from being full members of the state. The surrounding Arab countries did provide refuge for those expelled and they did send their armies to fight in defence of Palestine in 1948, but the Palestinian refugees were not completely welcomed into their new place of residence.

It is understood that many factors of identity may be fluid and ever changing but for the purpose of this research, inclusion and commonality bringing forth a national political movement will be central. A surge of this identity may remain dormant for decades, even

⁸⁷ Guibernau, Montserrat. *Belonging: Solidarity and Division in Modern Societies*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2013. Pg. 28

centuries, until it is threatened. The Arabs of Palestine may have been comfortable defining themselves as Arabs, remaining enclosed, differing from others, not by national identity, but through location (Jerusalemite, Jaffawi, Akkawi, Gazan, et cetera). Similar to many other nations throughout the colonised world, it was not until faced by external threats was there a need for the definition of said identity.

American sociologists Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper provide a number of uses of the conceptual term ‘identity’.⁸⁸ They argue that, first; identity is viewed as a basis of social action, which opposes universal self-interest for a particular self-understanding. Next, it is understood as a phenomenon to understand sameness and collectivity. Further, it is seen as a core aspect of self-development and self-understanding through building a foundational connection to others. Finally, the last two determinants describe the post-modern reality a number of oppressed communities, in that; identity is a means of protest, social action and the differentiation of one from the other coming forth as the product of competing narratives.⁸⁹ These conceptual analyses, in the manner scholars understand identity will provide a foundation to explore the development of identity and the goals behind developing or resurging an identity.

Guibernau furthers this argument claiming that people who find themselves facing social difficulties will be encouraged to identify themselves with those who share the same commitment to achieving a political objective, regarding them as “friends” against a

⁸⁸ Brubaker, Cooper, 2000. op.cit. Pg. 2

⁸⁹ Ibid. Pg. 6-8

common “enemy”⁹⁰. There is a sense of commitment amongst fellow nationals portrayed through congregation, the celebration or commemoration of a number of symbols and/or rituals and an emotional attachment- longing for something that once was.⁹¹ In this time of confusion, the Palestinians did just that. In his influential piece, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, and Reality* Eric Hobsbawm allotted to the notion of collectivity through uniting people against others, the concept of “us vs. them.”⁹² The Palestinians aligned themselves with their fellow Arabs to impose a collective will on the new state of Israel while the new Arab states leveraged the Palestinian struggle, not only to gain the adoration of their own population and hide their own inadequacies but also to strengthen a vast Arab republic. This led to the construction of Pan-Arabism, which did last nearly two decades, but the same theories of belonging and uniting people against others worked against the political idea of Pan-Arabism to be reconstructed once again into a new sense of Palestinian nationalism. With the creation of the PLO and the rise of Yasser Arafat the Palestinians developed, their own “imagined community”⁹³, connecting people that either live under occupation, in refugee camps or further afield. This distinction of an autonomous Palestinian identity, separate from the Arab collective is what Max Weber would describe as social closure⁹⁴. Although there are clear parallels between the Arabs in Palestine and those from other Arab regions, the Palestinians formulated a familiarity that forced Palestinians to view the rest as similar, but “foreign”. This thesis will parallel the two constructed identities and the events that

⁹⁰ Guibernau 2013, op. cit., Pg. 35

⁹¹ Ibid. Pg. 32-33

⁹² Hobsbawm 2012. op.cit. Pg. 91

⁹³ Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006. Pg. 7

⁹⁴ Wimmer, Andreas. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pg. 33

propelled them, both against the state of Israel and against one another. Prior to that, the rest of this chapter will explore the ranging theories of national identity and nationalism.

1.3 Nations and Nationalism

According to British political theorist David Miller: “If we could persuade people to discard ideas of nationality and to regard themselves simply as members of the human race, perhaps with cultural affiliations to a particular group but nothing more than this, there would be a freer and more peaceful place.”⁹⁵ Currently, there isn’t a widely accepted answer to the question, what is a nation? The term “nation” originated from the Latin word “*natio*”, and until the twentieth century was reserved for human groups with similar customs and groups of students from foreign countries.⁹⁶ Throughout time, the term has had one constant in that it defines groups with common origins, however, French historian Marc Bloch may have had it right when he noted; “to the great despair of historians, men fail to change their vocabulary every time they change their customs.”⁹⁷ The changed customs have evolved to contain a number of determinants leading to a number of definitions. It is understood that the term “nation” has evolved over time without resulting in a social theory to bring the term into the twentieth century. Israeli academic Shlomo Sand credits this to the fact that nations were perceived to be a natural almost immortal idea that had existed since the beginning of time.⁹⁸

The idea of a nation has grown to be limited, viewed as a people within an area or a border. The issue is that states are not always concrete and may again dismiss the notion

⁹⁵ Miller, David. *On Nationality*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995. Pg. 13

⁹⁶ Sand, 2010. *op.cit.* Pg. 23

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* P. 24

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* P. 31

of nations and nationalities being natural as seen in the fifties in Korea when it was divided into North Korea and South Korea. The same applies to the Sudan, which in 2011 was divided into South Sudan and North Sudan. On a larger scale, the people of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia went from being Soviet or Yugoslavian to identifying themselves by their new-found state whether it be Croatian, Serbian, Russian, or Ukrainian to name a few--the Ukrainians more recently exhibiting further divisions under pressure from within and outside their country.

Nations, over the twentieth century, were given identities through the creation of states and autonomous self-governance, as defined by John Stuart Mill:

A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united amongst themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others - which make them cooperate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be government by themselves or a portion of themselves, exclusively.⁹⁹

The quote above poses one of the core problems the Palestinians have faced in their fight for their self-determination and independence. Being that the Palestinians are divided, geographically and ideologically, there is not a central government or voice that represents all the people, the PLO had this responsibility for a short while until Fatah and the PA monopolised it. The concept of statehood and UN membership has monopolised international relations and without these privileges, one's identity will constantly be in question. Helena Schulz, in her work on Palestinian identity, argues that in part, Palestinian identity is in question due to the fact that they are constantly re-identifying

⁹⁹ Mill, John Stuart. *Considerations on Representative Government*. Rockville, Maryland: Serenity Publishers, 2008. P. 179

themselves¹⁰⁰. What started as a national liberation struggle to retrieve Historic Palestine in its entirety has become a diplomatic process begging for Israel to allow the Palestinians to live on 22% of their land. Regardless of the situation, the concept of resistance against the occupiers has been an important facet of this identity, although Schulz is correct in that the fact that the Palestinians are constantly reconstructing their identity, this thesis will argue that the basis of this identity was reconstructed, not only to rival the newly formed state of Israel but be a distinct member in the family of Arab states.

The major factor, which is agreed upon by theorists on nationality and nations, is that the concepts of nations, nationalism and identity are ever evolving and highly complex. The creation of states on post-colonial borders dividing ethnic communities, the creation of multicultural immigrant-based states in the West and the growth of migration have all played a role in adding further confusion. The growth of differences amongst people has forced legal bodies to produce laws defining the importance of respecting the ever-growing number of allegiances.

When an average person voices their perception of a nation, it is regularly motivated by a stereotype of sort. It may be a positive stereotype, such as when referring to German engineering or French wine, but for the most part, stereotypes come attached with

¹⁰⁰ Schulz, Helena Lindholm. *The Reconstruction of Palestinian Nationalism: Between Revolution and Statehood*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press; Distributed exclusively in the USA by St. Martin's Press, 1999. vii.

negative connotations.¹⁰¹ Nations often find it difficult to overcome these clichés and persuade the general population to understand the complexity of their respective nations. Stereotypes, as trivial as they may be, are integral in people’s perception of nations. It is difficult for people, according to Simon Anholt,¹⁰² to worry about approximately two hundred countries, and billions of people thus have become dependent on short summaries and news clippings of nations until the time comes where they develop interest and/or plan to travel to the nation in question. The rest of this chapter will explore the theories of national identity and the construct of the modern identity.

1.3.1 Classical Nationalism

Influential to the subject of national studies are the works of Ernest Gellner, his student Anthony Smith, Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz. Their works, though seminal, are driven by a euro-centric view that may not be completely applicable to the Palestinian case. The starting point for classical nationalism studies is the concept of primordialism, which is generally associated with Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz. Although Shils and Geertz can both be defined as primordialists their findings can be both be said to be unique and original. Shils speaks of collectivities that tend to remain isolated¹⁰³, as families, tribes and villages do. This collectiveness and isolation is based on common biological characteristics, common territory¹⁰⁴ and common language.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, while Geertz does include race, language and region he also adds religion and

¹⁰¹ Anholt, Simon. *Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Pg. 28

¹⁰² Ibid. Pg. 1

¹⁰³ Shils, Edward. *The Constitution of Society*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1982. Pg. 23

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Pg. 66

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. Pg. 74

customs.¹⁰⁶ These determinants may have similar grounds, but the Geertz definition in itself allows for more of a transnational approach to the studies of nationalism. Further, Geertz warns that, the primordial ties and the exclusion of others due to the politicisation of said ties is a general initialiser for conflict,¹⁰⁷ as was shown by Hitler and Nazi Germany. The foremost criticism of primordial thought is rooted in practicality, as Walker Connor notes, primordialism is primitive, somewhat tribal, thus will begin to fade away as the world continues to modernise¹⁰⁸. In contrast, Roger Brubaker argues, that primordialism should not be ignored in lieu of modern society due to the naturalising nature of primordialists. In that, reverting to the natural ethnic community may be naturalised due to geopolitical circumstances¹⁰⁹, as practiced by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in an attempt to “reclaim” the Islamic Caliphate or the state of Israel’s Zionist movement to reclaim the Jewish Homeland.

Conversely, another classical theory, similar to primordialism is that of perennialism, political scientist Daniele Conversi defines perennialists as those who believe that the nation has stood the test of time and will continue to do so, whether relevant or not in the modern day.¹¹⁰ Anthony Smith further defines perennialism through two lenses, the first being; continuous perennialism which describes nations that have continued to exist over time and recurrent perennialism, which insists that nations may come and go but the

¹⁰⁶ Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic, 1973. Pg. 262

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Pg. 263

¹⁰⁸ Connor, Walker. *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994. Pg. 106

¹⁰⁹ Brubaker 2004. op.cit. Pg. 83

¹¹⁰ Conversi, Daniele. "Mapping the Field: Theories of Nationalism and the Ethnosymbolic Approach." *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nation*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 15-30. Pg. 20

broad concept of the nation is a phenomenon that will remain.¹¹¹ Once again, the Palestinian resurgence was not based on an eternal history, the religious ties to Jerusalem have perennial ties dating back to the Prophet Muhammad and Jesus Christ but until threatened, the religious institutions remained inclusive to the Jews, Muslims and Christians of Palestine. Comparatively, the Zionists and the Jews of Europe enacted the theory of perennialism to sell their connection to the land of Biblical Palestine. These theories, while important to the development of national studies, will not be used to conceptualise the resurgence of the Palestinian identity. Being that the identity was a strategic response to the geo-political makeup of the region, where those who led the resistance developed their arguments, not on a historic connection but as a return to a home that was lost only a decade before.

The next theory is ethnosymbolism, provided by Anthony Smith who notes that although constructed to fit the modern day, nationality is developed on an initial social connection of ethno-symbolism. He originally defined the five fundamental features of national identity as:

- 1) A historic territory, or homeland
- 2) Common myths and historical memories
- 3) A common, mass public culture
- 4) Common legal rights and duties for all members
- 5) A common economy with territorial mobility for members¹¹²

¹¹¹ Ibid. Pg. 20

¹¹² Smith 1991, op. cit. Pg. 14.

The initial problem with this definition, as critiqued by Smith himself, is that this definition is directed towards Western style nations. Smith argues that the “Western experience has exerted a powerful, indeed the leading, influence on our conception of the unit we call the nation.”¹¹³ After a number of criticisms, namely that of Walker Connor who argued that, especially in pre-modern times, it is difficult to quantify the scope of a ‘mass culture’ within a nation.¹¹⁴ Smith modified his definition in 2002 redefining a nation as “a named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs.”¹¹⁵ Although Smith provided a variation of his original definition, namely omitting the concept of “mass culture”, the “common economy” and “common laws and customs” replacing it with “common legal rights and duties for all members”, it is evident that Smith’s definition continues to fit into the rhetoric of the modern Western-style nation defined by state boundaries and state institutions.

When exploring the Palestinian identity, the aspects of a common memory and common history are important, providing for a romantic attachment to the land of one’s ancestors. Nonetheless, the Palestinian resurgence was not based on a longstanding attachment or historical narrative, it was based on opposing the colonisation of Palestine, the ethnic cleansing and expulsion of the Palestinians and the return, not to a “national home” as Lord Balfour declared for the Jewish people but return to one’s literal birth place and

¹¹³ Ibid. P. 9

¹¹⁴ Connor, Walker. ‘When is a nation?’ in Anthony D. Smith and John Hutchinson (eds.), *Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1994)

¹¹⁵ Smith, Anthony. "When is a nation?" *Geopolitics* 7.2 (2002): 5-32. P. 15.

family home. This shows that the resurgence of the Palestinian identity in the 1950's falls out of the frame when compared to most nationalist theories and/or examples. The likes of Scotland, Ireland, Catalonia nationalist movements matured over long periods of time, the Palestinians were forced out of their homes and forced into the homes of their neighbours. While the neighbours were similar, they developed their own national traits, reminding the Palestinians that they were in fact outsiders.

As for the concept of common economy and legal rights, it was not until the Oslo agreement of 1993 and the creation of the Palestinian Authority that the Palestinians began developing any semblance of an autonomous economy, albeit under occupation. The use of Smith's definition may apply to the common vernacular and the religious traditions of the Arab world at large but in the case of the Palestinian resurgence, less than a decade removed from the Nakba, the return to territory and the memory were not idealised in the manner in which nations symbolise national history. They were recalled, not as history or memory but a recent event that, regardless of what the history of the land is or was, has forced a population into refugee camps, oppression and exile.

The fiercest critic of Anthony Smith and the concepts of ethno-symbolism and primordialism can be attributed to Ernest Gellner and his work *Nations and Nationalism*. In response to Smith, Gellner likens his theory of nationalism to that of the naval.¹¹⁶ He notes that the naval may have had an importance at some point in time, but due to the process of evolution the naval no longer holds function. He equates this to the natural

¹¹⁶ Mortimer, Gellner, 1999. op.cit. Pg. 32

ethnic and cultural community, regardless of a historical claim- it is irrelevant in this day and age. Gellner accepts the criticism that his modernist theory only tells half the story,¹¹⁷ but argues, that due to the nation-state makeup and the stage humanity has reached, half the story is enough.

Gellner's constructivist approach does not give recognition to a nation due to common memory and myth, or to Max Weber's idea that the state is attributed to the central organisation that holds a monopoly of force in the region.¹¹⁸ Rather, Gellner suggests that the core of the modern nation-state is the social division of labour.¹¹⁹ Given that the rise of nationalism, according to Gellner, came along with the rise of industrialism, the preindustrial agrarian society did not hold the necessary functions to mature into a modern nation state.

Being that agrarian society was inherently clustered, the scope of labour and education was specific, allowing little room for individual growth. The vertical nature of agrarian society impeded the progression of state-structure and societal cohesion, thus preventing the rise of nationalism. Although these types of societies have been around for centuries and there may be common ethnosymbolic ties amongst a number of communities, Gellner asserts that due to their inward nature they lack a binding central authority. The agrarian class was generally made up of illiterate labourers led by a chief-like figurehead atop a hierarchical structure of governance who controlled the order, wisdom and

¹¹⁷ Loc.cit.

¹¹⁸ Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983. Pg. 3

¹¹⁹ Ibid. Pg. 24

violence in “low cultured society”.¹²⁰ Gellner’s argument states that in order for these scattered communities to become a nation, they must progress into a modern “high culture society” that differs from the primitiveness of culture in agrarian society,¹²¹ this is achieved through the process of industrialisation. Gellner’s theory, while seminal and widely regarded, is riddled with a colonial perspective, in that, society must mirror the “civilised” Western style state system in order to be recognised as a nation. In his 1983 work titled *Muslim Society* Gellner uses Israel as an example of need for a civilised society. He argues that Zionism and the Jewish Agency were successful in transforming parts of the Jewry into an agrarian society, organising the division of labour amongst the different Jewish settlements, thus being able to withstand Arab opposition. While it is understood that the development of labour structure has allowed Israel to flourish as a state,¹²² but he neglects the fact that it was their military domination and the geopolitical nature of the post-war world that allowed them to successfully create a state in Palestine.

In his fundamental work *Orientalism*, Edward Said summarised Arthur James Balfour’s June 1910 speech to the House of Commons about Egypt as follows: “England knows Egypt; Egypt is what England knows; England knows that Egypt cannot have self-government; England confirms this by occupying Egypt; for the Egyptians... Egypt requires, indeed insists upon, British Occupation.”¹²³ Those who were colonised were viewed as primitive societies, generally divided into a number of clusters (tribes, villages, communities) allowing the colonisers (British, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese,

¹²⁰ Ibid. Pg. 14

¹²¹ Ibid. Pg. 50

¹²² Gellner, Ernest. *Muslim Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981. Pg. 112

¹²³ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979. Pg. 34

Jewish) to occupy the land and shape it into what Gellner viewed as a “high-culture” fit for nationhood. This constructivist approach was practised once again by the same British, and French, governments in 1916 when what was then greater Syria was carved up into four different nations and the British promised a national home for the Jews in Palestine.

Israeli academic Nurit Peled-Elhanan argues that this negative orientalist depiction of the Palestinian people is still ongoing in Israeli society. In her work, researching Israeli textbooks she finds the Palestinians portrayed as; "The Arab with a camel, in an Ali Baba dress. They describe them as vile and deviant and criminal... The only representation is as refugees, primitive farmers and terrorists. You never see a Palestinian child or doctor or teacher or engineer or modern farmer."¹²⁴ It is this type of portrayal of the Palestinians that has impeded their progress in gaining independence and when tested against Gellner’s theory, the type of portrayal that allows cynics to question the nature of their identity and existence.

In closing, when exploring Gellner, it is essential to take the balance of world power into consideration. The development of the state and the construction of society entail the division of labour and Gellner’s theory postulates this important transition. However, when speaking of Palestine and Israel, it is essential to understand the influence of the United States and Western Europe in supporting the state, allowing them to conquer and flourish. While the plan for a Jewish home was conducted to near perfection, it was not

¹²⁴ Elhanan, Nurit. *Palestine in Israeli School Books: Ideology and Propaganda in Education*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2012. Pg. 128

developed solely due to their being a “high culture”, a lot of their success was predicated on geopolitical order. In his 1988 book *Plough, Sword and Book* Gellner argues that it is pre-modern society that was controlled by the sword and modern societies are controlled by the plough or industry,¹²⁵ when speaking of Israel, while they are technologically advanced, their nation was developed by the sword and the manner in which Palestinians are forced to live in the West Bank and Gaza prove that they have yet to relinquish the sword.

1.3.2 Contemporary Nationalism

The difficulty in applying the classical theories is due to the scarcity of accounting for the impact of political influence in their respective models. Guibernau, who is from a stateless nation, stressed that with this omission it is difficult to create a universal definition. Guibernau contends that it is essential to differentiate between the nation and the state, in that, nations without a state face a number of difficulties in gaining political autonomy and cultural recognition.¹²⁶ Smith’s definition, both the original and amended version, can be broadened when divided into two different sections; the aspect including memory, myth and culture may be applied to most nations throughout the world. Even nations who do not have political and legal institutions may have cultural and ethnic features that may define their national identity.¹²⁷ These three features will leverage the national identities of people in more complex situations such as the French-Canadians, the Catalans in Spain and the Palestinians in Israel to name a few. These features, albeit

¹²⁵ Malešević, Haugaard, 2007. op.cit. Pg. 75

¹²⁶ Guibernau 2004, op. cit. Pg. 126

¹²⁷ Suleiman, Yasir. *The Arabic Language and National Identity: a Study in Ideology*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown UP, 2003. Pg. 7

integral for those who remain underrepresented, may act as a catalyst for conflict, where one party may oppress another.

Guibernau does not completely discredit the approach of Smith when summarising what, in her opinion, entails a national identity. According to Guibernau, national identity encapsulates five dimensions¹²⁸; starting with the psychological dimension, which argues that national identity starts with a unity or closeness of a group of people. This founding moment of national consciousness may remain dormant for years, even centuries when said nation is confronted with a threat against their way of life, territory, culture or sovereignty. This kinship, be it of ancestral or constructed nature, generates a feeling of an extended family and a responsibility towards one another, similar to Anderson's imagined communities. Guibernau's next dimension, cultural, falls in line with Smith's cultural concepts of values, beliefs, customs, conventions, habits, languages and practices. She does add that in order for fellow-nationals to be connected, a vernacular language is the key factor as a staple of the nation. Following the cultural dimension, Guibernau points to the historical connection a people may share. A shared history allows a nation to gain self-esteem in either celebrating or commemorating the achievements and/or tragedies their ancestors have passed down.

The fourth dimension of national identity according to Guibernau is territorial, arguing that, traditionally, people have defined their space within the local village or community they belong to. Being that the nation, and more so the state, acts to bring these communities together individuals must depend on education and the transfer of

¹²⁸ Guibernau 2004, op. cit. Pg. 135-140

knowledge to understand the nation as a whole. Returning to Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined communities¹²⁹, this transfer of knowledge through print media and education has allowed people to envisage a homeland and nation consisting of places they have never seen and people that they have never met. The final dimension, which chiefly differentiates Guibernau from Smith, is the political dimension. Guibernau contends that nowadays, in order for a nation to survive and progress they must aspire towards the homogenisation of the language and culture and provide a uniform citizenry under the nation-state structure. Although national identity is attributed to an ethnic origin, as supported by Anthony Smith, Guibernau states that turning the nation into a nation-state is a multidimensional process resulting in the creation of power. She defines this process as:

The consolidation of territorial units by bureaucratic absolutist states that for the first time were able to hold the monopoly of the means of violence inside their territory; the transformation of frontiers delimiting different states in clearly fixed borders; the emergence of the bourgeoisie as a new class especially receptive to the ideas of the Enlightenment; and the new role of monarchs and rulers which was characterized (sic) by a fundamental change in the relation between rulers and ruled.¹³⁰

The underlying difference between Smith and Guibernau's work is the fact that she does differentiate between the nation and the state. She does set out a set of strategies a state must employ to ensure a uniform identity that include symbolism, rituals, common image, history and culture in one territory while also addressing the pertinence of civil, legal and political rights, the creation of common enemies, consolidated media and education. Guibernau, who is from the autonomous Catalan region in Spain, has spent her career focusing on Western stateless nations, will provide parallels between the

¹²⁹ Andersen 2006, op. cit., Pg. 167

¹³⁰ Guibernau 2004, op. cit., Pg. 139

construction of identity as she has seen in her homeland and the Palestinian process. While the psychological, cultural and territorial aspects of identity has been discussed thoroughly, it is the politicisation that makes each identity unique and in some cases, pertinent. The Palestinian identity in a broader Arab or Syrian “state” was not a major point of discussion, as it was not threatened. It was understood amongst the citizens of historic Palestine that there was a connection amongst citizens, but not until the community was dispersed and their identity was under threat of being ethnically cleansed was there a revival of national consciousness.

A share of the identity of a nation is dependent on the direction the leadership takes in defining that identity. According to Horowitz, those who are successful in shaping the trajectory are “ethnic entrepreneurs”¹³¹ who promote ethnicity in a divided society to people waiting and hoping to be led. Wayne Norman calls this the “reconfiguring” and “remoralising” of a nation.¹³² Norman, a modernist, argues that once there is a shift from the question of identity to the nation itself there will be a shift in the character and context of the identity. This creates heroes, rivals and traditions to progress the identity into modern day. Norman alludes to this reconfiguration as a process the state takes to ensure its population accepts the state entity, he also notes that this process may be used as a political tool to reach an end-goal, be it autonomy under the present state or a national liberation movement. On the other hand, remoralising the identity is the process

¹³¹ Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. Pg.308

¹³² Norman, Wayne. "From Nation Building to National Engineering: On the Ethics of National Engineering." *The Politics of Belonging: Nationalism, Liberalism, and Pluralism*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004. 87-107. Pg. 93-94

of changing the content of the identity, this may include, but is not limited to, the rights and responsibilities of the nationals, the vision of the state or the perception of the heroes and achievements of the nation and its nationals. Additionally, Norman provides three avenues in which an entity begins its progression towards a nation or nation state. Starting with nationalising the identity, which is the transformation of the identity, whether religious, ethnic or regional into a new modern identity. Second, the assimilationist option, when the state converts, either willingly or forcefully, the identity of a minority in order to have them assimilate into a multi-ethnic or ethnocratic society. Finally, a post-colonial shift in which the nation recommences with a *tabula rasa* in attempting to create a pan-state identity after state boundaries are rewritten by the colonial overseers.

The resurgence of the Palestinian identity post-Nakba can be highly attributed to the leaders that influenced the cause. This ranges from Arab leaders to Palestinian leaders. While the Palestinians were attempting to transform their identity in order to represent the situation at hand, the Arab leaders were attempting to assimilate the Palestinians into the Pan-Arab cause, while at the same time treating them as second-class citizens in their own country. Though many Palestinians were attracted to the concept of Pan-Arabism and the idea of uniting under the Arab nation, the leadership of Fatah sought to develop their own identity, which forced Pan-Arabists, President Nasser included, to vilify them in an attempt to silence them. The third determinant provided by Norman, the post-colonial shift, is the basis of the resurgence of the identity. Colonisation is a slow process that leaves the colonised nation in shock and shambles, not until the shackles of

colonisation are loosened can a people develop a clean slate in order to reshape and redefine their identity. Before progressing in resistance, the colonised must overcome the attempts of forced assimilation into their new surroundings. Norman's theory, as it provides the pertinence of leadership and the process in reconfiguration of identity is suitable in developing a model that can be applied to the resurgent stage of Palestinian identity. While incomplete, by combining his theory of reconfiguring and remoralising identity with the politicisation of a national consciousness an applicable model is provided in order to explore the revival of a nation. With regards to the question of the Palestinian national identity, the abovementioned theory can help in clarifying the shifts in identity proposed in the introduction. The general perception of the Palestinians, outside of the refugee stage, was heavily based on the direction of the leadership or guerrillas. In response to the refugee years, in which the Palestinian problem was viewed as a refugee problem, the revolution was launched in order to shift that view. When the leadership felt that the revolutionary stage peaked, they once again shifted their focus to be viewed as statesmen, in doing so, constantly shifting the international perception of the Palestinians.

The necessity of a model developed in this manner is essential, not only to Palestinians, but to all stateless nations. There are currently 193 UN member-states in the world, whereas the number of languages, according to Gellner is approximately nearly 8,000. This makes for, what Gellner refers to as 8,000 "potential nations"¹³³, if that is brought into modernity, he claims that there may be 800 recognised nations on earth. That is one

¹³³ Gellner 1983, op.cit., Pg. 45

nation for every ten potential nations, if put against the state, .025 of all potential nations achieve membership into the glorious league of recognised nations. There is no way to gauge the exact number of stateless nations, the Underrepresented Nations and People Organisation that started in The Hague in 1991 currently has 46 members¹³⁴, but this does not include some of the more popular movements such as the Scottish, Western Saharan or Palestinian movements. Nevertheless, this phenomenon of nationless states or national liberation movements can be attested to the irredentist practices of annexation of land and the construct of national borders.

American political scientist, Thomas Ambrosio, defines irredentism as the annexation of a territory inhabited by their co-nationals.¹³⁵ Irredentism saw rampant growth throughout the 20th century, due to the process of decolonisation and again at the end of the cold war through the break-up of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The effects of this practice are still highly relevant, resulting in a number of ethnic conflicts. Horowitz refers to the “artificiality” of the borders forced on the Asian and African region, resulting in a number of ethnic groups being split among two or more infant states¹³⁶. The reversal of this process is a lengthy one and has taken shape through either succession or annexation attempts. Being that annexation is generally a bloody process, Horowitz states that the reversal of the artificiality of borders will progress through an aided succession

¹³⁴ "Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization." *UNPO: Members*.
<<http://www.unpo.org/members.php>>.

¹³⁵ Ambrosio, Thomas. *Irredentism: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001. Pg. 2

¹³⁶ Horowitz 1985. op.cit. Pg. 229

movement.¹³⁷ However practiced, the irredentist claim manifests itself into a national movement that counters the Western drawn, post-colonial make up.

1.4 Conclusion

The construction of the Palestinian identity has been discussed by a number of scholars, both contemporary and traditional. The seminal piece on the Palestinian identity titled *“Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness”* written by Rashid Khalidi focused on the development of the Palestinian identity in the mandate period and in lieu of the conflicting narrative with “others”. Khalidi argues that the unique nature of the Palestinian identity can only be fully understood when studied in reference to other, generally competing, narratives. He recalls Stuart Hall, who argues that identity is “the relationship between you and the other,” as well as Edward Said who denotes to the imperativeness of an *alter ego* to ensure the maintenance and development of a culture done through the “interpretation and reinterpretation of their differences from ‘us’.”¹³⁸ This concept, derived from Hobsbawm’s notion of “us vs. them”¹³⁹, carries leverage in the exploration of conflicting identities, but in the case of Khalidi’s work, which is focused on the construction of the identity in the Ottoman and British Mandate period, this theory may have an adverse effect in proving his theory. He notes the fact that the Palestinians have never achieved independence in their homeland, thus could not have possibly determined their national identity, a modernist stance equating the nation to the state. Further, while the Palestinian discourse is normally discussed and

¹³⁷ Ibid. 282

¹³⁸ Khalidi, 2009. op.cit. Pg. 10

¹³⁹ Hobsbawm, E. J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Pg. 91

or/represented by the “other”, in this case being Israel, the Palestinian identity was not created, nor has it survived being based on its alter ego but in spite of the difficulties Israel has provided. While the notion that the Palestinian identity is explored in respect to “others” does have leverage, this thesis is attempting to discuss this identity not as it pertains to their “alter-ego” Israel but to their similar cousins, the other Arab nations.

Khalidi does argue, in the preface to the work, that the study of nationalism and national identity does pose problems for the Palestinian question, arguing that while there is a vast amount of literature, the works are not applicable to the Palestinian identity. He begins by critiquing Gellner’s theory, indicating that regardless of the fact that the Palestinians have not “coincided in time and place”¹⁴⁰, they do deserve a close examination as their national narrative draws a number of parallels to other similar national movements. While it is a fact that the Palestinians, as mentioned above by Khalidi, have never achieved independence in their homeland, it should be noted that the concept of time and place is vast, fitting for an anthropological study of the people who resided in Palestine/Israel throughout history, not so much when exploring the resurgence of identity and identities in the region post World War Two. He also draws on the concept of invented tradition¹⁴¹ based on ancient material, as discussed by Eric Hobsbawm. Khalidi goes to the extent of critiquing the modernist views of the traditionalist Smith, whose ethnosymbolic theory constitutes nationalism to a historic connection, citing an

¹⁴⁰ Khalidi, 2009. op.cit. Pg. *xi*

¹⁴¹ Ibid. Pg. *xii*

article in which Smith admitted that the nation, in modernity, is a process of construction.¹⁴²

The most important theory to Khalidi's work, and the basis of his research, is the work of Anderson, referencing the concept of "print-capitalism."¹⁴³ Anderson centres national consciousness on the vernacular used throughout society, arguing that in order to unify a nation, communication is key and monopolising a language is done through controlling print media.¹⁴⁴ Khalidi argues, that, aside from the institutions evident in Mandated Palestine and the clear division of labour and society, the print media available throughout Palestine and the Arab world provided for a unified national consciousness. While Khalidi does refer to Anderson's work in his research on Palestinian nationalism, he notes in an article written in 1991 in the Oxford Journals that the problem facing the Arabs and the Palestinians is that the Arab nations have been neglected from the comparative analysis in the study of the broader social science and history, referring to the aforementioned Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson.¹⁴⁵ He attributes this partly to the nature in which nationalism is studied on linguistic lines, separating the Turks and the Arabs for example, while their national stories hold many similarities and dependencies.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Loc.cit.

¹⁴³ Ibid. Pg. xi-xii

¹⁴⁴ Anderson 2006. op.cit. Pg. 44

¹⁴⁵ Khalidi, Rashid. *Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature*. The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 5 (Dec., 1991), pp. 1363-1373. Pg. 1363

¹⁴⁶ Loc.cit.

While part of the blame lands on the shoulders of the Arabs, and in the case of this research, the Palestinians, for not exploring their own identity and their own national aspirations, the imperial nature of Zionism was evident during the Nakba when Jewish forces not only appropriated the Palestinians' land and homes but nearly 80,000 books and manuscripts.¹⁴⁷ These manuscripts were appropriated and kept in Israel's national libraries, erasing the history and reflections of over a million Palestinians. Regardless of this loss, the Palestinians were complacent post-Nakba in configuring their own identity in a manner applicable to the academic discourse. This can be attested to a number of factors and issues they faced in addition to the fact that they do not have a constant time and place to develop an institutionalised identity. Nevertheless, while a historic attachment is integral and the Palestinians do face many difficulties, it was and is imperative to their struggle for statehood to develop a national identity that will not only separate them from Israel, but from the Arab world as well. The next two chapters will layout the research methods as well as the historical framework before using the theories provided in this chapter to directly analyse and assess the resurgence of the Palestinian identity in the 1960's.

¹⁴⁷ "Israel Stole 80,000 Palestinian Books and Manuscripts." *Middle East Monitor*. 27 Oct. 2014. Web. 11 Nov. 2014. <<https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/14894-israel-stole-80000-palestinian-books-and-manuscript>>.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

This thesis intends to explore the resurgence of the Palestinian national identity post-Nakba through the scope of Western national theory. After the Nakba, the Palestinians found themselves living as refugees in countries surrounding their lost homeland, or living under the control of the governments of Egypt, Israel or Jordan. There has been considerable work undertaken on the topics of identity and nationalism without much focus on the Palestinian issue, this may be attributed to a plethora of reasons, while that is not the main focus of this research, the lack of attention is troubling to the Palestinian narrative. When researching Palestinian identity after the Nakba, the general discourse is generally mired with emotional attachment and creative expression. While personal stories and expressions are essential in order to ensure the survival of the identity, it is beneficial, considering the lack of a state to project this identity, to explore the identity as it fits within the parameters of theory on identity and nationalism.

In order to more fully understand the Palestinian national story through Western theory, it is helpful to engage with the subject as dispassionately and objectively as possible. Every Palestinian's story is different and some may find themselves "more attached" to the core of the struggles. Regardless, in order to develop an applicable model, it is essential to understand the reality faced by the Palestinians in the timeframe explored, notwithstanding personal or political attachments. Prior to introducing the methodology, it is pertinent to explore the reality at hand and the manner in which the reality is understood. In social sciences, each observer may view the reality differently, especially

when exploring a topic as polarising as this. While it is essential to remain objective, being that the development of identity is a very personal, yet communal, awakening, I will be depending on personal stories, some of which may be clouded. Finally, due to the complexity of the Palestinian case, there will be a varied understanding of the reality, not only due to Israel and the West, but amongst Palestinians as well.

2.1 Ontology and Epistemology

Research, as defined by Noble Prize winner Albert Szent-Gyorgyi is to “see what everybody else has seen, and to think what nobody else has thought.”¹⁴⁸ There are two processes in developing a research strategy: the first is developing the research methods, which according to PM Kasi are “the means, the instruments or the tools a particular investigator chooses to accumulate the information required to answer his research question.”¹⁴⁹ Once the researcher develops his or her methods, the researcher must decide “the manner or the approach the investigator adopts in answering his/her research question.”¹⁵⁰ This process is defined as the research methodology, the starting point of the methodology is to understand the ontology and epistemology of the study.

The ontology of a study is the reality at hand and understanding this reality through events and the social state of affairs. On the other hand, the epistemology describes how a researcher can extrapolate knowledge that will assist how they may define the reality.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Kasi, Pm. *Research: What, Why and How?* Bloomington, IN, Authorhouse, 2009. Pg. 93

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Scott, David, and Marlene Morrison. *Key Ideas in Educational Research*. London, New York, Continuum International Publishing Group. Pg. 38

Norman Blaikie argues that there are six ontological and six epistemological assumptions, which are, starting with the ontology:

- **Shallow Realist-** considers the study of a phenomenon exists independently of us, that the factors effecting this phenomenon are external and the challenge is to explore these factors.
- **Conceptual Realist-** The idea that reality is separate from human understanding, not a creation of any individual or community.
- **Cautious Realist-** Being that reality is an independent phenomenon, humans are not capable of understanding it, thus must be vigilant in their research approach.
- **Depth Realist-** Reality consists of three domains- starting with empirical, which is defined by what can be observed. Secondly, the actual domain which exists independently from the examiner and finally the real domain which are not available to be explored.
- **Idealist-** Reality is created by the human mind; society is manifested by the actions of the community effected. This idea may work in a myriad of ways, reality may directly affect the social make up, or possibly hinder the development of society providing for a number of perspectives for the researcher.
- **Subtle Realist-** Much exists outside of the scope of social science, due to the purpose and assumptions of researchers, what we know is not exactly certain but rather a human construction.¹⁵²

As for the epistemology, the six assumptions are as follows:

- **Empiricism-** Knowledge, which is produced through research is an accurate representation of society.
- **Rationalism-** To gain knowledge, one must explore human thought and apply it to reality in order to explore its consequences.

¹⁵² Blaikie, Norman W. H. *Designing Social Research: The Logic of Anticipation*. 2nd ed., Cambridge, Polity Press, 2009. Pg. 93

- **Falsificationism-** Knowledge is derived through constant trial and error. We as humans are not capable of directly understanding reality thus we must constantly define and redefine it through research.
- **Neo-Liberalism-** The way things are affect the manner in which we derive knowledge of reality. In order to further understand, research is to explore how the structures that exist affect reality rather than exploring the external options.
- **Constructionism-** Knowledge comes from necessity; people make sense of reality through their everyday experiences. Due to the fact that life and society is ever-changing and society does not depend on evidence and theory, social sciences must adapt, rather than use uniform approaches.
- **Conventionalism-** Theory is man-made, thus does not completely represent reality, to argue which theory or idea works best is based on judgement and reality, not evidence.¹⁵³

Based on these assumptions, provided by Blaikie, this research will take on an idealist/constructionism approach to understand the social development and later political realisation of the Palestinian national identity.

2.2 Justification for Use of Idealist/Constructivist Philosophy

The ontology of this study is defined by the idea that the lack of understanding of the Palestinian identity is due to the reality faced by their population as well as the perception that Palestinians are reluctant to forgo elements of their past in order to define their future. Blaikie argues that the idealist approach can take on a number of forms, including the idea that “there is a reality that exists independently of socially constructed realities,”¹⁵⁴ the social construct of the time makes the State the arena for social responsibility and independence, a privilege that the Palestinians did not enjoy. This

¹⁵³ Ibid. Pg. 94

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. Pg. 93

misunderstanding forced the Palestinians to create their own reality; resulting in constructionist epistemology. Due to the fact that the Palestinians, fall outside of the state parameters, this research attempts to take an alternative approach in defining Palestinian identity as it exists within the scope of national theory. This approach explores the events in a manner that will develop an alternative view to the many seminal works exploring the question of Palestine and the Palestinians.

2.3 Research Strategy

The Palestinian narrative is highly dependent on decisions made by the PLO, Israel and the West, constantly evolving in order to satisfy the reality. Regardless of current events and current evolution, the basis of the contemporary Palestinian identity finds its roots in the expulsion of their population as a result of the Nakba and the events that followed. It is for that reason that this thesis is divided into three different sections; the refugee, the guerrilla and the statesman.

Each case will be explored separately, providing its own conclusions before the findings are merged in order to answer the research questions and test the hypotheses. These three sections mark specific periods in the evolution of Palestinian identity. Starting with the refugee, it was when faced with the dire restraints of the refugee camps and the controlling manner of their host governments that the Palestinians began to develop a social identity separate from their Arab brethren. Following the refugee period is the guerrilla stage, representing the realisation of the Palestinian social identity and the initial development of the political identity, partially due to the failures of the Arab armies in the 1967 war. The final stage, the statesman, explores the political evolution of the PLO

and the impact on the Palestinian national identity. These three cases will be explored within the realm of the theory and supported by the methodology.

2.4 Research Methodology

This thesis is a qualitative study, using a thematic approach to explore change and developments of a group over a set time period, in this case, the Palestinians between 1948 and 1982. A thematic approach “enables scholars, observers, or practitioners to use a wide variety of types of information in a systematic manner that increases their accuracy or sensitivity in understanding and interpreting observations about people, events, situations and organizations.”¹⁵⁵ This research draws on a number of resources, which include primary and secondary data in addition to an empirical focus on practical issues. While the majority of the information is derived from secondary data, the following primary data is used in order to support the available secondary data:

- Interviews: The purpose of interviews is to provide a human context to the history. The Palestinian struggle has gone on for decades, and we are far removed from the time period covered in this thesis. Irving Seidman, whose work focuses on using interviews for qualitative research argues that researchers may examine documents, explore history, and conduct experiments, but in order to understand the people involved interviews provide a “necessary, if not always completely sufficient, avenue of inquiry.”¹⁵⁶ Further, the interview method may provide information, or in this case anecdotes, that are not readily available. Additionally, interviewing is not only the simplest option, but may add clarity to certain questions that may arise in the

¹⁵⁵ Boyatzis, Richard E. *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. London, Sage Publications, 1998.

¹⁵⁶ Seidman, Irving. *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. New York: Teachers College, 2006. Pg. 10

research.¹⁵⁷ Though interviews do add relevant information, depending on human emotion or memory they may produce a clouded or bias recollection of events. The interviews were conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of University of East Anglia (UEA) with approval from UEA's research ethics panel.

Interviews were conducted with seven prominent people, representing four experiences: refugees, Pan-Arabists, the PFLP and Fatah. Those interviewed are:

- Bassam Abu Sharif- Sharif is one of the more influential Palestinian voices, recognized internationally. He provides insight into the history of the Palestinian people, their relationship with other Arabs and, as one of Yasser Arafat's closest advisors, he provides an essential viewpoint into the events that transpired. It should be noted that he himself was the victim of a terrorist attack in the form of a letter bomb which resulted in his partial blindness.
- Ambassador Afif Safieh- As Former Ambassador to important states such as the United Kingdom, the Russian Federation and the United States and long-time member of the PLO, Ambassador Safieh was an essential voice in the political wing of the PLO.
- Abdel Bari Atwan- Atwan, a journalist based in London, was editor-in-chief of the *Al-Quds al Arabi* newspaper from 1989 until 2013, perhaps best known for his 1996 interview with Osama Bin Laden. Currently, he is the founder and editor and chief of the *Raialyoum* electronic daily news site. Atwan, whilst not affiliated with any Palestinian political programme, provides an

¹⁵⁷ Kumar, C. Rajenda. *Research Methodology*. New Delhi: APH Corporation, 2008. Pg. 84

outsider perspective into the importance of the Palestinian resistance in defining the identity.

- Issam Yamani- Yamani, a long-time activist and son of PFLP co-founder Abu Maher al-Yamani, provides insight on the PFLP's Pan-Arabism views as well as his own experiences as a refugee in Lebanon.
- Professor Atif Kubursi- Kubursi is a distinguished economist, son of one of the founders of the Syrian Social National Party (SSNP) and staunch Pan-Arabist. I discussed with him the downfalls of Pan-Arabism and the economic principles of the Pan-Arab idea.
- Dr. Farid Ayad- Ayad, two-time President of the Canadian Arab Federation and Palestine House (both located in the Toronto, Canada area), discussed his experiences as a refugee in Lebanon and his views on the notion of Pan-Arabism.
- Yusri Shami- Shami, Palestinian refugee and founder of Palestinian rap group *Katibe 5* residing in London, discusses his identity crisis growing up in Lebanon, and now living and working in London.
- United Nations Resolutions, Newspaper Publications and Foreign Policy: The use of these “written records” is an example of content analysis, which the researcher may use through “taking a verbal, non-quantitative document and transform(ing) it into quantitative data.”¹⁵⁸ Being that this research is covering a long span of time, a running record of data and material collected over time,¹⁵⁹ will be used. For the

¹⁵⁸ Johnson, Janet Buttolph, H. T. Reynolds, and Jason D. Mycoff. *Political Science Research Methods*. 8th ed. Thousand Oaks: CQ, 2016. Pg. 270

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Pg. 275

benefit of the researcher, with the use of the Internet, the United Nations has developed an online collection of all UN resolutions and texts pertaining to “The Question of Palestine”¹⁶⁰ on one website.

Although it is not exactly the most popular source of media, in the years covered in this thesis print media was one of the most essential sources of information. Although there is not a running record or gathered information pertinent to the Palestinian question, the *New York Times* (NYT) has archived all their publications ranging back to their inception in 1851. The use of one of the major papers, in one of the more populated Western cities will allow the researcher to understand the initial and ongoing perception of the Palestinians throughout their conflict. While the NYT may have a certain bias, or misunderstanding, especially during the time period covered in this thesis, these misconceptions will be noted in understanding perception of the Palestinian people over time.

Similar to the UN Resolutions, through surveying the shift in foreign policy papers one may identify trends found in non-quantitative documents and apply them in a manner which may be quantified.¹⁶¹ In this case, the use of terminology and the manner in which the Palestinians are viewed by the United States in particular may be applied to the reasoning behind the ebbs and flows in the Palestinian struggle. The reason United States foreign policy was singled out is due to their political strength,

¹⁶⁰ "UNISPAL Documents Collection." *United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine*. United Nations, n.d. Web. 15 Aug. 2016.

¹⁶¹ Johnson, Reynolds and Mycoff, 2016. op.cit. Pg. 270

their use of the veto to protect Israel in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), and their central position in the Middle East Peace Process.

- **Biographical Research:** In any historical research, the records of the people will provide evidence that may prove or disprove a number of notions. It is for this reason that available records of those who were either a part of, or worked with, the Palestinian revolution will be used. This type of written record is defined as episodic records which are records that are developed over time, in a “more casual, personal, and accidental manner.”¹⁶² These types of records will allow the researcher to further understand the day-to-day situations as well as the personalities of the leaders involved. In the case of the Palestinian question, Yasser Arafat did not leave us with a written autobiography in order to better understand his actions and motives. Thus, there will be a major benefit to explore the views of some of his closer confidants.

2.4 Shortcomings in the Research

The complexities of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict offer a number of shortcomings and biases with how either group is portrayed and/or perceived. These aversions have provided the Palestinians with a multitude of difficulties when battling for public opinion and although they have made a number of advances there is still a lack of objectivity when discussing the Palestinians. People maybe apprehensive when discussing the Palestinians due to the sensitivity of the topic and the fear of being portrayed as “anti-Semitic”. Regardless of the definition of Semitic people, which includes Arabs, the term Semite has become linked exclusively to Jewish people and being anti-Israel or pro-

¹⁶² Ibid. Pg. 279

Palestinian will put someone at risk of being labelled “anti-Jewish [anti-Semitic]”. This sensitivity and “political correctness” leading to the closing down of debate has had major consequences on the discourse in the Western world and parts of the Arab world as well.

Once the political complexities are overcome and the narrative is explored through Western theory further difficulties arise as the Palestinian narrative developed in a manner predicated on Eastern traditions. It is essential to declare that though this research is attempting to develop the Palestinian identity in the framework of Western theory, it does not attempt to discredit the Eastern oratory narratives. Regardless of these factors, in addition to the orientalist views towards the Eastern world, the Palestinians have become an integral aspect of political discussions and before there was a peace process the Palestinians had to work tirelessly to develop a national identity, separate from the Arab world and accepted by the international community.

With regards to the available information, being that the timeframe of the research covers a period spanning over decades in the past, a lot of those who played an integral role have passed away without, for the most part, documenting their personal narrative. Further, as discussed in the introduction of this thesis, the records developed by the Palestinians, were lost and/or stolen in the myriad of wars and migration. The act of stealing Palestinian records was not unique to the Nakba, but was repeated in other conflicts as noted by Edward Said in a 2001 article for the *New Left Review* when he described the “Judiazation” of East Jerusalem and the theft of “invaluable records, land deeds, maps,

which Israel has simply stolen, as it did PLO archives from Beirut in 1982.”¹⁶³

My intention is not to add to the long list of works that explore the reasoning and the trajectory of the Palestine/Israel conflict. My focus is two-fold; first, to define the Palestinian national identity in a manner applicable to Western theory, rather than the traditional method used, which focuses on a history of a place that unfortunately does not exist as it was remembered. The lessons of history, memory, and trauma are essential for the inward dialogue amongst Palestinians as well as for those who have an interest in the region but there are a number of ways in which national identity can be explored, lost in much of the Palestinian narrative is the theoretical approach. Second, the thesis seeks to explore the Palestinians amongst their peers, the Arabs, rather than their enemies. The Palestinians and Israelis are obviously connected, throughout history and in modern day, but this thesis is attempting to carve out the Palestinian national identity as it fits amongst the Arab world.

¹⁶³ Said, Edward. "The Desertions of Arafat." *New Left Review* 11 (2001): 27-33. Web.

Chapter 3: Historical Framework: The Creation of the State of Israel and the Palestinian Problem

Palestinians also have this curious feeling that they are the inheritors of the monotheistic religions and that prophets and gods needed to express themselves directly or through envoys in Palestine.

Palestinians feel that they are the custodians of all those messages that took birth in our land. If you ask me that's a hell of a burden. On that, I like to quote the Swiss proverb during the Napoleonic era which said "happy people have no history", we on the other hand are burdened with thousands of years of history so that I wouldn't wave away by saying that it is a romantic feeling, but it is part of the memory.¹⁶⁴

This chapter serves to explore the different decisions and events that resulted in the UN Partition Plan of 1947, the Arab-Israeli War and the creation of the state of Israel. Both the Jews and the Arabs worked tirelessly throughout this period to gain international support for their independence, with history as the judge, it is clear which plan has seen more success.

The enduring nature of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict has not brought the Palestinians any closer towards the attainment of independence. This can be attributed to a number of factors, which include, internal divisions, the exhorting influence of the Zionist movement in the Western world, and the fact that the Palestinians are simply not as advanced technologically, economically or militarily. The Mandate Period provided the Palestinians with a number of complications throughout the thirty-year British occupation and it should have come as no surprise that the period ended with the creation of the State of Israel while the Palestinians were left looking at who to blame. What is especially interesting is that these internal divisions, in their simplest form, are still evident. In addition, the creation of the refugee problem has added another dimension.

¹⁶⁴ Safieh, Afif, Phone Interview, Mississauga, Canada. August 15th, 2017

The past century has seen the Middle East overwhelmed with conflict, confusion and destruction. One can point to a number of events, triggers and/or interests that has led to the series of occupations, wars, embargos and encounters over the lands that stretch from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf. While, what is often referred to as the cradle of civilisation, from Cairo to Jerusalem, Damascus to Baghdad, Mecca to Medina has held geopolitical importance since biblical times. The current state of affairs can largely be attributed to the old age competition between the French and British empires of the early 20th century. Before discussing the French and British empires, however, it is necessary to introduce the father of Zionism, Theodor Herzl.

3.1 Herzl's Plan

Theodor Herzl's pamphlet "The Jewish State", published in Vienna in 1896 has been lauded as a visionary guide to creating a state. Herzl's plan covered immigration, economics and urban planning while concentrating on the importance of the development of the Hebrew language and a political and legal system enshrined into a constitution. The reason behind the pamphlet stemmed from the clear discrimination in a number of countries against Jewish communities. For the purpose of this research, there will be a brief look, not into the Jewish Question or the reason behind the idea of a Jewish homeland but the plan he laid out and how it has impacted the Palestinian identity problem. Herzl divided his plan into three sections: The Jewish Company, The Local Groups and the Society of Jews.

Prior to introducing the plan, Herzl posed an interesting question, a section named “Palestine or Argentine?” If the state of Israel is meant to act as the third temple and the land of East Jerusalem, Al-Khalil (Hebron) and Nablus, all of which are in the currently occupied Palestinian Territories, are essential to the identity of Israel, why is it that the location of the natural state of the Jewish people was a question, as put forth by Herzl, of “who would take us?”¹⁶⁵ Further, Herzl himself defined the Jewish Question, as a national question¹⁶⁶, the goal of Zionism, according to the “Father of Zionism”, was to create a national home for the Jewish people, not a Jewish state. This brings into question the aspirations of the current Israeli administration’s settlements policy that has been justified due to its pertinence to the “Jewish State”. Afif Safieh believes that there is more than the Jewish history that led the colonizers to decide on Palestine, theorizing:

Forget not, the centrality of Palestine and the cross-section of three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe, which was the world until the discovery of the Americas, Australia and the easier access of China, Japan and the rest which happened after the 17th century. Palestine has been central; Palestine was also seen as indispensable by any emerging power in the world. Because of its geo-centrality it was the arena of dispute for Babylonia and Mesopotamia, Pharaonic Egypt and the emergence of the Greek nation represented by Alexander the great, needed a foothold in Palestine, the Roman empire as well.¹⁶⁷

Herzl’s plan thoroughly detailed the various issues of creating a new homeland. On immigration, labourers would migrate to the new state first to cultivate the land before the middle class would come in to add the further pillars of society. He spoke of the occupation in a scientific manner that consisted of research of the land’s minerals and resources¹⁶⁸. In hindsight, the fact that Herzl’s prophecies are being remembered as that,

¹⁶⁵ Herzl, Theodor. *The Jewish State*. New York: Dover Publications, 1988. Pg. 95

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. Pg. 76

¹⁶⁷ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. Pg. 142

rather than another ideology is that it came to fruition. A number of events had to occur for his pamphlet to be enshrined into history and to quote Herzl “antagonism is essential to man’s greatest effort.”¹⁶⁹ Further, Herzl was clearly a romantic, he believed in creating a Jewish utopia that would not oppress others, an idealist would believe that those who were oppressed would never persecute others. Finally, this romantic utopia, according to Herzl, would end all the world’s problems and the Jewish state would be free of enemies. History has shown that the overarching conflict in the Middle East has acted as the root cause of a number of the world’s problems since the creation of Israel in 1948.

3.2 A Land Without a People for a People Without a Land

Long before the conflict with the Jews, the Arab inhabitants of Palestine faced a different beast, the Ottoman Empire which controlled much of the Arab world for centuries. When asked about the Ottoman influence on the Palestinian identity, Bassam Abu Sharif claims:

The identity of the Palestinians can be defined in a very accurate way, the same way we define all people of the Arab nation, they are Arabs. In fact, all the Arab nations were under ottoman occupation, it abused the flag of Islam to put all these nations under an occupation that was very despotic, very brutal and kept all other nations underdeveloped. Even those who were developed were forced to retreat back to dark ages with regards culture, progress, production and construction. The Palestinians, simply put, happened to live in Palestine and Palestine was not defined by the ottoman occupation, in fact, Palestine has been a subject of invasion so many times through history and it has remained Palestine.¹⁷⁰

Though the Ottoman occupation did not have a direct impact on the Palestinian’s Arab identity, the occupation played a large role in the later European colonisation of Palestine. Starting in 1858, the Ottoman Empire enforced a land law forcing peasants who lived in and cultivated land for centuries to register their land for the first time.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. Pg. 153

¹⁷⁰ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

¹⁷¹ Khalidi 2009, op.cit. Pg.94.

Many peasants failed to register their respective lands due to fears of taxation and conscription¹⁷² leading to upper class members of society to purchase large areas as investments. Ownership of the land was no longer guaranteed through traditional cultivation at the turn of the century. Jewish colonisation agencies seized the opportunity to acquire large amounts of land. Although displeased, the peasants populating Palestine at the time were able to continue living in and cultivating the land under Arab ownership, the issues and conflicts began when Jewish investors began purchasing the land and removing the tenants.¹⁷³

The mantra was instilled into Jewish colonisation agencies as outlined by land expert Dr. Arthur Ruppin:

“Land is the most necessary thing for our establishing roots in Palestine. Since there are hardly any more arable unsettled lands in Palestine, we are bound in each case of the purchase of land and its settlement to remove the *fellahin* (peasants/farmers) who cultivated the land so far, both owners of the land and tenants.”¹⁷⁴

The agencies were set in place after settlers and authors began informing European Jewry that Palestine was in fact inhabited and not the “land without a people for a people without a land” as suggested by Zionist propaganda.

The first Jewish purchase of agricultural land in Palestine was the city of Petah Tiqvah in 1878,¹⁷⁵ not without conflict though. As Jewish people settled into Petah Tiqvah, conflicts arose, forcing the Ottomans to arrest many Arab *fellahin*. The attacks continued

¹⁷² Ibid. Page 95

¹⁷³ Ibid. Pg. 99

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. Pg. 102

¹⁷⁵ Pappe, Ilan. *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2006. Pg. 283

as the *fellahin* from the neighbouring town of Yahudiyya, outraged because those who sold the land, sold more land than they owned, vented their anger.¹⁷⁶ This pattern continued over the next decade in the villages of Gedera, Rehovot, Nes Ziyona and Hadera.¹⁷⁷ This period, known as the first Aliyah (Jewish return to Israel) saw 25,000 eastern European immigrants settle in Palestine.¹⁷⁸

This wave of immigrants was the first step in the Zionist project to create a Jewish state in Palestine. A few years after Herzl's pamphlet saw the coming together of the First Zionist Congress to create the World Zionist Association and establish the Jewish National Fund, referred to as the Jewish Company in Herzl's pamphlet, whose sole responsibility was to buy land in Palestine for Jewish use. Soon after the creation of the fund the second Aliyah saw 40,000 immigrants arrive in Palestine.¹⁷⁹ The first wave of immigrants still allowed the Arabs to lease back some of the land and take up hard labour whereas the second Aliyah, starting in 1904, came to Palestine with a stricter approach and a "conquest of labour" to replace Arab workers with Jewish ones.¹⁸⁰ This brought along a much more aggressive ideology with the immigrants who began forcefully expelling the Arabs. Regardless of the Jewish settlement, Palestine and much of the Arab world was still under Ottoman rule, and due to the censorship of the Arab's, Sharif Hussain of Mecca though the best path to independence would be through supporting the

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. Pg. 99

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. Pg. 100

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. Pg. 283.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. Pg. 283

¹⁸⁰ Khalidi 2009. op.cit. Pg. 100

dissolving of the Ottoman empire. Bassam Abu Sharif described this decision with the following:

Since the Arab's were not allowed to establish any political party or movement, nor to express themselves or call for their freedoms, they were forced to create societies. It was a popular movement around the region to develop Arab societies, who were recruiting, organizing, and calling for the freedom and unity of the Arab nation. These were the slogans that were picked by Sharif Hussain of Mecca, who was in contact with McMahon, the British representative controlling the middle east from Cairo. Who promised him that if the Arabs would fight the Turks and kick them out, the British would help them create a united Arab nation, with the king of Arabs being Hussain and his sons distributed as the governors of the liberated areas. At one point, that was the agreement, and that point covered the first bullet shot by Hussain who was not leading his family or the people of the Hijaz but all the Arabic societies who gathered with recruits, volunteers, fighters, and leaders to form one united Arab army.¹⁸¹

3.3 The French/British Influence

On October 24th, 1915, British High Commissioner to Egypt Sir Henry McMahon wrote a letter agreeing with Sharif Hussein of Mecca declaring British support for an independent Arab world in exchange for Arab support in battle with the Ottomans and the Germans.¹⁸²

McMahon pledged that the British would support Arab independence in all the regions prescribed by Sharif Hussein except for the following: the districts of Mersin and Alexandretta, and the part of Syria lying west of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo, which makes up modern day Lebanon. These modifications were offered to ensure the acceptance of their French allies.

There has been a lengthy debate as to whether or not this included Palestine into the regions of "Arab independence". While throughout the British were purposely vague in their wording, Arab nationalist George Antonious argues that the British did not in fact omit Palestine from the discussion, arguing that the regions McMahon requested to be

¹⁸¹ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

¹⁸² Antonious, George. *The Arab Awakening*. Second ed. New York: Capricorn Edition, 1965. Pg. 176

omitted was the Vilayet of Beirut (west of the Vilayet of Aleppo) as well as what stood west of the Vilayets of Homs, Hama and Damascus. Antonious contends that there was no “Vilayet” of Homs, Hama and Damascus, instead it was all the Vilayet of Syria and that what lies west of those three northern Syria cities were the Sanjaq of Lebanon and the Vilayet of Beirut, both of which were of interest to the French. Finally, if Sir McMahon intended to include Palestine in the omission, than why did he fail to include the Sanjaq of Jerusalem, which includes Gaza, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Beersheba, the Negev and a number of cities throughout the modern territory of the West Bank?¹⁸³

Regardless of the omissions, nearly a month after McMahon’s declaration, on November 23rd, 1915, the British government informed French diplomat Francois Georges-Picot of the declaration, to which he replied: “To promise the Arabs a large state is to throw dust in their eyes, such a state will never materialise. You cannot transform a myriad of tribes into a viable whole.”¹⁸⁴ Days after the meeting with the French, the British began to backtrack on their declaration to the Arabs arguing that the Arabs would not be able to claim the land regardless. A British diplomat who took part in the meeting with Georges-Picot did not hesitate to echo the Frenchman’s statement calling the Arab state an “absurdity”, referring to the Arabs as a “heap of scattered tribes with no cohesion and no organisation.”¹⁸⁵ By December Georges-Picot came to a conclusion that the only British intention is to deceive the Arabs. It is of relevance to note that the French Prime Minister, when directing Georges-Picot on the negotiations, told him to secede Jerusalem, as it is a

¹⁸³ Ibid. Pg. 177

¹⁸⁴ Barr, James. *A Line in the Sand: Britain, France and the Struggle for the Mastery of the Middle East*. London: Simon & Schuster, 2011. Pg. 28

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. 29

“country of little value.”¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the British and the French continued with their negotiations.

Georges-Picot returned to England with his new proposal which the British rejected. Instead the British turned to another young, up and coming civil servant, who was seen as an expert on the region, Mark Sykes. During his travels throughout the Ottoman Empire, Sykes neglected the Arab national consciousness and ignored it during his negotiations with Georges-Picot. The Frenchman was happy to come to agreement with Sykes, considering that he would not even acknowledge Hussein’s demands. The negotiations moved swiftly and the two parties came to an agreement subsequently known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement.¹⁸⁷ The agreement divided the region as illustrated below:

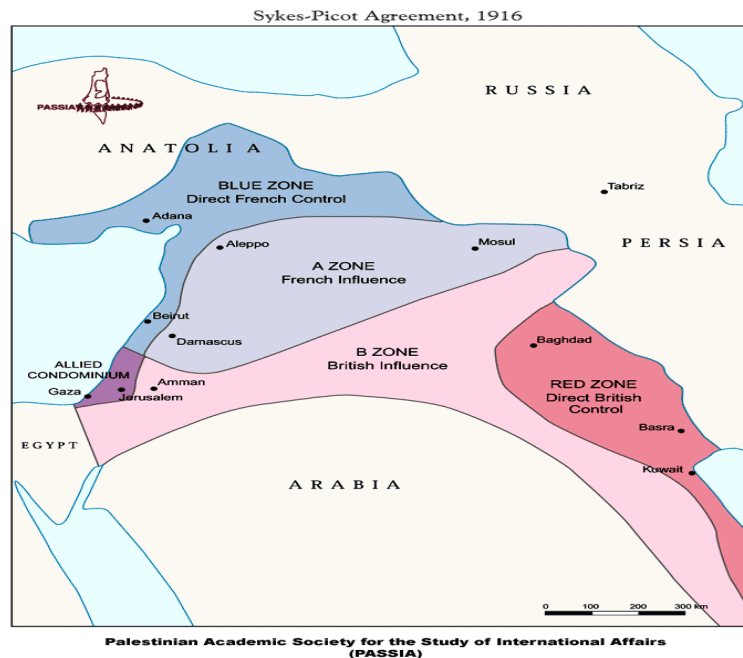


Figure 1: Provided by the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. Pg. 30

¹⁸⁷ Loc.cit.

¹⁸⁸ "Sykes-Picot Agreement." *Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916*. Palestinian Academic Society of International Affairs (PASSIA), n.d. Web. 16 Oct. 2014.

The final agreement gave the French what they vied for from the outset- modern day Lebanon, Syria and parts of Iraq while the British were given the rest of Iraq, Jordan and the south of Palestine into Egypt while the Vilayet of Jerusalem was left under shared control. Left out of the equation was the Arabs, this acted as a major setback to their national aspirations. Though not exactly pertinent to Palestine, Bassam Abu Sharif shares an anecdote that represents the carelessness of the French and British when handling the region:

One of the painful points, one night they were sipping wine and became tipsy, and the map which they were studying was left with two lines to mark the borders between Lebanon and Syria. There was a part of the map undefined, until now the part of the map, called Wadi Khaled, has 400,000 Arabs who up until 1994 were not recognized as Lebanese or Syrians. No identity, they are Arabs, but no passports.¹⁸⁹

Two weeks after the Agreement was signed, British foreign minister Arthur Balfour provided the details to United States President Woodrow Wilson's foreign advisor, Edward House. House's response was furious, arguing that they are leading the region into a "breeding place for war,"¹⁹⁰ which turned out to be true. The same year, Arthur Balfour invited Chaim Weizmann to his home. Before this dinner, Balfour was considered to be anti-Semitic for his support of a bill in 1905, which restricted Jewish immigration to England, however by the end of the dinner Weizmann's had persuaded Balfour to feel sympathetic to the Zionist cause. To the extent where, soon after the dinner, he declared to his cabinet that he was a Zionist.¹⁹¹ When Weizmann was advised of the details of the partition of Greater Syria he too was disturbed, letting Balfour and

¹⁸⁹ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

¹⁹⁰ Barr, 2011. op.cit. Pg. 36

¹⁹¹ Segev, Tom. *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the Mandate*. New York: Metropolitan, 2000. Pg. 41

Prime Minister Lloyd George knew that allowing the French to control a part of the country would hinder the chances of a Jewish State. The agreement did not come into effect until after the end of World War One and the fall of the Ottoman Empire, but that did not stop Balfour from making a declaration on November 2nd, 1917, which stated:

His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.¹⁹²

Unlike the British declaration to Sharif Hussein, the British kept their promise and acted on it from the onset of their Mandate of Palestine.

3.4 Resistance

In the early years under British rule the Arabs of Palestine were in a daze as to the reality of the events taking place having gone from occupation under the Ottomans to occupation under the British, who brought with them thousands of Jewish settlers. The resistance began to take form, but calls for non-violent procedures were predominantly met with a violent response from both the British and Zionists,¹⁹³ namely from Ze'ev Jabotinsky and his followers.

In the mid-1920s the Arabs of Palestine began to understand that in order to resist the Jewish settler population they must resist British colonisation and vice-versa. Military organisation and recruitment began under the tutelage of Izz al-Din al-Qassam, a Syrian born sheikh who took refuge in Palestine after being sentenced to death due to his

¹⁹² See Appendix I

¹⁹³ Qumsiyeh, Mazin B. *Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment*. London: Pluto, 2011. Pg. 59

leadership against the French occupation. Al-Qassam did not begin rallying his troops until the mid-1930s but the talk of resistance and independence continued to flourish amongst the Palestinians.

Up until September 23rd, 1928, the British still believed that their plan to install a Jewish national home in Palestine remained a viable option that would not lead to war. Until Edward Keith-Roach, the District Commissioner of Jerusalem, Constable Douglas Duff joined the Pasha of Jerusalem at the Islamic court, which happened to overlook the Temple Mount and the Wailing Wall. Keith-Roach, not understanding the veracity of his comments remarked to the Pasha that it was the first time he noticed the screen erected adjacent to the wall separating men and women during prayers. The sheikhs demanded the screen be dismantled,¹⁹⁴ a demand that was violently carried out by the next morning by constable Duff after the beadle present dismissed the request to remove it the afternoon before.

The British were dedicated to maintaining the status quo of the holy sites in Palestine, which included furnishing, and the Waqf, who owned the wall, made it a point that nothing be added, even chairs.¹⁹⁵ Their reasoning behind this was that chairs might turn into a wooden bench, which will turn into a stone bench, which will turn into a wall, finally resulting in a synagogue being built on the Temple Mount. This event, that may have been avoided, or may have just been another note in the long list of disturbances in

¹⁹⁴ Segev 2000. op.cit. Pg. 295

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 298

Jerusalem at the time, led to a public affairs operation by the Jewish and Arab camps leading to a bloody summer.

After months of campaigning with the Arabs claiming that Jewish attempts in purchasing the wall will lead to the Arabs of Palestine being driven out of their country and the Jews claiming that there is no Jewish national home without the Wall. A string of demonstrations and violence beginning August 14th 1929 led Harry Charles Luke, the deputy commissioner of Palestine, to organise the first Arab-Jewish peace summit on August 22nd, 1929.¹⁹⁶ He managed to bring together a number of influential Zionists and Arabs, highlighted by Yitzhak Ben-Zvi representing the Zionists and Jamal Al-Husseini representing the latter.

The meeting was unsuccessful, there was no ceasefire agreed to, not even a simple declaration that the two parties met. The meeting was held on a Thursday, all that came from it was an agreement to meet the following Monday. The events of the next morning, Friday August 23rd, 1929, nullified that agreement.¹⁹⁷ That morning saw thousands of Arabs marching towards the Temple Mount with sticks and knives, claiming to be a measure of self-defence in case the Jews attack.

History has shown that this was not in fact the reason, the tensions over the holy sites had climaxed. There was a string of attacks in Jerusalem and more notably in Hebron. The

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 312

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 316

fighting claimed 133 Jewish and 116 Arab lives with many more on both sides injured.¹⁹⁸ Interestingly, Hebron, home to both Jews and Arabs for hundreds of years was a peaceful place up until the aggressive Jewish immigration, this was shown in the number of Jews who were saved from the clashes that day due to them being protected in Arab households. According to the Zionist archives,¹⁹⁹ 435 Jews were protected in 28 Arab houses making up two thirds of the Jewish population at the time. In order to appease Jewish supporters, this increase of violence was portrayed as a religious quarrel targeting the Jews, becoming the main topic of discussion the World Zionist Conference that year. When asked to sign a petition condemning the Arab riots, the founding father of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud refused, stating:

I do not think Palestine could ever become a Jewish state, nor that the Christian and Islamic worlds would ever be prepared to have their holy places under Jewish care. It would have been more sensible to me to establish a Jewish homeland on a less historically-burdened land. But I know such a rational viewpoint would never gain the enthusiasm of the masses and the financial support of the wealthy. I concede with sorrow that the baseless fanaticism of our people is in part to be blamed for the awakening of Arab distrust. I can raise no sympathy at all for the misdirected piety which transforms a piece of a Herodian wall into a national relic, thereby offending the feelings of the natives.²⁰⁰

The Jews blamed the British for the attacks as well, the Arabs remained irked over the issues at the wall and the accusations that they mutilated Jewish bodies after killing them leading to the exhumation of 20 graves, inconsequentially.²⁰¹ Although it would hasten his relationship with the Jews in Palestine High Commissioner Chancellor, upon his return to Palestine after the events, did not view the incident as an attack against Judaism. As the two sides continued arguing, the High Commissioner came to the conclusion that

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 327

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 326

²⁰⁰ Qumsiyeh 2011, op.cit., Pg. 67

²⁰¹ Segev. 2000, op.cit., Pg. 330

the Balfour Declaration was unfair to the Arabs and acted as an impediment to the British Empire's interests in the region.

Due to the escalating tensions, the British set up the Hope-Simpson commission²⁰² to investigate the issues of immigration, land and settlements. The commission's findings resulted in the 1930 Passfield White Paper,²⁰³ the first major victory for the Arabs. The white paper claimed that the Balfour Declaration must be interpreted in a manner that supports not only the Jew's plea for national home but also the Arab's plea for independence. The main issue touched upon was immigration, in which, the report concluded that immigration should be parallel to economic growth and that both the Arabs and Jews should benefit from immigration, meaning that Arabs should be included in the immigration to Palestine.

Although the resolution was thoroughly discussed in the cabinet and later passed, to the pleasure of the British commission in Palestine, it never came to fruition. Weizmann worked his diplomatic magic in England and was successful in having it revoked. For the Arabs, this was the first step they made in gaining independence. The riots demonstrated to the British that, what was once a peaceful region turned violent was directly linked to the Zionist endeavours and immigration to the country. The Arabs took issues into their own hands and marched, drawing the lesson that armed conflict had led, for the first time, to some positive progress for them.

²⁰² Ibid. Pg. 333

²⁰³ Ibid. Pg. 335

The conflict did not end there. The Zionist programme was in full force. While many events led to distrust and frustration, the call for violence may have been attributed to a dropped barrel. In October of 1935,²⁰⁴ a barrel labelled cement fell and broke at the port of Jaffa revealing its content of guns, grenades and ammunition.

The Palestinians now understood the importance of including armed struggle in their myriad of strategies to force pressure on the British. It was at this point Al-Qassam led his men to Northern Palestine. The al-Qassam revolt was short-lived as he was killed in the Ya'bad Forest on November 20th, 1935,²⁰⁵ but the Palestinians gained a martyr and heroic symbol. It should be noted that al-Qassam has been used as a signifier of resistance for the Palestinians as seen with the military wing of Hamas going by the name "The al-Qassam Brigades". Further, during the Intifada of 1987 in the second communiqué of the Intifada, the people resisting were named the "Grandsons of al-Qassam."²⁰⁶

There were a number of memorials across the country, from Jerusalem to Haifa, which thousands of people attended. Forty days after his death,²⁰⁷ there was a demonstration held in Haifa. Three months later in Jaffa two farmers were killed by a Zionist in their olive grove leading to a riot in the city.

²⁰⁴ Qumsiyeh 2011, op.cit. P. 78

²⁰⁵ Swedenburg, Ted. *Memories of Revolt: the 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past*. Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 2003. Pg. 2

²⁰⁶ Qumsiyeh 2011, op.cit. Pg. 78.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. P. 79

These events led to the call for a general strike on April 20th, 1936²⁰⁸, which was supported by the Palestinian political factions the next day. The powers formulated a policy of civil resistance and non-cooperation.

In retrospect, the revolt was damaging to the economy and psyche of the people, but the Palestinian identity was strengthened during this revolt. It was at this time that the *kuffiyeh*, the Palestinian headscarf made famous by Yasser Arafat, became a symbol of Palestinian resistance. The norm at the time was that the Palestinian upper class would don a *tarboosh* while the poor working class would wear the *kuffiyeh*. As nationalist fervour grew, the upper class men were forced to trade in their *tarboosh* to join the masses.²⁰⁹ In similar fashion to the legacy of al-Qassam, the *kuffiyeh* has withstood the test of time and has become the leading Palestinian symbol.

The rival political parties; Al Hizb il Arabi, Hizb al-Difa', Hizb al-Istiqlal, Al-Kutla, Al-Islah and Mu'tamar Al-Shabab came together on April 25th, 1936²¹⁰ and created the Arab Higher Committee leading to a continued general strike and a tax revolt to be started on May 15th, 1936.²¹¹ In the ongoing demonstrations people were killed and arrested, homes were demolished and property was confiscated.

²⁰⁸ Loc.cit.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. Pg. 32

²¹⁰ Ibid. Pg. 80

²¹¹ Loc.cit.

In September 1936, under Fawz Ed Din Qawuji, the armed groups came together creating a unified armed resistance, which at its peak had between 5000-8000 people.²¹² The Palestinians, who have been occupied by the Ottomans and now the British have, for the first time, come together to create a unified leadership organisation and military.

The next two years were extremely eventful, the resistance fighters seized a number of cities, only to be met with collective punishment by the British authorities, in which they would raid whole neighbourhoods as a response. By 1938, the number of British troops in Palestine increased from 2,500 to 25,000. Many were killed, by the end of the uprising over 5000 people were killed and 10% of the adult male population was imprisoned.²¹³ In the collective punishment raids, whole communities were demolished forcing thousands to be homeless.

In addition to the bereavements, the revolt obliged the British to pay attention and find a solution to the problems in Palestine that would appease the Arabs. This led to the White Paper of 1939, dismissing the 1937 Peel Commission calling for the partition of Palestine that was vehemently opposed and added fuel to the revolt. Further, the White Paper called for limits to Jewish immigration and land purchase, promised a central government in 5 years that would be two-thirds Arab and independence within ten years.²¹⁴ This proposal was not only a result of the impending war with Germany, but to the Palestinian awakening that took place over the prior decade.

²¹² Ibid. Pg. 83

²¹³ Ibid. Pg. 85

²¹⁴ Khalidi 2006, op.cit. Pg.114

In May of 1939, the White Paper as rejected. The reason the rejection was directed at the remaining Palestinian guerrilla groups who claimed that they would want all of Palestine and not a country ruled by the elites and the British appointed leaders,²¹⁵ referring to the Husseini and Nashashibi clans.

3.5 1945-1948

After the Second World War the victors came together to create the United Nations, a body put in place to prevent a third world war. The United Nations was created on October 24th, 1945 with ratification from the United States, Soviet Union, France, United Kingdom and China as permanent members of the UN Security Council with the right of veto.²¹⁶ In 1947, the British informed the United Nations that they planned to withdraw from Palestine leading to the adoption of UN Resolution 181;²¹⁷ which Bassam Abu Sharif argues “passed by force through the US coercing the banana republics of Central and Latin America to support it, passed by a slim margin.”²¹⁸

When the partition plan was agreed upon the Jews owned less than 7% of the land²¹⁹ while making up a third of the population. The Jewish population of Palestine grew dramatically throughout the first half of the century but was still heavily outnumbered by

²¹⁵ Ibid. Pg. 116

²¹⁶ "History of the UN." *Welcome to the United Nations: It's Your World*. Web. 30 June 2011. <<http://www.un.org/aboutun/history.htm>>.

²¹⁷ See Appendix II

²¹⁸ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

²¹⁹ Bisharat., George. "Jewish Owned Land in Palestine as of 1947." *Palestine Remembered, Al-Nakba 1948* 10 Sept. 2001. Web. 30 June 2011.

<<http://www.palestineremembered.com/Acre/Maps/Story571.html>>.

the Arab population. Although the Jews only made up 33% of the population occupying 7% of the land the United Nations partition plan divided the land 55% to 45% in favour of the Jewish population while Jerusalem and Bethlehem would be under UN control. After dividing the land, the UN member states failed to implement it, no state was willing to provide troops following their losses in the Second World War and ongoing commitments in Germany and Japan.²²⁰

Soon after the announcement of the partition, the Jewish community began forcefully expelling the indigenous Palestinian population from both the 55% promised to the Jews and the 45% promised to the Arabs.²²¹ By February of 1948, the Arab-Israeli War started when Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, Sudan and other Arab countries sent volunteers to protect their Arab brethren²²². By the time war started, the United States showed that they had already come to the conclusion that the partition plan was a failure and proposed a cease-fire and a five year trusteeship plan which were rejected by both the Zionist leaders and the Palestinians²²³. It was around this time the Zionist Military put forth Plan Dalet, a plan to occupy as much Palestinian land as possible before the British withdrawal²²⁴.

²²⁰ Gassner, Ingrid J. "1947 Partitions Revisited." *Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights*. Autumn 2007. Web. 30 June 2011. <<http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/408-1947-partitions-revisited>>.

²²¹ Pappé, 2006. op.cit. Pg. 285.

²²² Lorch, Netanel. "The Arab-Israeli Wars." *Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. 2 Sept. 2003. Web. 30 June 2011. <<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/History/Modern+History/Centenary+of+Zionism/The+Arab-Israeli+Wars.htm>>.

²²³ Pappé 2006, op.cit. Pg. 40

²²⁴ Khalidi, Walid, 1988. Plan dalet: Master plan for the conquest of Palestine. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18(1), pp.4-33.

Plan Dalet began with Operation Nachshon, a plan put in place to remove the Palestinians from the western points of Jerusalem freeing up the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.²²⁵ The Zionists had a strategy to begin Jewish settlements in heavily populated Palestinian areas but faced issues of providing supplies to these settlements due to the roadblock by the Palestinians. The Zionists also feared that the Jewish settlers might assimilate into the society and forget the Zionist plan being that they were mainly Orthodox and Mizrahi, both of whom never showed full commitment to the Zionist plan.²²⁶ This was the first act of Plan Dalet taken by the Hagana, a Jewish military force. The operation was a difficult one for the Jewish forces due to the determined forces of Abd al-Qadir al-Husaini, the head of the Palestinian resistance, who came to the rescue of the Palestinian villages on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. This opposition came to a halt on April 9th when many villages around Jerusalem fell to Jewish forces and Abd al-Qadir al-Husaini was killed. The people were distraught by the death of Husaini making the capture of Jerusalem a swift one.²²⁷ The indiscriminatory raiding of villages by the Hagana, Lehi, in addition to the Irgun, who was headed by Menachem Begin, future Prime Minister of Israel,²²⁸ came as a shock to the British and was too much to handle for the Arabs.

On April 9th, the village of Deir Yassin was attacked by Jewish forces entering the village firing indiscriminately into houses and slaughtering and humiliating the whole population

²²⁵ Pappé 2006, op.cit. Pg. 87

²²⁶ Ibid. Pg. 88

²²⁷ Ibid. Pg. 89

²²⁸ Quigley, John B. *The Case for Palestine: An International Law Perspective*. Durham: Duke UP, 2005. Pg. 42

in a calculated attack designed to terrorise the Arab population.²²⁹ The recollection of Fahim Zaydan, who was twelve years old at the time provides the unfortunate reality:

“They took us out one after the other; shot an old man and when one of his daughters cried, she was shot too. They called my brother Muhammad, and shot him in front of us, and when my mother yelled, bending over him- carrying my little sister Hudra in her hands, still breastfeeding her- they shot her too.”²³⁰

For many reasons, April 9th, 1948 marked the beginning of the end for the Palestinians. Villages were being uprooted an hour at a time. Plan Dalet was in full force leading to Haifa, Acre, Baysan, Safad, Jerusalem and Jaffa. The coastal ethnic cleansing of Palestinians lasted approximately a month and a half, and although Jaffa put up fierce resistance it was captured by May 13th making way for the end of the British Mandate on May 14th. As soon as the British Mandate ended Israel declared independence, a state promptly recognised by the President of the United States Harry S. Truman. As soon as Israel declared independence they were attacked by the Arab armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. The fighting continued until armistice agreements were reached between Israel and the neighbouring, former Greater Syrian states, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan giving the Jordanians control of the West Bank and Egypt the Gaza Strip. The Arab involvement will be discussed in further detail in a later chapter, but it should be noted that the Jordanian offensive did not extend past the West Bank borders and Egypt's involvement was feeble.

The war ended with approximately 700,000 Palestinians expelled and the land of Palestine divided amongst Israel, Trans-Jordan and Egypt. The Palestinians were forced

²²⁹ Pappé 2006, op.cit. Pg. 90

²³⁰ Loc.cit.

into expulsion creating the Palestinian Diaspora. Although the partition plan of 1947 only offered the Jews 55% of the land, by the time of the armistice agreement of 1949, they were able to occupy 78% of the land.

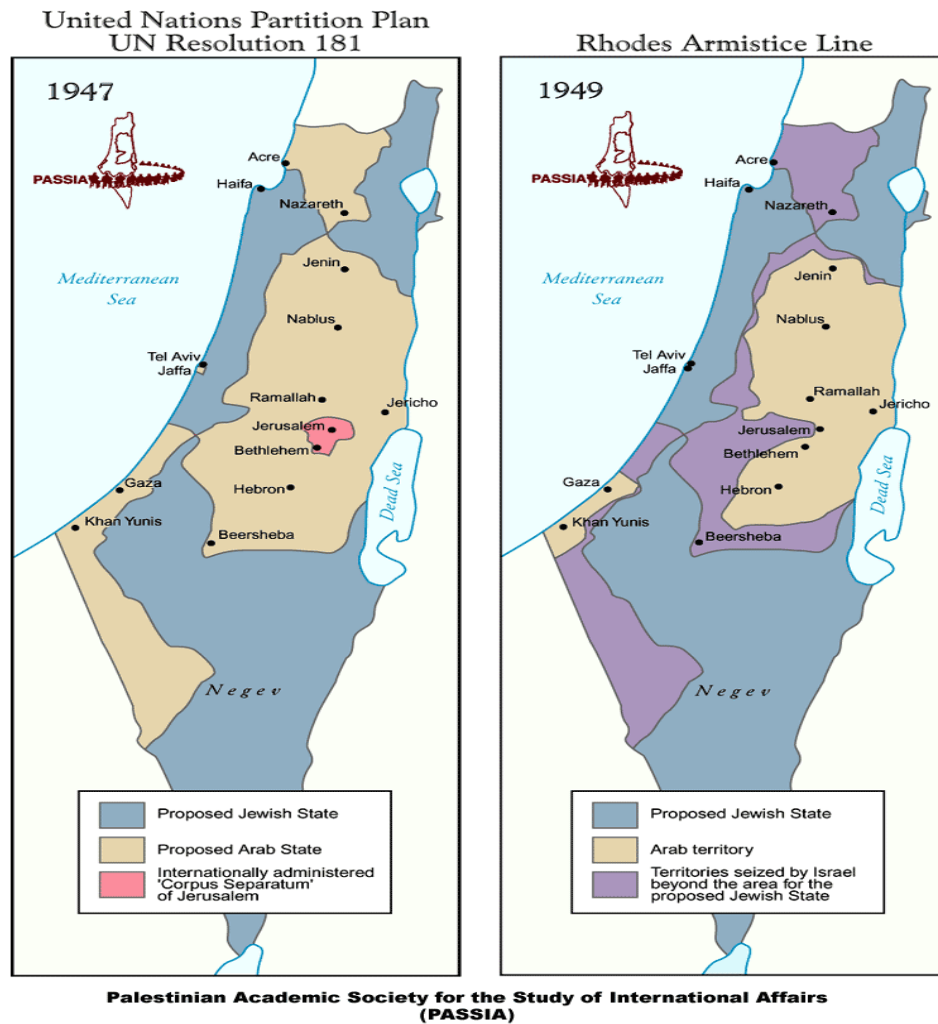


Figure 2: Provided by PASSIA²³¹

3.6 The New Palestinian Reality

The 1948 Arab-Israeli war had two outcomes, first, in the eyes of the colonisers; a rise from the ashes of Auschwitz to a sense of freedom, safety and independence. Next, as

²³¹ "United Nations Partition Plan-UN Resolution 181, 1947 / Rhodes Armistice Line, 1949." *UN Partition Recommendation, Nov. 1947*. Palestinian Academic Society of International Affairs (PASSIA), n.d. Web. 16 Oct. 2014.

seen in the eyes of the colonised was the shock of forceful expulsion and the dispossession of life in its entirety. Thus, as put forth by Palestinian academic Edward Said, comes the crossroads of the Palestinian identity in which he states: “The Palestinians are a people who move a lot, who are always carrying bags from one place to another. This gives us a further sense of identity.”²³² Ironically, while the dispossessed were generally within 100 kilometres of their homeland, this sense of closeness, while at arm’s length, seasoned into an ongoing sense of tragedy evoked by the torturous reality of dispossession and the forbidden right of return.

According to the United Nations, 900,000 Palestinians were dispossessed in 1948, some remaining within Palestine in the Gaza Strip and West Bank while the rest were forced to Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. Within a year, the United Nations called for the right of return for Palestinian refugees through resolution 194 and set up the United Nations Relief and Works Agency-²³³ a temporary agency set up to curtail the Palestinian refugee problem. Although UNRWA does an admirable job the Palestinians were forced into the shameful being of becoming, as Noam Chomsky words it, a “*Schnorrer* Society;”²³⁴ a Yiddish term describing a society forced to live on charity. The concept of *Karameh*, Arabic for dignity,²³⁵ has, throughout time, been an essential determinant in the makeup

²³² Said 1994. op.cit. Pg. 115

²³³ See Appendix III

²³⁴ Chomsky, Noam, and Frank Barat. "Noam Chomsky: While Syria Descends into Suicide, Israel and the US Are Enjoying the Spectacle." *Ceasefire Magazine RSS*. 7 Sept. 2013. Web. 6 Sept. 2014. <<http://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/noam-chomsky-syria-descends-suicide-israel-enjoying-spectacle/>>.

²³⁵ Kuttab, Daoud. “Karameh Means Dignity for Palestinians.” *Huffpost*, Huffington Post. Web. N.D. <www.huffingtonpost.com/daoud-kuttab/karameh-means-dignity-for_b_421368.html>

of the Arab psyche. Contrary to popular belief, as addressed by former UNRWA Commissioner-General John Davis, the Palestinians do not prefer charity rather than working for a living.²³⁶ The exact losses will never be quantified, but this population who once lived on vast agricultural lands, in a vibrant society have been belittled to living on 7 cents a day of charity.²³⁷ The refugees may not have had money or a home, but they did hold on to the hope that they would soon be returning to their homeland, not knowing that those who remained were not much better off.

While Chairman of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine, David Ben-Gurion promised the following: “We will treat our Arab and non-Jewish neighbors as if they were Jews, but make every effort to ensure that they preserve their characteristics, their Arab culture, their Arab religion, their Arab way of life, while doing our utmost... gradually to raise their standard of living.”²³⁸ After the establishment of the state of Israel, nearly 170,000 Arabs remained in occupied Palestine, if broken down by the different “Arab religions”, as Ben-Gurion attested, would amount to 120,000 Muslims, 35,000 Christians and 15,000 Druze. According to the former Mayor of Nazareth, in 1948, the average Arab village was 16,500 dunums, by 1974- this was down to 5000 dunums to each village (Per capita went from 16 dunums per head to one dunum per head in the same time period). Although Israel lauds itself as the only democracy in the Middle East, empowering the Arab minority by allowing them to stand for election in the Knesset, the reality is that the

²³⁶ Hadawi, Sami. *Bitter Harvest: A Modern History of Palestine*. 5th Impression ed. New York: Olive Branch, 1989. Pg. 143

²³⁷ Ibid. Pg. 140

²³⁸ Avi-Hai, Avraham. *Ben Gurion, State Builder: Principles and Pragmatism, 1948-1963*. Jerusalem: Keter House Jerusalem, 1974. Pg. 152

Arab-Israelis have been allowed to live, but not live equally. Starting in 1949, the Arab population faced martial law for 18 years.²³⁹ Although martial law has been lifted, Adalah,²⁴⁰ the legal centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, posits that there are currently 50 Israeli laws that discriminate against the Arab minority. These laws and practices deny Arabs in Israel equal employment, access to adequate water and electricity, education as well as cultural and religious freedoms.²⁴¹

This reality of expulsion, dispossession and discrimination left the Palestinians with no sense of belonging and a revolting sense of confusion. Afif Safieh defines this tragedy claiming that; “Palestinians have become the Jews of the Jews and we never wanted them to become the Palestinians of the Palestinians.”²⁴² The Palestinian people were cut off from the world, their homes, families and with this, themselves. This situation ushered in, what Palestinian intellectual Ibrahim Abu-Lughod referred to as the “politics of accommodation”.²⁴³ With the population forced to living as refugees in surrounding Arab countries, or living under Israeli, Egyptian and Jordanian occupation the Palestinians were forced to assimilate to their new surroundings. In the decade following the Nakba, the Palestinian national consciousness was silenced and their sense of national identity lost.

²³⁹ Thomas, Baylis. *The Dark Side of Zionism: Israel's Quest for Security Through Dominance*. Plymouth: Lexington, 2009. Pg. 172

²⁴⁰ "Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel." *Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel*. Web. 6 Sept. 2014. <<http://www.adalah.org/eng/>>.

²⁴¹ Thomas 2009, op.cit., Pg. 172

²⁴² Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

²⁴³ Said, Edward W., and Jean Mohr. op.cit. Pg. 106

As noted beforehand by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, the Palestinian people were in the process of acclimatising to their new surroundings, struggling to belong. Although, disregarding those who now live in the state of Israel, the refugees found themselves in a country that shares the same language, albeit a different dialect, the same culture, the same food and generally the same religion, even with all these similarities the Palestinians were dissatisfied with their new surroundings.

Bassam Abu Sharif, who made it clear that to him the Palestinian identity will always be an Arab identity, argues that the Nakba in fact made the Palestinian identity more focused, the only difference is that for the Palestinians, their national identity has become a political identity claiming:

Now we are moving to another angle, when you talk about 1948 this is another angle of looking at the term identity. In this case the identity is not the identity which is defined by Webster's. In this case it has a certain political meaning, not a meaning driven by roots, the political meaning is that the Palestinians have never enjoyed independence as promised by the victors of the world war and the mandatory part of the UN which Great Britain represented...This led to a catastrophe to the Palestinians on all levels, political, human, social, they turned the Palestinians into refugees and put them into refugee camps...With all these catastrophes, and all this suffering, the Palestinians did not lose their identity. What happened in 1948 did not erase the identity of the Palestinians, not at all, it actually concentrated their identity more than anything. Arabs of Palestine, the identity is Arabs of Palestine.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

Chapter 4: Pan-Arabism and the Palestinians

In Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser and the group of officers had their revolution and started a completely different line which is the Pan-Arab line calling for the liberation of Palestine, in Syria too, in Iraq too. In these countries the change was due to the realization of certain officers who participated in the so-called Arab experience in 1948 and saw with their own eyes the treason of their kings and rulers of the time. They revolted in order to change the political line and liberate Palestine. Once more, even though there were political repercussions and repercussions on the identity, here, it was the dislodging of the Palestinians and turning them into refugees in Arab countries. It never wavered the fact that we are Palestinian Arabs.²⁴⁵

According to a report released by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Human Affairs more Palestinians were killed by Israel in 2014 than at any time since 1967.²⁴⁶ While the Palestinians remain cynical, they hoped that 2015 would not bring similar pains to the year that passed. Unfortunately for them this optimism was short lived as on January 2nd, 2015 Zaki al-Hobi, 16, was killed in Rafah trying to cross the Gaza-Sinai border. Israeli forces were not responsible for the death of al-Hobi; the first Palestinian to be killed in 2015 lost his life at the hands of an Egyptian soldier.²⁴⁷ While Egypt denied responsibility, the issue at hand was not so much in the validity of the claim but in the idea that the Palestinians and Egyptians, fellow Arabs, have endured decades of mistrust. The 2014 Gaza war was catastrophic for the Palestinians being one of the largest assaults Israeli forces have undertaken against the besieged strip. While it is understood that the war was between Israel and Hamas, the destruction the Palestinians faced can be partially attributed to the negative positions taken by the Egyptian government.

²⁴⁵ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

²⁴⁶ Zonszein, Mairav. "Israel Killed More Palestinians in 2014 than in Any Other Year since 1967." *The Guardian*. 27 Mar. 2015. Web. 28 July 2015.

²⁴⁷ Waheidi, Majd, and Kareem Fahim. "After Killing of Gaza Teenager, Calls for Egyptian Inquiry." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 3 Jan. 2015. Web. 28 July 2015.

Egypt, once the leaders of the Arab world and drivers of Pan-Arabism under President Sisi, have continued to contribute to the collective punishment of nearly 2 million Palestinians in Gaza. During the war, there were a number of efforts by Egyptians to support those in Gaza, only to be turned away at the border by Egyptian border security. According to Salma Said, an Egyptian activist who attempted to bring medical supplies into the strip before being turned away, “They do not want Egyptians to show support for Palestinians. They want to make sure that this siege and this isolation continues.”²⁴⁸ From January 1st, 2015 until the end of May 2015, the border between Gaza and Egypt was open for only 5 days²⁴⁹ and by the anniversary of the conflict on July 8th, 2015, not one of 12,580 houses that were destroyed in the conflict has been rebuilt.²⁵⁰ While Israel is complicit, it is Egypt’s role in denying the Gaza strip of resources and necessities that has grown to be more unsettling to the Palestinians.

This has served, in part, to impede more fruitful bilateral relations. Egyptians may point to the tension in the Sinai or Hamas’ affiliation to the Muslim Brotherhood²⁵¹ while the Palestinians might point to the above-mentioned events and the rule of President Sisi. In actuality, the wariness between the two parties is not a new phenomenon, neither is the mistrust amongst many Arab countries. The resentment by Arab governments towards one another may be justified, a country like Lebanon has had to home hundreds of thousands of refugees, both Palestinian and Syrian, has faced decades of occupation by

²⁴⁸ Loc.cit

²⁴⁹ Abu Toameh, Khaled. "Egypt's Blockade of Gaza." *Gatestone Institute*. 29 May 2015. Web. 28 July 2015.

²⁵⁰ Knell, Yolande. "Why Is Gaza Reconstruction so Slow? - BBC News." *BBC News*. 8 July 2015. Web. 28 July 2015.

²⁵¹ Abu Amr, Ziyad. *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994. Pg. 68

both Israel and Syria and a civil war that may flare up again at any moment. Whether or not the resentment is justified, the Palestinians faced tumultuous times, at the hands of Israel, their fellow Arabs and their own personal mismanagement of affairs. While modern national divisions exist, during the first half of the 20th century there was constant discussion about uniting the Arab world in response to the colonial pressures that sought to divide the region.

This chapter sets out to demonstrate that, while the concept of Pan-Arabism has historical leverage as well as economic, cultural and security benefits it has not seen much success since late Egyptian President Nasser. Palestinian mistrust towards Arab governments is not a new phenomenon but one that began developing soon after the *Nakba* and is an essential component of determining Palestinian identity.

4.1 Pan-Arabism: Historical Overview

The Ottoman Empire reigned over large parts of the Middle East and North Africa for nearly seven centuries. By the end of the 17th century, the cities of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Cairo, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, Baghdad and Damascus were under Turkish rule. While the populations of these cities were majority Muslim, thus similar to the Turks in the sense that they were all part of the Muslim *Ummah*, the territory between the Atlantic Ocean and the Persian Gulf was, and still is, dominated by the Arabic language and religious diversity. This is due, in part, to the administrative structure and strategy of the Ottomans via the sense of autonomy given to the Vilayets mentioned in Chapter 3. This domination of Arabic stems back, arguably, to the father of the Arab nation himself, the Prophet Muhammad. The deliverance of Islam and its growth, particularly within the

timeframe of the first two caliphates (632-1031), saw the language of the Hijaz (Modern-day Saudi Arabia) and the Arabic religion spread as far east as Kabul (Modern-day Afghanistan) and as far west and north as Andalucía (Modern-day Spain).

It was during the 1800s, within the Ottoman administration that the concept of modern Arabism began to develop. E. G. H. Joffé, in his article titled “Arab Nationalism and Palestine”²⁵² published in 1983, referenced three different loyalties that were essential in developing consciousness in the Arab and Muslim world: the *Ummah*, which defines the Muslim World, the *Watan*, the homeland, referencing a patriotic and/or territorial connection and the *Quam*, the tribe or family, in relation to language and ethnicity.²⁵³ The manner in which Joffé has differentiated between loyalties is essential in this thesis as it breaks down the three different loyalties in the region and their influence on Palestinian identity. According to a survey conducted by Professor Shibley Telhami with the University of Maryland and Zogby International for the Saban Centre at Brookings only 22% of Palestinians in Israel identify Palestinian as their most important identity, 36% as Arab and 19% as Muslim. Furthermore, over half of the Christian respondents identify themselves as Arab first with only 9% who identify as Christian and 15% as Palestinian. On the other hand, 34% of the Muslim respondents identify as Arab first, Muslim second at 27% and finally Palestinian at 24%.²⁵⁴ Of course this survey has its own shortcomings,

²⁵² Joffe, E.G.H. "Arab Nationalism and Palestine." *Journal of Peace Research* 20.2 (1983): 157-170.

²⁵³ Joffe, 1983. Op.cit. Pg. 160

²⁵⁴ Telhami, Shibly. “2010 Israeli Arab/Palestinian Public Opinion Survey”. Saban Center for Middle East Policy. Saban Centre at Brookings, New York. 2010. Lecture.

based on territory and history, but this shows that the differentiation between the *Ummah*, *Quam* and *Watan* still exists in certain Arab/Palestinian societies.

While the *Ummah* was generally connected under the caliphate, there were stirrings of nationalism beginning to brew in Egypt, led, in part by, Jamal al-Din Asadabadi, better known as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897). Al-Afghani led this movement until he was exiled from Egypt to India for his national aspirations, only to end up in Paris. While in Paris, after gaining a better understanding of the manner in which Europe has developed its nation-state system he began an organisation named *Urwah al-Wuthqa* (The Indissoluble Bond).²⁵⁵ It was here that al-Afghani shifted from being *Watani*, as was the case in Egypt, to understanding the importance of Muslim unity.

Al-Afghani believed that Islam needed to not only be a cultural tool but a political ideology to confront European expansion. While there was a Pan-Islamic society under the Ottomans and the *Ummah* was naturally multicultural, he called for the return to the original purity of Islam, in essence, an Arabic Islam.²⁵⁶ This notion, which may be attributed to Smith's concept of recurrent perennialism; in which a nation may come and go but the core, in this case, reverting the Muslim *Ummah* to its Arab roots, in al-Afghani's views will strengthen the nation itself. While it is viewed as a reversion, the reversion in itself is a reconstruction in order to face the internal and external threats at hand. Although this idea may in fact strengthen the *Ummah*, its classical mandate faces difficulty in defining who exactly fits within it. The paradox at hand is that the concept of

²⁵⁵ Cubert, Harold M. *The PFLP's Changing Role in the Middle East*. London: Frank Cass, 1997. Pg. 23

²⁵⁶ Joffe, 1983. Op.cit. Pg. 161

the *Ummah* was initially meant to be broad and all-encompassing, but the rise of nationalism and the multi-ethnic, multi-faith nature of the region make it difficult to apply this theory, and or ideology, to the broader Arab-speaking world. The questions surrounding Anderson's theory pertaining to vernacular is essential here, did the *Ummah* constitute an overarching religious affiliation or did it simply extend to Arabic speaking peoples across the empire? At this time, the *Ummah* itself was not under Arab control, allowing the Arab roots of Islam to be used as a tool to separate the *Quam* from the *Ummah*.

With that said, Islam provided a unifying tool in the Arab world, for Christians and Muslims alike. One leader in Pan-Arab thought at the time was Lebanese born Muhammad Rashid Rida. Rida, in his periodical *Al-Manar* viewed the revival of Islamic unity as a task driven by Arab history, arguing that: "The basis of this union is Islam itself, and Islam is none other than the book of God Almighty, and the Sunna of his Prophet- prayer and peace be upon Him. Both are in Arabic. No one can understand them properly unless he understands their noble language."²⁵⁷ The importance of Rida's work lies in the fact that, while Muslim, the history of Islam was projected as an Arab history, this inclusivity allowed for both Muslims and Christians to join under a glorified Arab history.

Moreover, another founding father of contemporary Arab nationalism and a major influence on PFLP founder George Habash was Qustantin Zuraiq. Qustantin, originally from Damascus, was a professor at the American University of Beirut and although

²⁵⁷ Cubert, 1997. Op.cit. Pg. 28

Christian viewed the Prophet Muhammad as a “national hero”²⁵⁸ citing the importance of the Prophets’ capability to unite a number of tribes spanning across a vast land under one eastern language. Qustantin viewed Zionism as a threat, not only to Palestine, but the whole Arab world and the only manner that Palestine may be liberated was through the strengthening of Arab unity.²⁵⁹ He advanced the view that Palestine was lost not due to the failure of the Arab people, but a failure of Arab regimes. This idea remained prevalent amongst both the PFLP and Fatah for the decade that followed the Nakba.

Additionally, Sati al-Husri, although a Muslim, argued for Arab unity rather than Islamic unity. While Qustantin praised Islamic history, al-Husri viewed Islam and Arabism as two separate but important factions. He did agree with the concept that Islam can be used as a basis for Arab nationalism but due to Islam’s broad nature, in the sense that it spread amongst a number of ethnicities, similar to Christianity, it should not be used to complement nationalism.²⁶⁰ Al-Husri further explains nationalism in a manner integral to the case at hand. He defines the nation through four determinants, two being common language and common history, which is usual to the definition of nationalism. What differs with al-Husri’s definition is the addition of political stability, which can only be fulfilled through territorial patriotism and loyalty. This encompasses the ethnic factors of a nation, but also takes into account the political influence. With regard to the ideologies of Pan-Arabism, this allows one to differ between the *Quam* and the *Watan*, with the former representing the people of a broader nation and the latter those who are connected

²⁵⁸ Ibid. Pg. 29

²⁵⁹ Loc.cit.

²⁶⁰ The idea of nationally organizing under a religion did work for the state of Israel; this can be attested to a number of reasons, namely, while the Jewish nation is highly multicultural and multi-ethnic, the Jewish religion is known to be an exclusive faith.

through its pledge to a distinct homeland.

This difference amongst the two played a vital role in the development of nations and nationalism in the Arab world. While there is a long history exploring the surge of nationalism in the region, for the purpose of this research, it is the events post World War One that are most pertinent. When applied to the theories of nationalism, one can argue for the *Ummah*, *Watan* and *Quam* but it is partially this irredentism that has repressed the advancement of the Arab nation. At the end of the First World War, the *Ummah* lost its control of the Orient, the *Watan* was colonised and lines in the sand drawn by the British and the French were dividing the *Quam*. At this time the tide was changing in the Arab world and the first thought was to unite, as Arabs, against their colonial occupiers. As discussed in the historical framework, it was at this time that the British began to make empty promises to Sharif Husain of Mecca. Nevertheless, whichever way they are examined or theorised, all three concepts explored may be applied to the share of classical theories.

Starting with Anthony Smith's definition developed on the premise of ethnosymbolism: "a named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs."²⁶¹ The *Ummah*, when defined under the parameters of the caliphate, arguably contain all of Smith's determinants of a nation, with the Quran and *Sharia* law defining the universal laws and customs. When examining the *Quam*, things may get a little trickier when exploring the legal and cultural factors. While all Arabic countries do share a language, the customs within society may

²⁶¹ See Chapter 1

differ drastically when comparing, for example, Morocco, Lebanon and Yemen. Further, while the region is predominantly Muslim, local authorities, then and now, implement certain Islamic law more rigorously than others whose society may be multi-faith or secular. Finally, regardless of the functionality of the theory, until the Western world as well as the “rich” Arab states cease their control over the whole region it will be difficult to exactly define where the Arab or Palestinian identity will cement itself. The apolitical nature of Smith’s theory will continue to benefit history and the initial development of nations but is unsatisfactory when applied to the modern day. The other classical view on nationalism provided by Ernest Gellner, which may be viewed as modern, also disregards political consequence, as it defines the nation based on development and conforming to the Western state system.

Ernest Gellner argues that one who controls the division of labour controls society and hence the nation. As Gellner has claimed, all he is interested in is “half the story”,²⁶² as the world becomes more and more industrial a society must develop accordingly. Gellner’s theory is seminal, but not uniform, when it comes to the Arab world, realistically it is difficult to place where the story starts. When speaking of the West, it is easy to start the story at The Concert of Europe or completely disregard the colonisation of North America to create the American nations, but the same cannot be said for the Arab world. Since most countries have only experienced half a century, give or take, of independence during which time the United States has intervened and controlled the trajectory of growth in the Arab world it may be argued that the Arab national story has

²⁶² See: Chapter 1

yet to begin. Finally, the concept of the division of labour allows the ruler, whether or not they are representative of the people, to justify their control of the “nation” in question. When the Ottomans controlled the whole Arab world, they controlled the division of labour and people were *Ottoman Citizens* but the national identity of the people was constantly in question, the same goes for the Arab citizens of Israel, while some may claim that they are Israeli a number will define themselves as Arab and/or Palestinian- Saban’s aforementioned lecture finds that only 12% of the Arab/Palestinians surveyed identified as Israeli first.

Although Gellner’s theory is highly predicated on the Western state system and has been criticised throughout most of this thesis, it does hold influence, this influence will be explored further later in this chapter when analysing Pan-Arabism under Nasser. That is not to say that the *Ummah* or the *Quam*, do not hold leverage, as Arabs are connected, ethnically, spiritually and politically, the make-up of the region presently is driven by divisions, rather than similarities. While there were a number of thinkers, actors and developments in Arab nationalism, Rashid Khalidi, referencing Hobsbawm, argues that the concept in itself is an invented tradition. Khalidi states that:

“The idea was widespread throughout the "Arab world" (itself a concept born of the rise of Arab nationalism) that anyone who spoke Arabic, looked back on the history of the Arabs with pride, and considered himself or herself to be an Arab was one, and that this sense of shared identity should in some measure find political expression.”²⁶³

²⁶³ Khalidi, Rashid. "Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems In The Literature." *The American Historical Review* 96.5 (1991): 1363-1373. PG. 1365

The gap between political reality and idealism is substantial, the leading governments of Arab countries to do what is best for their national interest, sometimes at the expense of their Arab neighbours.

Before exploring the concept of the *Watan*, which is arguably the most important of the three to the Palestinian cause it is essential to survey the concept of the *Quam* in further detail. Before the Palestinians began their liberation process there were a number of prevalent ideologies that had direct impact on the Palestinian cause throughout the Mandate Period and the years following the *Nakba*. Unfortunately for the Palestinians, although many Arabs believed in the idea of the *Quam*, their governments made life very difficult for the Palestinians since the *Nakba*. This unsurprisingly hindered the sincerity of the concept.

The period explored in this chapter, focusing on the rise of Pan-Arabism leading to the next chapter discerning the refugee problem encapsulated what Abu-Lughod referred to as the first stage of Palestinian nationalism; “The politics of accommodation”. The Palestinians spent a decade adapting to their new surroundings and harsh reality, in the process, losing their national consciousness and identity. By ways of making the Palestinian conflict an Arab one, the idea that the Palestinians must identify as Arabs first, thus do not have, nor need, a national home or identity was strengthened.

Contemporary thought provides for the notion that identity, at least in the modern day, is generally a construct. Guibernau contends that one will construct his or her own identity

by being excluded from or rejecting the collectiveness of identity from a more dominant group. In this case, the more dominant group was the Arabs, be it the Egyptians, Jordanians or Syrians. All three countries played major roles in shaping the Palestinian narrative post-1948. It is understandable that there would be dominance geopolitically, as the Palestinians did not have an organisation that would be able to speak for them at that moment.

After the unilateral declaration of independence by Israel on the 15th of May 1948, months into the war, the UN made one last effort to salvage a peace between the Palestinians and Israel led by French war hero, Count Folke Bernadotte. The plan laid out was a revival of the 1947 partition of Palestine, with concessions made by both sides. For Arab recognition of the Jewish state, the Arabs would receive the West Bank, Gaza and the Negev while Israel would retain Galilee leaving Jerusalem under an international mandate.²⁶⁴ In hindsight, if the Palestinians knew what the end-result would have been, they may have been more inclined to accept this offer. The trouble with Bernadotte's plan was not only the annexation of Arab land by the Jewish state, but the request that the Arab land be annexed to the newly founded Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan.²⁶⁵ Israel disapproved of the plan, as did Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia leaving Jordan to be the only one to consider it.²⁶⁶ The plan did not come to fruition and the day after the proposal was submitted Jewish extremists in Jerusalem assassinated Bernadotte, as well as UN observer Colonel Andre Serot who incidentally rode with Bernadotte in

²⁶⁴ Hahn, Peter L. *Caught in the Middle East U.S. Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 2004. Pg. 55

²⁶⁵ Loc.cit.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. Pg. 56

order to thank him for saving his wife from a Nazi concentration camp.²⁶⁷ In contradiction to the Bernadotte plan, just days before he was assassinated, the Arab League was drawing up its own plan for a unilateral declaration of independence.

Soon after the creation of the State of Israel, the Arab League passed a resolution to create an All-Palestine Government (*Hukumat 'Umum Filastin*),²⁶⁸ named to disregard the partition of Palestine. Tasked with creating the government was the leader of the Arab Higher Committee, Hajj Amin Al-Husseini. On September 22nd, 1948 they released the following statement: "The residents of Palestine, by virtue of their right to self-determination, and in accordance with the decisions of the Arab League, have decided to declare the whole of Palestine... an independent state."²⁶⁹ The new government was attempting to organise a national council in Gaza while in the West Bank King Abdullah of Jordan was rallying Palestinian nobles to oppose the Egyptian influenced All-Palestine Government in order to create a rival government. Whereas Israel was consolidating her position by appropriating as much land as possible, a Palestinian Government was set up, under the directive of the League of Arab States and ultimately the Egyptians in Gaza while at the same time a Palestinian Congress was established, under the directive of King Abdullah, in the West Bank.²⁷⁰ Both the government and the congress were set up as tools that would allow Egypt and Jordan to control what was left of Arab-Palestine with support from some Palestinian elites and feudalists.

²⁶⁷ Macintyre, Donald. "Israel's Forgotten Hero: The Assassination of Count Bernadotte." *The Independent*. 18 Sept. 2008. Web. 2 Sept. 2015.

²⁶⁸ Elpeleg, Zvi, and Shmuel Himelstein. *The Grand Mufti: Haj Amin Al-Hussaini, Founder of the Palestinian National Movement*. Oxon: Routledge, 1993. Pg. 99

²⁶⁹ Ibid. Pg. 101

²⁷⁰ Plascov, Avi. *The Palestinian Refugees in Jordan 1948-1957*. London: Frank Cass, 1981. Pg.

Within the year of both symbolic meetings, Israel signed an Armistice Agreement with Egypt (February 24th, 1949), Lebanon (March 23rd, 1949), Jordan (April 3rd, 1949) and Syria (July 20th, 1949).²⁷¹ Jordan successfully annexed the West Bank, Egypt successfully annexed the Gaza Strip and the next 15-years were dominated by attempts at Arab unity and political football with the question of Palestine.

4.2 Contemporary Pan-Arabism: The Syrian Social National Party, Baath and Nasser

In 2004, Palestinian author Said K. Aburish published a biography about late Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser titled *The Last Arab*.²⁷² The title references the popular sentiment towards Nasser throughout the region, while there may have been flare-ups under Nasser's rule and things were not always stable, there remained a belief that Nasser truly believed in himself as an Arab, before being an Egyptian. This thesis has spent a lot of time highlighting the perils that accompanied Pan-Arabism, but politics aside, when exploring Pan-Arabism, as a theory, it provides for a number of benefits to the Arab world and the Palestinians. Prior to surveying the plight of the Palestinians in the face of the Arab world, this section will analyse three dominant trains of thoughts prevalent in the contemporary Pan-Arab discussion; the policies of the Syrian Social National Party, the Baath and Nasserism.

²⁷¹ Rabinovich, Itamar, and Jehuda Reinharz. *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present*. Lebanon: Brandeis UP, 2008. Pg. 119

²⁷² Aburish, Said. *Nasser: The Last Arab*. New York: St. Martin's/Thomas Dunne, 2004.

4.2.1 The Syrian Social National Party

Antun Saadeh founded the Syrian National Party in 1932, changing the name in 1947 to SSNP to comprise the concept of “social nationalism”.²⁷³ After the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the colonisation of the region by France and Great Britain, by way of the Sykes-Picot agreement, Saadeh called for the reunification of the Syrian homeland through geographical unity. This allowed him to extend the Syrian state to encompass not only Greater Syria (Modern day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Palestine and a part of Turkey) into his *nation* but the Island of Cyprus, the Sinai Peninsula and Iraq as well.²⁷⁴ His nation, while majority Arab was not directly connected to the neighbouring Arab states, as, according to Saadeh, the Syrian people are not Arab, but are comprised of the Canaanites, Phoenicians, Acadians, Amorites, Hittites, Assyrians and the Babylonians.²⁷⁵ When discounting the inclusion of Cyprus into the SSNP’s “national boundaries”, it may be argued, due to the recent division of Greater Syria, that the grounds of Saadeh’s view had plausibility as well as authenticity. Regardless of the events at hand and the importance of creating a “Jewish State”, before multiculturalism became a staple of the Americas, Syria enjoyed its own version of multiculturalism, albeit with Arabic as the chief language and Islam as the predominant religion.

Although the premise of the SSNP was to revert to the pre-colonial landscape allowing the reunification of Greater Syria, in common with almost all national movements, its

²⁷³ Zisser, Eyal. "The Syrian Phoenix—The Revival Of The Syrian Social National Party In Syria." *Die Welt Des Islams* 47.2 (2007): 188-206. Pg. 193

²⁷⁴ Pipes, Daniel. "Radical Politics and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20.3 (1988): 303-24. Pg. 305

²⁷⁵ Zisser 2007. Op. cit. Pg. 194

agenda was a political one. Irrespective of their national history, a history that Saadeh spent his time in exile (1938-1947) uncovering, penning a collection of articles explaining Syria's historic literature and archaeology,²⁷⁶ his hopes were not without motive. His fascistic ideology, with the general idea that the Syrian bloodline is all-powerful, a very *Volkish* type attitude,²⁷⁷ made for a party that has not seen much political success since the end of the World War. While not the most pragmatic, Saadeh was a Syrian nationalist and the views he held, he argues were original, as stated in a 1935 speech: "On this occasion I declare that the system (*nizam*) of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party is not a Hitlerite or a Fascist system, but that it is purely a Syrian system, which does not stand on unprofitable imitation, but on basic originality, which is one of the characteristics of our people."²⁷⁸ When it comes to the Palestinian cause, while the SSNP has always held a staunch opposition to Zionism their ideology has forced them to act as a barrier to an independent Palestinian identity. Palestine, or Southern Syria, was a problem, not for the Arab world or the Palestinian people but for the Syrian nation. This was not an attack on the Palestinian people but a genuine call to reunite the Syrian nation. Even while this study was being conducted, when discussing Palestinian identity with members of the SSNP, the initial opinion was on analysing the united Syrian nation rather than focusing on an independent Palestinian nation.

²⁷⁶ Talhami, Ghada Hashem. *Syria and the Palestinians: The Clash of Nationalisms*. Gainesville: U of Florida, 2001. Pg. 156

²⁷⁷ Loc.cit.

²⁷⁸ Saadeh, Antun. "Speech of June 1 1935." *Syrian Social National Party*. N.p., n.d. Web. 03 Oct. 2015.

Saadeh presented two approaches to the Palestinian question, one being generalist and the other isolationist.²⁷⁹ The generalist approach placed the responsibility of liberating Palestine on the shoulders of all Arab states with the latter considering the issue to be one that must be resolved by the Palestinians themselves. Obviously, Saadeh's approach differed from the aforementioned, providing that the Arab world may support the Syrians in liberating Palestine, to be a part of Greater Syria, as long as they do not interfere with the national will of all of Syria and that the future of Palestine would legally be determined by Damascus.²⁸⁰ Saadeh's claim, which came within only two decades of Sykes-Picot was naturally popular amongst those of Greater Syria. Although the claim and attachment to Greater Syria is still prominent in Syria and Lebanon, the Palestinians grew to be steadfast in wanting to control their own destiny.

To reiterate, Saadeh and the SSNP were sympathetic to the Palestinian cause, something Saadeh echoed to the crowd when he returned to an independent Lebanon in 1947, appealing to his supporters:

Our struggle is continuing and you must never allow yourselves to forget that Palestine is part of Syria. This southern wing remains, as you know, mortally threatened. The Social Nationalists are determined to save Palestine from Jewish designs and their collaborators...Saving Palestine is the most Lebanese of enterprises, just as it is a core matter for hinterland Syria, as well as, of course, a core matter for the Palestinians. The Jewish threat to Palestine is a threat to the whole of Syria, a threat to all its entities.²⁸¹

The Palestinians remain sceptical of views such as these, not due to the authenticity of the call but due to the reality at hand. Soon after Saadeh celebrated Lebanon's independence, Syria celebrated theirs. It remains that these parties who call for a Pan-Arab nation or in

²⁷⁹ Talhami 2001. Op. cit. Pg. 158

²⁸⁰ Loc.cit.

²⁸¹ Saadeh, Antun. "Return Speech of 1947." *Syrian Social National Party*. N.p., n.d. Web. 03 Oct. 2015.

this case a Pan-Syrian nation, do so with the luxury of independence and self-determination. It was at this time another political party who called for a Greater Syria began its growth, a party that history has shown itself to be more successful and powerful than the SSNP.

4.2.2 The Baath Party

Founded in 1940 by Michel Aflaq and Salah ad-Din al-Bitar, the Baath party's ideology promoted the abolishment of the Arab states in order to develop one Pan-Arab state reflecting the direct conditions of diversity in Syria.²⁸² The socialist system carved out a permanent role for minorities as Arabs, with Islam serving their culture. While both the Baath and the SSNP recruited their membership from the same pool and generally agreed on most issues, both developed on secular and social beliefs, there was an evident split on the concept of the Arab nation and the Syrian nation. Further, the SSNP was not active, nor willing, to accommodate the Sunni Muslim community, even though they made up the majority of the people in the region. Saadeh argued that Islam was a manifestation of Christianity²⁸³ and what he called "Muhammadanism"²⁸⁴ while, in comparison, Aflaq echoed the sentiments of Qustantin, referring to the prophet as a national hero. The argument that Islam was the overarching culture for all Arabs regardless of creed was ever important given the Sunni majority of Syria. Saadeh's views may have disenfranchised the Muslim population, causing for the lack of substantial growth

²⁸² Pipes 1988. Op.cit. Pg. 313

²⁸³ Loc.cit.

²⁸⁴ It should be noted, that the term *Muhammadism* is no longer used and is now seen as offensive. Saadeh reflected the colonial influence of France in claiming that Islam was not a religion of god, but a religion that follows a man.

initially for the SSNP. On the other hand, the Baath were able to ride the popularity of Nasser in Egypt in the late 1950s to gain a stranglehold on Syrian and Iraqi politics.

The Baath influence on the Palestinian question began gaining leverage after their 1963 revolution in Syria. Most prevalent through their involvement, as will be discussed later in this and subsequent chapters, in the 1967 war, their role in Black September of 1970 and the 1976 Tel el Zaa'tar Camp Massacre.

4.2.3 Nasserism

Since their 1967 conquest, the state of Israel has made it a strategic and security priority to gain control of water and energy resources as well as security barriers from their neighbouring territories.²⁸⁵ It is the management and mismanagement of securing these resources that contributed to the rise and fall of Pan-Arabism. As a result, it also shaped the rise of President Gamal Abdel Nasser as well as what would ultimately be his demise as “King of the Arabs”. In spite of the numerous political ideologies, parties and figures that dominated the Arab world at the time, none were more popular, polarising and powerful as President Nasser. Prior to assuming the Presidency of Egypt, Nasser served as a young military officer fighting in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. In 1959, Nasser penned a recollection of the events that led up to the 1952 Egyptian revolution. In reference to the Arab-Israeli war, Nasser stated: “When the Palestine crisis loomed on the horizon I was firmly convinced that the fighting in Palestine was not fighting on foreign territory. Nor was it inspired by sentiment. It was a duty imposed by self-defence.”²⁸⁶ It is this attachment to fellow Arabs and the idea that, according to Nasser, “Rafah was not

²⁸⁵ Masalha, Nur. *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion*. London: Pluto, 2000. Pg. 222

²⁸⁶ Nasser, Gamal Abdel. *The Philosophy of the Revolution*. Cairo: Mondiale, 1954. Pg. 57

the last boundary of our country”²⁸⁷, that fuelled the Arab fighters who rushed to defend a territory they had never before seen. Nasser defined this enthusiasm as follows:

The Arab nations entered the Palestine war with the same degree of enthusiasm. They all shared the same feelings and knew quite well the limits of their security. They came out the war with the same bitterness and frustration. Every one of them was thus exposed, in its own country, to the same factors and was governed by the same forces, that caused their defeat and made them bow their heads low with shame and humiliation.²⁸⁸

According to Farid Ayad, former President of the Canadian Arab Federation, the weapons provided to the Egyptian soldiers would backfire and explode in their hands.²⁸⁹

Bassam Abu Sharif also credits the uprisings in the Middle East, namely Egypt, to the 1948 war, stating:

Anyways, due to 1948 there were repercussions in several Arab countries. In Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser and the group of officers had their revolution and started a completely different line which is the Pan-Arab line calling for the liberation of Palestine, in Syria too, in Iraq too. In these countries the change was due to the realization of certain officers who participated in the so-called Arab experience in 1948 and saw with their own eyes the treason of their kings and rulers of the time. They revolted in order to change the political line and liberate Palestine.²⁹⁰

While the Arab world, outside of Palestine, was slowly gaining separate independence, it was a quasi-independence controlled and defined by the colonial supremacy of the British and the French.

It would be useful to return to Gellner’s concept of high versus low-cultured societies. A country still bound by its colonial overseers will find tremendous difficulty in developing itself into a high-society. Nasser understood this and his handling of the Suez Canal was Egypt’s first step towards maturing as a country that by Gellner’s standards should be welcome into the league of powerful nations. Nasser’s actions were not well received by

²⁸⁷ Ibid. Pg. 59

²⁸⁸ Ibid. Pg. 57

²⁸⁹ Ayad, Farid, Personal Interview, Mississauga, Canada. September 21st, 2015

²⁹⁰ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

the United Kingdom, France and Israel, all of whom had economic/strategic interests and therefore colluded.²⁹¹ Dr. Ayad described Nasser's plan as follows:

From the moment he became President of Egypt he made it his job to rid the Arab world from European colonization (sic). He drove the British backed King Faruq from Egypt then supported the Algerians in their revolution against the French occupiers. But it was when Nasser drove the British troops out of Egypt and nationalized (sic) the Suez Canal that the Arab dream began to come into fruition.²⁹²

Nasser's nationalisation of the canal came after the World Bank's withdrawal, at the request of the United States, of a \$200 million loan to fund the development of the high dam in the Nile in order to support Egypt's growing population. When Gellner spoke of the development of a high culture, he stressed the importance of industrialisation of a nation in order for it to develop. According to this theory, the nationalisation of the Canal and the building of the high dam in Aswan was an attempt by Nasser to help assert Egypt's status as an independent nation with its own unimpeded high culture.

The Western world has generally been highly successful in imposing its interests on the Middle East, to the extent that there was a widespread understanding that the Arabs were not able to control their own political destiny, as explained in the first chapter of this thesis. The Arabs were portrayed as tribal men, hot-blooded, generally positioned next to a camel or herd of sheep and as Said summarised Balfour's 1910 speech, "England knows Egypt...England knows that Egypt can't have self-government." In Nasser, the states of the West had met their match, in an Arab statesman. Samy Sharaf, Nasser's Information Secretary in a 2006 BBC documentary described him as: "A politician, a real

²⁹¹ Loc.cit.

²⁹² Loc.cit.

politician, and a politician with a view, a political, economic, social view, a global view.”²⁹³ Traits not expected of an Arab leader.

When Anthony Eden, the UK’s Foreign Secretary, who was soon to be Prime Minister, met Nasser in Cairo in 1955, his approach may have weakened relations between the two countries. Eden arrived in Cairo to attempt to persuade Nasser, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement, to join the Baghdad Pact against the Soviet Union. Nasser was displeased, not only at the request to betray his allies who agreed to remain neutral in the Cold War when Egypt’s real extraterritorial threat was not the Soviets who were thousands of miles away, but Israel, who share a border with Egypt. What shocked Eden, according to his wife, was the fact that Nasser felt insulted that he was not informed that it was a black-tie engagement and that it was set in the grandeur of the British Embassy.²⁹⁴ Nasser was a statesman, a leader of not only a country, but of a people and an ideology and although he was the recognised President of Egypt, Conservative MPs in the UK would reference him as “Colonel Nasser”, or when portrayed in a less-polite manner, as “Dictator Nasser”.²⁹⁵ Not only was Nasser disrespected as the leader of a sovereign state, his country was also belittled when it attempted to become self-sufficient by nationalising the Suez Canal. Britain, France and Israel, unbeknownst to the United States, colluded in an effort to re-occupy Egypt because of the nationalisation. The three powers were obliged to withdraw on US instructions following threats of Soviet involvement resulting in victory for Nasser. Egypt’s stance in the Suez Crisis propelled

²⁹³ *Suez: A Very British Crisis*. Dir. Louise Hooper. BBC, 2006. Film.

²⁹⁴ Loc.cit.

²⁹⁵ McNamara, Robert. *Britain, Nasser and the Balance of Power in the Middle East, 1952-1977: From The Egyptian Revolution to the Six Day War*. London: Frank Cass, 2003. Pg. 3

Nasser to king-like standing in the Arab world and more importantly as a man who was to be taken seriously in the Western world.

Pan-Arab fervour was at an all-time high, for it was coming off a victory rather than a reactionary idea in response to a national setback. Soon after the crisis, after years of Syrian pressure, Egypt agreed to a political union, creating the United Arab Republic (UAR).²⁹⁶ Although it was intellectuals, such as Husri, who initially drove the concept of Arab Unity, they greeted the union with scepticism, citing economic, cultural and geographical boundaries.²⁹⁷ While the intellectuals were not far off, being that the UAR only lasted three years and the Arab Federation (between Iraq and Jordan) dissolved after six months, culture and economics were not the decisive factor; cultural similarities were outweighed by the idea of power and politics, with Nasser's popularity and personality playing a key role and resisting any form of Syrian control over Egypt. Nasser made it very clear that in order for him to agree to the unity government the Syrian military would have to reduce their political influence and all political parties would have to dissolve,²⁹⁸ a very troubling idea in a part of the world where the military generally holds supreme power. Further, to add to the problems faced by the UAR, the agreement made Nasser the President of both Egypt and Syria, the latter a country he knew very little about and had never visited.²⁹⁹ The union of Egypt and Syria faced a plethora of reasons

²⁹⁶ Jankowski, James P. *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002. Pg. 101

²⁹⁷ Podeh, Elie. *The Decline of Arab Unity: The Rise and Fall of the United Arab Republic*. Brighton: Sussex Academic, 1999. Pg. 174

²⁹⁸ Jankowski 2002. Op. Cit. Pg.119

²⁹⁹ Loc.cit.

as to why it would not work, but due to ethnic and cultural similarities there was some justification behind attempting the union.

Elie Podeh refers to the wave of Pan-Arabism as the “Zeitgeist of the period”.³⁰⁰ The idea that Pan-Arabism was an ideology developed only to reflect the time at hand is disingenuous. This type of Pan-Arabism, responding to the colonial borders brought forth by the French and English was a political construct to fend off imperial interests, but Pan-Arabism as an ideology is driven by a natural bond. National identity can be dependent on a number of variables such as genealogy, locality, tribe, clan, religion, nationality or state citizenship³⁰¹ and being that the creation of the nations in the Arab world is a political and colonial phenomenon the same may be attributed to this attempt at Pan-Arabism.³⁰² The Arab nation, whether it spreads from Yemen to Morocco or is defined by the Levant and/or North Africa shares numerous similarities. The nation can be seen as a named community with a historic territory, a common language with a common religion where Sharia is believed to outdo the law of the land. The Arabs are connected, not only due to colonial pressures but also because they share a similar language and a central religion, it is a natural inclination to which the Arabs find themselves intertwined. In classical thought, defining an identity or a nation was much simpler than it is nowadays. This is another example where similar vernacular, as explained by Benedict Anderson, may connect people across national boundaries or may actually be the root that

³⁰⁰ Podeh 1999. Op. cit. Pg. 175

³⁰¹ Suleiman, 2003. op.cit. Pg. Pg. 24

³⁰² Ibid. Pg. 5

defines a national community. The politicisation of nationhood as well as the influence of geopolitics has made a number of the classical theories outdated in the modern discourse.

The two theories provided above, by Gellner and Smith, are classical in nature as was the practice of Pan-Arabism at the time. While the nation-state model has become less of a modern phenomenon and more a permanent solution. The classical theories as well as the classical connections have developed into ideologies that cannot adequately address the scope of contemporary developments. Despite their internal strife, the Arabs are still connected and do have the makings of a nation but geopolitics and the political interest of each respective nation has pushed the Arabs farther and farther apart. All the parties mentioned above, the SSNP, the Baath and the Nasserists may have been sincere but all decision-making tends to be motivated by the mixed interests of the decision makers. That which was once an alliance between the Baath and Nasser became a political rivalry that shaped the initial divisions in the region.

Dr. Atif Kubursi, a senior economics professor at McMaster University and long-time Pan-Arabist, argued that, to understand the internal downfall of the Arabs, one not need look further than a botched agreement pertaining to the Jordan River. In 1959, Israel announced plans to construct the National Water Carrier (NWC) in order to divert the water from the Jordan River to the Naqab desert.³⁰³ According to the Syrians, if Israel was able to carry out their plans for the river it would allow them to absorb 4 million immigrants, they would separate the Arab east from the Arab west and strengthen what

³⁰³ Kubursi, Atif. Personal interview, Hamilton, Canada. 14 Aug. 2015.

they believed to be a Zionist irredentist policy of establishing a Jewish state that extends from the Euphrates to the Nile.³⁰⁴ Nasser believed that 1963 would be the year that the Arabs would take a stand against Israel- instead of taking a military stand they would defeat Israel by taking a united stand against the NWC,³⁰⁵ similar to his nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

As Israel began to develop their NWC project, the Arab Defence Council held a meeting on June 10th, 1961 to develop their own technical plan to divert the water through Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. In addition, all member states agreed to set up a Joint Arab Command to act as a defence organisation in the event that the diversion plan led to a military confrontation with Israel. As the Arabs spent years discussing how and when they were going to carry out the diversion, Israel completed their NWC plans. Dr. Kubursi blamed constant internal troubles for the lack of action. During this period, the UAR dissolved and the Baathist parties in Iraq and Syria overthrew their respective governments and took control of the state. He also argues that, although the battle for the Jordan River fits in the scope of the Arab-Israeli conflict, coupling it with the goal of liberating Palestine does not do justice to the Palestinians.³⁰⁶ If the Arabs were to succeed it would have been a major development both socially and economically but Arab leaders put personal interests before regional interests. While this is partially a result of post-colonial influence and the Arab nation-state system that is still very much in its infancy, the Palestinian cause has remained a political tool for most leaders, even when they have

³⁰⁴ Loc.cit.

³⁰⁵ Loc.cit.

³⁰⁶ Loc.cit.

done very little to directly support the Palestinians. The issue of the River Jordan, if successful, would not have solved the refugee problem nor liberated Palestine, but its failure set the table for the manner in which the next half-century unfolded.

To put this failure into perspective, between 2009 and 2014, under the leadership of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu the Israeli settler population grew by 23%, due to 350,000 illegal settlers sanctioned by the state of Israel. In comparison, in the same time period, the general population of Israel grew by only 9.6%.³⁰⁷ The settlements, which forced Secretary of State John Kerry, former Israeli Prime Ministers Ehud Olmert and Ehud Barak, as well as former Israeli Justice Minister Tzipi Livni to liken the manner in which Israel treats the Palestinians in the West Bank to apartheid South Africa,³⁰⁸ have caused a number of problems for both the Palestinians and the Israelis. Aside from the extremist price tag attacks, which are attacks carried out by extreme Israeli settlers against Palestinians and Israeli Security Forces as an act of revenge against those who oppose the illegal settlement activity, the settlements have created a major water shortage for the Palestinian population, both in the West Bank and Gaza. The reality that faces Palestinians is that although the Gaza Strip borders the Mediterranean Sea and the West Bank lies west of the Jordan River, both populations face a water crisis.³⁰⁹ Even though much of the West Bank is governed under the Palestinian National Authority, Israel's national water company; Mekorot, still operates more than 40 wells in the West Bank and

³⁰⁷ Perry, Dan, and Joseph Federman. "Netanyahu Years Continue Surge in Settlements." *Yahoo! News*. Yahoo!, 15 Dec. 2014. Web. 6 Aug. 2015.

³⁰⁸ Cohen, Tom, and Elise Labbat. "Kerry's Apartheid Remark Hits Pro-Israel Nerve." *CNN*. Cable News Network, 30 Apr. 2014. Web. 6 Aug. 2015.

³⁰⁹ Hassan, Marwan A., and Graham McIntyre. "Palestinian Water: Resources, Use, Conservation, Climate Change, and Land Use." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 21.2 (2012): 313-26.

controls who does and does not receive water,³¹⁰ drying out many Palestinian taps, even those that live on water sources. Regardless of this failure, and those to follow, the rational approach for the Palestinians was to lean on the Arab world, hoping for some sense of unity that would strengthen them enough to liberate Palestine.

The stage explained above is what Abu-Lughod defined as the politics of rejection. Nasser led the Arab world's initial rejection of the creation of the state of Israel as well as other measures of Western imperialism.

4.3 The Politics of Palestinian Rejection

While the Pan-Arab identity, as explored, does have merit, theoretical and logical, the politicisation of identity and the fact that the Palestinians remained stateless, necessitated the Palestinian struggle to liberate their own homeland. This brings forth the third phase of Abu-Lughod's three-stage approach: the politics of revolution and hope.

As the plan to counter Israel's NWC faltered, Nasser and the Arab League took one more step in which to provide the Palestinians with a sense of entitlement. In 1963 they appointed Ahmed al-Shuqayri as the representative of the Palestinians. This led to the 1964 creation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, of which Shuqayri was made chairman. In his memoirs he disclosed that "the biggest mistake in my forty years of public life lay in my joining up with the kings and presidents in the four years that ended

³¹⁰ Westbrook, Stephanie. "A West Bank Water Crisis for Palestinians Only." *972 Magazine*. 20 Nov. 2014. Web. 6 Aug. 2015.

with the six-day war.”³¹¹ The only country that allowed the PLO to conduct elections in their territory was Egypt, so Shuqayri instead decided to appoint representatives that would convene on the Palestinian National Council. According to Shuqayri; “All Palestinians were natural members of the PLO.” Unfortunately for the Palestinians and Shuqayri, this membership of all Palestinians was symbolic, Shuqayri acted under supervision by Nasser and by the time of the first Palestinian Conference in Jerusalem in May 1964, of the 225 representatives 65% were from Jordan with over 20% having served in the Jordanian Government.³¹² While the Palestinians finally had their own entity, which both major players in the region supported, the involvement of Jordan and Egypt was detrimental to one group in particular.

Afif Safieh shared this notion, when asked about the PLO he defined it as “an idea and institution, the idea being our sense of identity and our quest for independence and sovereignty with the idea being stronger than the institution,” following that up with “I’m more comfortable representing the idea rather than the institution.” Even the idea of the PLO being a fighting force, was, according to Abdel Bari Atwan, in itself not a factor.

Arguing that;

When the PLO started, the PLO was a classical army, similar to the Arab armies so it did not actually revive their hope. It was the fighting identity that started after 1967, the real identity started to grow after the guerrilla movements, the Fatah movement, the PFLP movement, those young feda’yeen sacrificed their lives allowing the identity to begin to regain its strength once again.³¹³

³¹¹ Shemesh, Moshe. *The Palestinian Entity, 1959-1974: Arab Politics and the PLO*. London: Frank Cass, 1988. Pg. 40

³¹² Ibid. Pg 42

³¹³ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

The group which actively opposed the creation of the PLO at the time, was Fatah. When Shuqayri met with Abu-Iyad, one of the founders of Fatah, in 1964 the latter made it clear that any “organization (sic) set up from above will be inoperable if it does not rest on an active (popular) base.”³¹⁴ This resentment motivated Fatah, laying the groundwork for the most important players in the Palestinian story, as well as the reconstruction of Palestinian national identity.

4.3.1 Fatah

The first and most important of these objectives has been to restore a sense of national identity.

This was presented by Fatah as a prerequisite to any advancement of the Palestinian cause, even before it initiated armed action. The second has been to place the Palestinians on the international political map.³¹⁵

In contemporary times, the popular Palestinian faction Fatah is viewed as a friend to the West and the party who will make the most concessions needed to bring about a two-state solution with Israel. What has become a recognised party representing a state, at least on paper, led by older men wearing suits and ties has come a long way from its roots. The leader of Fatah, Mahmoud Abbas, also known as Abu-Mazen, has sworn that under his presidency there will be no third intifada, additionally, he claimed that cities such as Haifa and his own hometown of Safad are not actually part of Palestine. Abu-Mazen, in his attempts to secure a state on 22% of historic Palestine, has reversed the policies, which founded Fatah. Unfortunately for him, as well as Israel, irrespective of the changes in policy, the initial days of Fatah created a mind-set and defined a people in a manner that still lives amongst Palestinians.

³¹⁴ Ibid. Pg 48

³¹⁵ Sayigh, Yezid. “Palestinian Armed Struggle: Means and Ends.” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1986, pp. 95–112. Pg. 98

When Khalil al-Wazir, also known as Abu-Jihad, another one of the founders of Fatah was asked about the original goal of Fatah, aside from liberating Palestine, he noted:

We believed, Arafat and me that it was only by military actions that we could fix the Palestinian identity. That was our slogan. What did we mean? We were convinced that our first task was to prove to the Arab regimes and the world that we Palestinians still existed and that our problem could not be swept under the carpet.³¹⁶

This idea was developed long before the Arab failure in 1967. Yasser Arafat and Abu-Jihad held their displeasure with the Arab regimes due to the 1948 defeat, not due to the fact that the Arabs lost the war, but to the betrayal they experienced at the hands of Arab regimes during the war. Abu-Jihad came from the town of Ramleh, just south of Tel Aviv, as he recalls his painful memories, the story goes, similar to many Palestinians' stories of expulsion. Vital in his series of events is that his town was put on alert once the main Arab city to the north, Jaffa, fell the Israelis would attack the towns of Ramleh and Lod. They were in fact correct, but when they arrived, the Jordanians who were there to protect them retreated without a fight, leaving the residents with no army nor the weaponry needed to defend themselves.³¹⁷ Abu-Jihad, like many Palestinians, will never forget these events and they served as a motivation, not only to liberate Palestine but to ensure that the Arab regimes would not continue to interfere in their affairs.

³¹⁶ Hart, Alan. *Arafat, a Political Biography*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1989.

Pg. 122

³¹⁷ Ibid. 97

Arafat on the other hand, had a different experience from Abu-Jihad. Arafat was not born in Palestine, nor was he living in Palestine at the time of the war but he did sneak in to join the fight, even though people told him he was too small, young and naïve to fight a real war. According to Arafat, the Arabs could have defeated the Israeli army if it was not for the deception played by the Arab regimes to appease British overseers. Arafat noted three major issues during the war, the first being the fact that the Arab soldiers that were in Palestine would not advance without orders from the top, even when there was the threat of Israelis approaching, in fact, there were instances when they would retreat rather than stand and fight. The second issue was the thirty-day truce called on June 10th, 1948, only 25 days into the fighting. Arafat defined this truce as “the real beginning of our tragedy,”³¹⁸ claiming that although the Israelis had control of some parts of the country it was still their country, they may have declared a state at that time, but it was not established. During the truce, the Israelis were able to recruit volunteers as well as receive the weaponry needed to fight while the Arabs did not receive anything, although they accepted the truce under Western pressure. What was the main betrayal, to Arafat, and all Palestinians fighting, was that when the armies of the Arab League arrived to Palestine, their first action was to disarm all Palestinian fighters, Arafat included.³¹⁹ The Arabs literally took the fight for Palestine away from the Palestinians, leaving them helpless and defenceless as the Arab armies were either armed with faulty weaponry, as Nasser was, or were ordered to retreat as many Jordanian soldiers were.

³¹⁸ Ibid. Pg. 77

³¹⁹ Ibid. Pg. 78

After the war, Arafat and others were left disheartened; they felt betrayed by their Arab brethren and there was no indication that the Palestinian leadership would call for a battle against the newly formed Jewish state. So much so that he applied for a visa to continue his studies in the United States, while waiting for the visa, he decided that it was not time to run away, but time to organise those who had the will to fight against Israel.

With national boundaries becoming a new phenomenon paired with the collective “ethnic” failure as Arabs the Palestinians were forced to develop, what Calhoun named “forms of social solidarity”. He refers to three manners in which a person can forge a social group. The first two are national and ethnic, both of which may have come under scrutiny by Arafat and others who were likeminded. The third manner suggested by Calhoun was that of kinship; the manufacturing of a community based on similar goals and views. The example given in the theoretical framework was a multicultural society living in a democracy but for this case, it would be better to explore this kinship in relation to a guerrilla or revolutionary movement. The Arabs and the Palestinians at this time, before Nasser’s free officers’ movement, were left with no option but to develop communities and allegiances dedicated to ridding the region of the despotic leaders and colonial occupiers. Arguably, one of the top people in recent history in forming allegiances was Yasser Arafat.

Upon returning to his birthplace of Cairo to continue his studies Arafat decided to join the Egyptian Union of Students (EUS). Although Arafat concurrently joined the Federation of Palestinian Students (FPS), his joining to the EUS strengthens the kinship

factor of Calhoun's theory. The EUS was a political body aimed at agitating the Egyptian government for their failure in Palestine, but more importantly their pandering to the West.³²⁰ In this situation, the government's actions were viewed as anti-Egyptian, but at the same time anti-Palestinian thus forging an allegiance amongst these groups. What drove the Pan-Arab idea in this particular case was the fact that amongst the two groups, Palestinians and Egyptians that is, the common denominator was that they were Arab. Further, he was actively supportive of the Muslim Brotherhood, which he fought alongside in Palestine. The Brotherhood was another organisation that was dominated by Egyptians while being sympathetic towards the liberation of Palestine.³²¹ A young man at the time, Arafat aligned himself with anyone who shared his passion towards liberating Palestine, be it if he had to identify as a Muslim, an Egyptian or as a Palestinian. While with the brotherhood, Arafat met Salah Khalaf, also known as Abu-Iyad who, along with the aforementioned Abu-Jihad, made up the nucleus that dominated Fatah and the PLO until their respective deaths.

There is much to be said about the 1950s and early 1960s but for the most part, the Palestinians were forced into acquiescence during this period. There was a sense of disorientation amongst all Palestinians regardless of their personal situation. Aside from minor resistance by Palestinian militants not much was done to retain Palestine for the Palestinians. On March 3rd, 1965, the Pan-Arab cause to liberate Palestine was fatally

³²⁰ Aburish, Said. *Arafat: From Defender to Dictator*. London: Bloomsbury Plc, 1998, 2004. Pg.

22

³²¹ Ibid. Pg. 21

undermined. The President of newly liberated Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, was in Jericho where he declared the following:

As for the policy of the "whole or nothing", it brought us to the defeat in Palestine and reduced us to the sad situation we are struggling with today...In Palestine, on the contrary, the Arabs pushed away the compromise solutions. They refused the division and the clauses of the White Paper. They regretted it then...it is thus essential that the commander has the freedom of manoeuvre, is able to take any type of initiative, and should have some qualities of sincerity, probity, devotion, and perspicacity.³²²

For the first time in a public speech an Arab leader just recognised Israel's right to exist and urged the Palestinians to accept only a part of their national home. In 1965, Tunisia was alone in voicing this opinion; two years later the rest of the Arab world began echoing the same opinion when they ended up on the wrong side of the six-day war, providing opportunity for the Palestinians to slowly carve out space and develop their own identity separate from the broader Arab nation. The next chapter will explore the initial determinants of this resurrected Palestinian identity.

³²² Bourguiba, Habib. Jericho. 3 Mar. 1965. Speech. Accessed from: <http://www.bourguiba.com/uploads/docs/pdf/en/Jercho-speech-template-gb.pdf>

Chapter 5: The Refugee Problem

They were treated as slaves in the camps by Arab regimes. They were put under intelligence control, army control, security control, prevented from any political action, from any political expression, from any political organization, though this was happening to the Palestinians it has never touched their determination to return to their homeland in Palestine of liberating their homes again, of going back to Palestine in order to bring Palestine back to the Arab world.³²³

The previous chapter explored the notion of Pan-Arabism, and how it pertains to different theories of nationalism and identity. While the Arabs, at least those of *al-Sham* are naturally connected through different national determinants ranging from a common history, common religion and common language, the politicisation of the flourishing identities of the region made these prior connections extraneous. Although the superfluous nature of this connection was brought to the forefront after the Arab defeat in 1967, it was initialised through the treatment of the Palestinian refugees in the Arab states neighbouring Israel. This chapter sets out to explain the impact of the Palestinian refugees on the resurgence of the Palestinian national identity and how they set the tone for the rise of the Palestinian guerrilla factions.

Helene Lindholm Schulz defines the Palestinian identity through two central poles; to “suffer” and to “struggle.”³²⁴ The vast majority of Palestinians suffered during the 1948 catastrophe, forcing them to live under the purview of the Egyptians, Israelis or Jordanians with the rest attempting to carve out space in the surrounding newly independent states of Lebanon and Syria. To reiterate, Abu-Lughod’s defines Palestinian nationalism through three stages, consisting of the politics of accommodation, the politics

³²³ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

³²⁴ Schulz, Helena Lindholm., and Juliane Hammer. *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland*. London: Routledge, 2003. Pg. 2

of rejection, and the politics of revolution and hope.³²⁵ As explained earlier, the politics of accommodation focuses on the preliminary resettlement of Palestinians and the need to overcome the initial shock of the Nakba. This process was followed up with the politics of rejection, targeting imperialism and Western colonisation, encapsulating the tone of Pan-Arabism set by President Nasser.

The final stage, the politics of revolution and hope found roots, and were driven through the Palestinian struggle to liberate their lost homeland. Throughout this thesis, I have come to understand Abu-Lughod's third stage as a three-pronged concept; the refugee, the *Fida'i* and the statesmen. Perhaps, the most popular aspect of the revolution came by ways of armed resistance, symbolised by the guerrilla fighter, or the *Fida'i*. By contrast, the most prevalent in this day in age is that of the "statesman", which commenced under the reigns of Yasser Arafat and passed on to Mahmoud Abbas after Arafat's death in 2004. This chapter will evaluate the preliminary aspect of this stage, which those who revived the Palestinian national consciousness through their survival, existence, and memory; the refugees.

5.1 Refugees and International Law

The UN Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) defines a refugee as follows:

As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well- founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is out- side the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or,

³²⁵ Said, Mohr, 1999. op.cit. Pg. 106

owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.³²⁶

While the policies of the international community on refugees are extremely troublesome, from the Western world to the Arab world, terminology used to identify certain groups shows the damaging effects. On August 27th, 2015, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) released a news story titled; “‘*Refugee*’ or ‘*migrant*’ - Which is right?”³²⁷ They defined refugees as “persons fleeing armed conflict or persecution” and migrants as those who “choose to move...mainly to improve their lives”. This difference is major, but those who are drowning in the Mediterranean are said to be causing a “migrant crisis” in that they are choosing to flee from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and so on. The statistics provided by UNHCR account for refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, Ukraine and many others, but neglect one of the world’s largest and tenured refugee populations, the Palestinians.

This modern-day rhetoric is not the only time the Palestinians have been isolated and neglected when discussing refugees. Returning to the 1951 Convention on the Refugee, the introductory note states that:

The Convention also does not apply to those refugees who benefit from the protection or assistance of a United Nations agency other than UNHCR, such as refugees from Palestine who fall under the auspices of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).³²⁸

The Palestinians were not involved in the convention due to the creation of UNRWA, a body responsible for all Palestinian refugees living in Palestine, Israel, Egypt, Jordan,

³²⁶ "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees." *UNHCR News*. Web. 15 Sept. 2015. <<http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>>.

³²⁷ Edwards, Adrian. "UNHCR Viewpoint: 'Refugee' or 'migrant' - Which Is Right?" *UNHCR News*. 27 Aug. 2015. Web. 15 Sept. 2015. <<http://www.unhcr.org/55df0e556.html>>.

³²⁸ "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees." *UNHCR News*. Web. 15 Sept. 2015. <<http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>>.

Lebanon and Syria. The problem this creates is that while UNRWA is an organisation tasked with supporting refugees, it does not define who is a refugee and was not developed as a legal tool in which to supplement the rights of Palestinian refugees. Between November 1948 and December 1949 there were three major, albeit non-binding, resolutions pertaining to the “Palestine refugee” problem. Starting with United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 212 (III) Assistance to Palestine Refugees of November 1948:

WHEREAS the problem of the relief of Palestine refugees of all communities is one of immediate urgency and the United Nations Mediator on Palestine in his progress report of 18 September 1948, part Three, states that "action must be taken to determine the necessary measures (of relief) and to provide for their implementation" and that "the choice is between saving the lives of many thousands of people now or permitting them to die"³²⁹

This was followed up by UNGA Resolution 302 (IV) Assistance to Palestine Refugees of December 1949, which with chapter 7 established UNRWA:

7. Establishes the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:

(a) To carry out in collaboration with local governments the direct relief and works programmes as recommended by the Economic Survey Mission;

(b) To consult with the interested Near Eastern Governments concerning measures to be taken by them preparatory to the time when international assistance for relief and works projects is no longer available.³³⁰

While UNRWA was essential to address the Palestinian refugee problem, a mandate that required its own institute due to the size of the Palestinian refugee problem, UNRWA’s

³²⁹ See Appendix IV

³³⁰ See Appendix V

involvement acted as a double-edged sword. According to Issam Yamani, Palestinian activist, son of Abu-Maher, one of the founders of the PFLP:

The sheltering of the Palestinian refugees by UNRWA has contributed to strengthening the Palestinian Identity due to the fact that the Palestinian refugees in the camps were put together in isolation. They were cut off from all social surroundings, forcing them to depend on one another. The camps also succeeded in creating a Palestinian identity, bringing together Palestinians who used to identify themselves by their towns and villages, forming a unified Palestinian identity.³³¹

The Palestinians, similar to most Arabs, identified themselves by their towns and villages. This practice did not cease during the expulsion from Palestine, as many villages were uprooted entirely, thus forcing the inhabitants to travel together. Initially, when camps were developed, they took form in quarters named after villages in Palestine,³³² generally in similar geographical proximity as the villages they left behind. The Palestinian camps were not invitingly set up out of a sense of goodwill towards Palestinians by the Lebanese and Syrians, but were forced upon both countries based on where the refugees settled. For example, Shatila camp, just outside of Beirut, was started when a Palestinian named Abed Bisher bought a small plot of land and a number of tents from the Shatila family.³³³ Soon after the creation of UNRWA, they leased the land from the Lebanese government for 99 years.³³⁴ While the development of these camps did benefit Palestinian identity, in that the collective “Palestinian” community remained intact, and the camps through providing food and services were successful in minimally aiding the Palestinians, the treatment of the Palestinians in the refugee camps had a negative effect on Pan-Arabism.

³³¹ Yamani, Issam, Personal Interview, Toronto, Canada. September 13th, 2015.

³³² Peteet, Julie Marie. *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps*. Philadelphia, PA: U of Pennsylvania, 2005. Pg. 111

³³³ Peteet. 2005. op.cit. Pg. 114

³³⁴ Halabi, Zeina. "Exclusion and Identity in Lebanon's Palestinian Refugee Camps: A Story of Sustained Conflict." *Environment and Urbanization* 16.2 (2004): 39-48

While UNRWA projected this refugee problem to extend at least a century, the governments of Syria and Lebanon viewed the refugee crisis to be a short-term one. This influenced the lifestyle and the location of the camps. *Nahr-il Bared* camp, for example, is located in East Lebanon in the city of Tripoli, this location was not planned, rather it was developed due to the Syrian government closing their borders to the refugees.³³⁵ Once the camps were developed, for the first time, the Greater Syrian region began developing national differences. Although, nothing changed culturally or ethnically, political, economic and sectarian differences highlighted real differences between those involved. According to Yamani:

It was the services provided by UNRWA (Separate schools, health system and aid) forced the Palestinians to view themselves as different from the other Arabs. The differences between the Palestinians, Lebanese and Syrians were strengthened by the isolation of the Palestinians and the services provided to them by UNRWA.³³⁶

Farid Ayad, who grew up just outside the Burj al-Barajneh camp recalls this realisation when he was six years old. Before being admitted into school, he was forced to shave his head, as were all Palestinian students, due to lice.³³⁷ Although it was done for health and sanitation reasons, this was one of the initial identifiers. The genetic make-up of Palestinians and Lebanese would not allow one to differentiate amongst the two, but due to this development, even at a young age, one could tell who belonged and who did not. Liisa Maalki, professor of anthropology, when writing about the Hutus of Rwanda argues that becoming a refugee is not based solely on the crossing of a border. She argues that

³³⁵ Peteet. 2005. op.cit. Pg. 118

³³⁶ Yamani, 2015. op.cit.

³³⁷ Ayad, 2015. op.cit.

“refugeeness” is a process which develops over time.³³⁸ The initial expulsion of the Palestinians made them refugees, but for the elders, this sense of “otherness” was created by their new living situation and the shame of living on rations, while for the younger generation it was insinuated through the simple identifiers such as hair or clothing that Ayad and Yamani suggested.

Another identifier, which became a symbol of the Palestinian refugee, was the roof put atop the “homes” of the Palestinians in the camps. The Lebanese government was initially extremely strict on development restrictions in the camps. The Palestinians were not allowed to build a roof on their home due to the symbolism of a permanent structure—people were dragged out of their home when bathing when running water was noticed, even the sound of construction would attract the attention of the police.³³⁹ Due to the laws surrounding the development of the roof, the Palestinians used zinc sheets as shelter.³⁴⁰ The concept of the zinc roof became a symbol of the Palestinian refugee as immortalized by Serene Husni’s short film *Zinco* which has been screened around the world. When asked about the symbol during an interview for the Boston Palestine Film Festival, she claimed that “*Zinco*, or corrugated tin, immediately conjures up feelings of transition, or impermanence,” and how it reflected the will of the Palestinian refugee when they “started building rooms using *zinco* when it was illegal to do so beyond their legally allotted zones... I wanted to acknowledge the strength of refugees who are

³³⁸ Malkki, Liisa H. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology Among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1995. Pg. 114

³³⁹ Peteet. 2005. op.cit. Pg. 109

³⁴⁰ Loc.cit.

creating space and reclaiming urban rights denied to them by the system.”³⁴¹ This temporary existence drove, arguably the most important issue to Palestinian refugees, the right to return. Initially a law, it has evolved into a determinant for the existence of Palestinians and Palestine. Those who were born outside Palestine, outside the refugee camps, and are officially not stateless, cling to the right of Palestinian refugees to return. For, without the right of return, or the belief of return, according to Yamani, the Palestinian identity will remain under question:

The right of returns legalizes (sic) my identity as a Palestinian and attaches it to a physical space where I will have my civil, human and political rights. The right of return will transform my identity from an abstract, complex one, to a reality. There will be no need to hyphenate it; I will be a Palestinian, not a Palestinian refugee, Canadian-Palestinian and so on.³⁴²

The right of return is the third major resolution brought forth by the UNGA pertaining to the Palestinian refugees. Resolution 194 Chapter 11 of December 1948:

11. Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible³⁴³

In July 1950, Israel responded to the Palestinian Right of Return with their Jewish Law of Return:

1. Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an oleh (Returnee).
2. (a) Aliyah (Return) shall be by oleh's visa.
 - (b) An oleh's visa shall be granted to every Jew who has expressed his desire to settle in Israel, unless the Minister of Immigration is satisfied that the applicant
 - (1) is engaged in an activity directed against the Jewish people; or

³⁴¹ Rouhana, Kate. "Serene Husni: 'I Wanted to Explore the Existential Internal Displacement Experienced by Palestinians'." *Boston Palestine Film Festival*. Web. 27 Sept. 2015.

<<http://www.bostonpalestinefilmfest.org/2014/10/serene-husni/>>.

³⁴² Yamani, 2015. op.cit.

³⁴³ See Appendix III

(2) is likely to endanger public health or the security of the State.³⁴⁴

The Jewish Law of Return, a state policy, was put into effect and inspired Jewish migrants from all around the world to settle in Israel. The Palestinian Right of Return, as an international law, has been largely ignored for over 65 years. Palestinians in Lebanon, initially, were forbidden from even seeing their lost homes. Lebanese governments forcefully moved the settlements that were situated on the border in order to set up a “military zone”, in fear that if Palestinians were to be situated on the border they would use Lebanese land to organise attacks against the new state of Israel.³⁴⁵ This segregation in the Arab world and the oppression in Israel naturally led the Palestinians, as Rosemary Sayigh titled one of her works, to evolve *From Peasants to Revolutionaries*.³⁴⁶ This fear turned out to become a reality but before the PLO resided in Lebanon there were nearly two decades of segregation and a decade of harassment by Lebanese forces towards the Palestinian refugee population. The rest of this chapter will focus on the challenges faced by the refugees, physically and socially.

5.2 Being a Palestinian Refugee

To understand the difficulties the Palestinian refugees faced at the hand of the Arab world, and what the initial determinant of being Palestinian was, one need not look further than the identification given to the Palestinian refugees by their neighbours. Jordan has provided the Palestinians with full, yet complicated citizenship, unlike Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Egypt.

³⁴⁴ See Appendix VI

³⁴⁵ Peteet. 2005. op.cit. Pg. 111

³⁴⁶ Sayigh, Rosemary, and Noam Chomsky. *The Palestinians*. London: Zed, 2007.

While the documentation provided by the Syrian and Iraqi governments provide for a semblance of rights, when used within the respective countries, the recent conflicts in these countries act as a reinforcement of the difficulty of being identified as a stateless person. The politicisation of Pan-Arabism, as well as the miscalculation of the actual strength of the new state of Israel definitely hampered the “Arab nation”; the mistreatment of the Palestinian refugees, all the while promoting the Palestinian cause, separated the Arab world. The exploration of events, and how they affected the Palestinians, in the different Arab countries since the *Nakba*, demonstrates that Palestinians were never fully integrated into their new places of residence. Tasoulla Hadjiyanni, in her study on the children of Cypriot refugees or displaced peoples argues that, for the descendant of a refugee, being a refugee becomes a choice.³⁴⁷ She cites four stages of “Refugee Consciousness Construction”; Parental Attachment- Projection- Memory Transfer- Adoption of Refugee Identity.³⁴⁸ For the Palestinians, being a refugee was not always a choice. The children born into the camps faced difficulties in being able to integrate in their place of residence. As mentioned in the introduction, identifying myself with the refugees was a choice, I went through the four stages Hadjiyanni mentions and willfully adopted a sense of being Palestinian and Canadian. Although born nearly forty years after the *Nakba*, if I was born in Burj al Barjneh camp in Lebanon, or Wahdat camp in Jordan, or Yarmouk camp in Syria, or even in Dheisheh camp in the

³⁴⁷ Hadjiyanni, Tasoulla. *The Making of a Refugee: Children Adopting Refugee Identity in Cyprus*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002. Pg. 9

³⁴⁸ Hadjiyanni, 2002. op.cit. Pg. 154

West Bank, or Khan Younis camp in the Gaza Strip I would not have to adopt refugeeness, rather it would be ingrained in my actual life and upbringing.

Iraq experienced three waves of Palestinian mass migration; the Nakba, the 1967 war and the Gulf War in which 400,000 Palestinians were expelled from Kuwait- an act of punishment due to Yasser Arafat's decision to ally with Saddam Hussein in the original Gulf War.³⁴⁹ During the second 2003 invasion of Iraq, many Palestinians were forcefully expelled from their homes while Iraqi Shia insurgents killed others as they were seen as sympathetic towards Saddam Hussein. Hundreds of Palestinians who fled Iraq were forced to live in refugee camps near the border in Syria and Jordan or in camps set up in the buffer zones between the bordering country and Iraq. The conditions in these camps provided for a prison like atmosphere, where no one was allowed to exit, nor enter, the food was rotten and the children had no access to education.³⁵⁰ Though some of the refugees were able to flee to the urban centres of the surrounding countries, those who ended up in Syria were engulfed into another conflict soon after.

The Palestinians in Syria historically enjoyed a good relationship, as Syria started the Palestine Arab Refugee Institution in 1949 to provide moral and material support to the camps.³⁵¹ Nevertheless, the Palestinians in Syria continue to face a challenging time attempting to seek refuge in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon during the current civil war which started in 2011. Although Palestinians remained neutral in the war, outside of the

³⁴⁹ Ziadeh, Rafeef. "Palestinian Refugees of Iraq." *The Electronic Intifada*. 10 Mar. 2007. Web. 4 Nov. 2014. <<http://electronicintifada.net/content/palestinian-refugees-iraq/6801>>.

³⁵⁰ Loc.cit.

³⁵¹ Matar, 2011. op.cit. Pg. 57

leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command Ahmad Jibril, who sided with the Assad regime, the Palestinians in Yarmouk camp were drawn into the Syrian Civil War by both the government and the opposition. Jordan, though historically been a “friendly” option for Palestinian refugees, made their policy on accepting Palestinian refugees from Syria clear, as quoted by Prime Minister Abdullah Ansour: “Jordan has made a clear and explicit sovereign decision to not allow the crossing to Jordan by our Palestinian brothers who hold Syrian documents...they should stay in Syria until the end of the crisis.”³⁵² Those who attempted to flee to Lebanon, before the barrier was closed to the Palestinians, either faced rampant poverty in the already overcrowded camps, whilst some were deported back to Syria.³⁵³ The rest of this chapter will focus on Palestinians in Lebanon and the manner in which they strengthened and refined the Palestinian national identity. Though it is important to note, as Afif Safieh relayed:

I wouldn't restrict Palestinian experiences to one segment of Palestinian society. The oppression was a result of the uprooting of a nation and the diasporisation of that society and one of its tragedies was they did not live in the same environment. Some lived in the orbit of Egypt in the Gaza strip, some were annexed by Jordan and some were in refugee camps in the periphery of the homeland, others moved to more hospitable shores abroad and on an individual basis were more successful. I wouldn't restrict identity to refugee camps only, even though the re-emergence of Palestinian nationalism in the early 60's was mainly based on the refugee community.³⁵⁴

Without disregarding the other segments of the Palestinians the rest of this chapter will focus on the refugees who resided in Lebanon. As I believe, and this chapter will

³⁵² Murphy, Maureen Clare. "Syria War Refugees Allowed in Jordan, except If They're Palestinian." *The Electronic Intifada*. 8 Aug. 2014. Web. 4 Nov. 2014. <<http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/maureen-clare-murphy/syria-war-refugees-allowed-jordan-except-if-theyre-palestinian>>.

³⁵³ Loc.cit.

³⁵⁴ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

show, that the Palestinian experience in Lebanon will encapsulate the difficulties the Palestinians faced, both socially and politically.

5.3 Palestinians in Lebanon

According to Yusri Shami, one of the founding members of the first Palestinian rap group from the Lebanese refugee camps Katibe 5:

I am not officially a Palestinian; I am not welcome in Palestine. I was always asked where I'm from; when I say I am Palestinian people will ask me where I am born. When I tell them I was born in Lebanon they tell me, then I am not Palestinian, I am actually Lebanese. I am not Lebanese; I resent the notion to be called Lebanese, I am a Palestinian refugee, and more so a refugee than a Palestinian.³⁵⁵

A Palestinian refugee finds himself or herself not welcome in Palestine/Israel, while not welcome in the country they are born in. In the days after the Nakba, Nasser and the concept of Pan-Arabism provided them with hope and a sense of belonging. This chapter reveals that Palestinian national identity post-*Nakba* was not developed in Palestine; rather it was developed mainly in the refugee camps.

For the Palestinian refugee, the most severe situation is in Lebanon, where for over 60 years the Palestinians refugees have been living under trying conditions, as of 2011, two-thirds of the population living in poverty, over half the Palestinians are unemployed, 62% of the population still resides in the camps and 8% of the school-going population is not enrolled.³⁵⁶ As an example, Iqbal al-Assad graduated from her medical school in Qatar at the age of 20 becoming the youngest doctor in the region. Unfortunately for Iqbal and many other Palestinian refugees who aspire to support their community in the camps,

³⁵⁵ Shami, Yusri, Personal Interview, London, England. December 7th, 2015

³⁵⁶ "Palestine Refugees: A Special Case." *UNRWA*. Web. 20 Aug. 2015. <<http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/20111002306.pdf>>

Palestinians are not allowed to practice medicine in public hospitals. The employment restrictions are only one aspect of the fear of Palestinian *towteen* (permanent settlement) in Arab countries.³⁵⁷ The major reason behind this fear is that Lebanon, unlike Jordan and to a lesser extent in Syria, is home to a small population with a number of conflicting religions and as the Palestinians make up approximately 10% of the population, integrating them into society would shift the demographics in favour of the Sunni Muslim population.

5.3.1 *The Arrival*

During the morning of October 30, a few villagers decided to carry white flags and then meet the Jews west of the village. They were to tell the Jewish soldiers that the villagers had gotten rid of the ALA (Arab Liberation Army) and that the village was safe and prepared to surrender... Jewish soldiers picked twelve of our men at random, blindfolded them, and shot them in front of us. I kept praying that my husband would not return to the village. One night I joined about 60 families who had decided to leave to Lebanon.

- Umm Abd al-Qiblawi³⁵⁸

Umm Abd was one of approximately 100,000 Palestinians³⁵⁹ who were expelled from their native Palestine and forced to settle in Lebanon. Since 1948, the number of Palestinians in Lebanon, who remain registered as refugees, is just under 450,000 people living predominantly throughout twelve refugee camps.³⁶⁰ Initially, the Palestinians were generally well-received by their Lebanese hosts. The Lebanese people provided the Palestinians with means of assistance as well as social acceptance.³⁶¹ This general welcoming may have been attributed to the Pan-Arab fervour of the time as well as the

³⁵⁷ Peteet. 2005. op.cit. Pg. 9

³⁵⁸ Hirst, David. *Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East*. New York: Nation, 2010. Pg. 49

³⁵⁹ Schulz, Hammer, 2003. op.cit. Pg. 53

³⁶⁰ "Where We Work UNRWA." *UNRWA*. Web. 29 Jan. 2016. <<http://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work>>.

³⁶¹ Schulz, Hammer, 2003. op.cit. Pg. 59

fact that the Palestinians were perceived to be short-term guests, with their right to return looming.

During the initial Arab-Israeli war in 1948, the Lebanese army played a very minor role. They neglected the Arab plan of attack, forbidding forces to advance into Palestine through the Mediterranean and even barring soldiers from attacking Palestine from their side of the border. Their superficial involvement provided Ben-Gurion with enough reasons to speed up the armistice talks, in order to give the impression that Lebanon and Israel in peace. The only battle between the two during the war took place at the border village of Malakiyya. The battle did end in favour of the Arab Liberation Army but it was highly overstated as a symbol of Lebanon doing its part, mainly to appease the Muslim population in Lebanon.³⁶² Hezbollah, situated in South Lebanon, has arguably become Israel's largest threat in the region, but this was not the case at those times.

In the Lebanese Maronite right-wing, Ben-Gurion and the newly developed state of Israel had their allies. The two parties shared one common goal according to Ben-Gurion; to "Establish a Christian State, whose southern border will be the Litani river."³⁶³ Hindsight shows that this goal never came to fruition, but the Israelis had developed their first open ally in the Arab world, in turn, creating the Palestinians first open Arab enemy. The Maronite right-wing would play a big role in the Palestinian story as well as the treatment of Palestinians in Lebanon. The alliance between the Maronite right-wing and Israel

³⁶² Hirst, 2010. op.cit. Pg. 50

³⁶³ Ibid. Pg. 51

became a fatal one for the Palestinians and arguably the PLO, which will be discussed throughout this chapter and the next.

5.3.2 Restrictions

In 1965 Lebanon decided not to abide by the League of Arab States Protocol (1965) which urged Arab states to provide citizenship to Palestinian refugees hosted.³⁶⁴ While the labelling of Palestinians as “foreigners” further reinforced the notion that the Palestinian identity is separate from other Arab states, it is difficult for a supra-state entity, in this case the Pan-Arab nation, to flourish when one of the nations under the umbrella were defined as foreigners and have restrictions imposed on them.

The treatment of Palestinians as foreigners was not expected by the United Nations, as the prior chapters argued, the views of the Western world was that the region is not bound to regional or geographical allegiances as they were all intertwined and connected be it through history, ethnicity or religion. Irredentist theory would argue that the artificiality of the border drawn between Lebanon and Palestine through the Sykes-Picot agreement would make for a swift integration of Palestinians in Lebanon and other Arab host states.

The creation of UNRWA was based on the recommendations of the “The first interim report of the U. N. economic survey (CLAPP) mission for the Middle East”³⁶⁵ written by

³⁶⁴ Schulz, Hammer, 2003. op.cit. Pg. 53

³⁶⁵ Bochenski, F. G. 1949. *The first interim report of the U. N. economic survey (CLAPP) mission for the Middle East*. Economic department report; no. E72. Washington DC: World Bank. <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/1949/11/17390179/first-interim-report-u-n-economic-survey-clapp-mission-middle-east>>

Polish national Feliks Bochenski for the World Bank. Here we see the importance of wider geo-political relations in shaping local issues. Similar to Resolution 181, the Partition of Palestine, the Arabs of Palestine and the Jewish Nation's future were both decided by external parties. This makes theorising Palestinian national identity far more difficult, as for the most part, they were not in control of their own destiny. Although the powers behind the partition plan supported its coming to fruition, the same could not be said about the resolutions that promised the Palestinian refugees their rights resulting in the CLAPP mission concluding: "As no compensation for the abandoned property has been received by any refugees those who have not been able to gain a livelihood in their new surroundings are completely destitute. It is estimated that out of 774,000 refugees, some 147,000 are self-supporting."³⁶⁶ While the next conclusion found that the plight of the refugees was an obstacle to peace and that the UN should "adopt a resolution stating that refugees wishing to return should be permitted to do so and others should be compensated,"³⁶⁷ the recommendations did not exactly promote this repatriation. Instead the mission sought to "examine the economic situations in the countries affected by the recent hostilities, and to make recommendations."³⁶⁸ In place of repatriation was a public works project developed to reduce the need for aid. The projects suggestions were as follows:

- Syria: Afforestation, construction of roads, improvement of Mezze airport, reclamation of Madkh swamp, construction of Latakia harbour and supporting Aleppo water supply.

³⁶⁶ Ibid. Pg. 2

³⁶⁷ Ibid. Pg. 3

³⁶⁸ Loc.cit.

- Jordan: Highway development, improve Amman airport, afforestation, irrigation of Wadi Qilt, development of basin Wadi Zerqa.
- Lebanon: Irrigation and draining of South Beqaa, irrigation of Akkar Plain, completion of Tyre-Saida irrigation project, irrigation of area south of Tripoli.³⁶⁹

Simply, what was suggested by the CLAPP mission was to use the Palestinian refugees as cheap labour to develop the underdeveloped areas of the Near East. By the 1960s, the Palestinians would use these skills to make their mark on the Middle Eastern economy and help fund their national aspirations by way of the PLO.³⁷⁰ Nonetheless, for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, UNRWA became an alternative to focusing on regaining their own country. One activist, interviewed by Rosemary Sayigh, recalled that UNRWA “used to give loans to people to set them up in small businesses such as ‘shoemaker or carpenter,” if that did not succeed, they would promote immigration to either Australia or America. The trade-off was the ration card, technically, UNRWA would provide these loans and/or flight tickets to the West in exchange for their daily bread.³⁷¹ While these two options would have in fact lessened the burden on the Palestinian refugees by either providing work or opportunity abroad it may have had an adverse effect on the development of a viable national identity. As Yamani noted, the fact that the Palestinians were cut off from society, and forced to live on services strengthened their understanding of their collective identity. Further, being that these countries were not the wealthiest a number of the local poorer population would have resented the Palestinian

³⁶⁹ Ibid. Pg. 7, 8

³⁷⁰ Farsoun, Samih K., and Christina Zacharia, Hawatmeh. *Palestine and the Palestinians*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997. Pg. 151

³⁷¹ Sayigh 2007. op.cit. Pg. 112

refugees. The Palestinians have become the “Jews of the Arab world”,³⁷² ironically, after the Jews of Europe and the Orient took the place of Palestinians in their lost homeland the Palestinians were now subjected to the same ghettoisation by the Arabs that the Jews faced in their former homes.

The works programme did provide for a sense of professional development amongst the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Nearly a decade into their exile, Palestinians were known to be skilled in labour trades: plumbing, tiling, electricians, et cetera.³⁷³ Although this did allow the refugees to become gainfully employed, the average daily earnings in Shatila camp were 65 cents per day, which, even after accounting for inflation is not nearly adequate for a family to survive.³⁷⁴ Lebanon was influenced by its Arab inhabitants and its European colonisers, making for a working class that was more skilled than the surrounding states. Aside from Lebanon’s delicate sectarian equilibrium, this made for fiercer restrictions on Palestinian employment in Lebanon.³⁷⁵ The Palestinians in Lebanon were subject to a social structure that simply did not include them. Max Weber defined “ethnic groups” as: “Those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because memories of colonization (sic) and migration.”³⁷⁶

³⁷² Hirst. 2010. op.cit. Pg. 76

³⁷³ Farsoun 1997. op.cit. Pg. 147

³⁷⁴ Loc.cit.

³⁷⁵ Sayigh 2007. op.cit. Pg. 115

³⁷⁶ Heath, A. F., Stephen D. Fisher, Gemma Rosenblatt, David Sanders, and Maria K. Sobolewska. *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013. Pg. 15

This definition is essential when exploring Palestinian identity; in that, the Palestinians and the Lebanese did not differ physically or culturally, no more than the norm across villages or cities in any part of the world. What made the Palestinians different, or a minority, was their migration and the difference between the colonised past of the two groups. In the West, minorities may be driven by different issues than the general population. Issues such as immigration, refugees and foreign policy (particularly amongst the Arab minority) may be more of a self-interest issue for minorities, instead of issues such as the economy and national security. In the Weberian definition, though the Palestinians do not differ visibly, they do differ in what is important to them, at least soon after their exodus. Those who have lived in exile for decades will be interested in issues such as the economy, but then, the main issue was their stance on Israel and how their host country can support their struggle to return home.

The idea that certain groups, be it ethnic, class or statuses are privy to certain rewards is defined as “social stratification.”³⁷⁷ The manner in which society is divided changes from country to country, and over time. The United States for example has a history of slave labour and cheap migrant labour. While these days are historical, these types of divisions are still prevalent, though mainly through class structures. Unfortunately for the Palestinians in Lebanon, while they were not brought to Lebanon for the purposes of labour, they were seen as different from the local population due to their traumatic experience.

³⁷⁷ Organista, Pamela Balls., Gerardo Marín, and Kevin M. Chun. *The Psychology of Ethnic Groups in the United States*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2010. Pg. 46

Throughout her extraordinary study, Rosemary Sayigh was able to interview a number of refugees on the “economic marginality” of the refugees’ early years. There were a number of practices that were generally not practices of Palestinians or Arabs at the time. The first was the idea that children must work in order to support their families as the rations were not enough or the father was not able to provide solely. Palestinians initially were without many rights or privileges, with that said, child workers received even fewer privileges. They were paid less, if at all. The second norm which developed contrary to normal cultural and social practices of the time was women leaving their children at home to go work. These changing cultural practices continued to disgrace the Palestinian refugees in their own eyes and that of other Arabs.³⁷⁸ This type of employment was not always available, for those who were not able to gain employment, UNRWA acted as a safety net. UNRWA did its part, essentially a safety net put in place to ensure that the Palestinians did not die of starvation by providing rations and some sort of order and opportunity to the destitute camp-dwellers.

According to one unnamed Palestinian refugee, Palestinians were forced to apply for work-permits, just as any other foreigner would. He claims that permits would be provided for those who would apply to do menial labour but mainly denied when they aspired to do more. Further, in 1966, social security for sickness and accidents was established and all local workers would have to contribute to this fund through a tax levied from their income, Palestinians included. The issue for Palestinian workers is that they were not able to access any of the benefits, because they were considered foreigners.

³⁷⁸ Sayigh 2007. op.cit. Pgs. 116-119

While Pan-Arabism was at its strongest stage, only soon after the independence of Lebanon, fellow Arabs who, less than half a century prior, were all part of the same nation were now seen as foreign. When this was taken to the Social Security Department, the Ministry of Justice decided that Palestinians ought to receive the same benefits as the Lebanese. In order to justify their discriminative practices, the Social Security Department decided that foreign workers would receive the same benefits that Lebanese workers may access when working in their state, as the Palestinians had no state they continued to be denied benefits.³⁷⁹ This is essential to our understanding when exploring Pan-Arab nationality, while the Palestinians were often viewed similar to nationals when it benefitted the state but foreigners when there was benefit to be accessed by the Palestinians. The chapter on Pan-Arabism showed that the Palestinian cause was an important issue to the Arab world and Arab leaders used that importance to strengthen their political position, unfortunately for the Palestinians the Arab policy when it came to combating Israel did not reflect their policy on the treatment of the Palestinians.

The camps are overpopulated, unclean and dangerous. Regardless of this, the Palestinians were seeking time and place in which they can replace their newfound placelessness. The only party who may have predicted that these camps would develop into mini-cities was UNRWA itself (when UNRWA leased the camps for 99 years, this should have sent out warning signals). The Palestinians saw these camps as temporary, the Lebanese shared this view and would not allow Palestinians to believe otherwise.

³⁷⁹ Ibid. Pg. 116

In the first twenty years the tents that were provided upon arrival evolved into makeshift structures consisting of stones, boards and zinc. If anyone was found hammering a nail into anything other than zinc they would be punished as any building equipment that needed nails to be constructed was prohibited.³⁸⁰ The infrastructure has not developed much throughout its six-decade existence. The camps remain overcrowded with poor housing conditions, leaky pipes, unsanitary water and sewage systems which fill the air with an unbearable odour.³⁸¹ The social fabric of the country neglected Palestinian refugees, thus naturally developing them into the “other”. The Palestinians in Lebanon faced what Weber referred to as social closure. Under the notion of one ethnic collectivity of Arabs, there was a hierarchy in which the Palestinians found themselves at the bottom. This closure played an integral role in defining the self-identity of the Palestinians. As Guibernau and Brubaker claimed; identity is developed through sameness and/or being excluded from a group. The fact that the Palestinians did not have rights in Lebanon, and that they were forced to live amongst each other in camps, cut off from society, their identity developed through a lack of ethnic collectivity.

5.3.3 Education

Palestine is our country,

Our aim is to return,

Death does not frighten us,

We shall never forget her,

Another homeland we shall never accept³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Hirst 2010. op.cit. Pg. 77

³⁸¹ "Anera Reports on the Ground in the Middle East." 3 (2012). ANERA. June 2012. Web. 12 Dec. 2015. <<http://www.anera.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/LEBRefugeeReport.pdf>>.

³⁸² Tibwai, A.L., “Visions of the Return: The Palestine Arab Refugees in Arabic Poetry and Art”, *Mideast Journal*, XVII, 1963, p. 523 (Taken from Hirst 2010. op.cit. Pg. 76)

Subjecting the Palestinian refugees to the camps allowed for the initialisation of national sentiment, transferring a common history from generation to generation through UNRWA schools. The quote above was a pledge recited throughout UNRWA schools by Palestinian students. Emile Durkheim, a French sociologist, claims that the social construct in which a revolution portrays itself through action, not thought. He claims that the “men of the revolution were not scholars who contrived a system in the silence of the study but men of action who believed themselves called upon to reconstruct society on new foundations.”³⁸³ Education acts as a tool of transferring this reconstruction, and the sense of revolution, return, or instilling change of the status quo developed a new generation of Palestinians who believe that they are outside of the “norm” and must attach themselves to this collective identity that is distinct from their neighbours.

People who are oppressed or searching for freedom may assimilate, may accept the discrimination or may revolt. The path a society takes depends heavily on how the youth are educated. Paulo Friere, in his work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, claims that the oppressed create an image of the oppressor, accept their guidelines and are fearful of freedom.³⁸⁴ In order to reverse the guidelines, particularly in the situation faced by the Palestinians it is essential to allow education to ensure the youth understand national tradition. The creation or invention of heroes and customs, as theorised in the literature review by Hobsbawm, Wayne and Taylor, may shape or reshape the national identity. To

³⁸³ Durkheim, Émile, and Robert N. Bellah. *Émile Durkheim on Morality and Society, Selected Writings*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1973. Pg. 35

³⁸⁴ Friere, Paulo, and Donald Macedo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition*. Trans. Maya Bergman Ramos. New York: Bloomsbury PLc, 2012. Pg. 47

ensure the viability of the traditions and the transfer of customs, education must be the source.

Further, education is essential in driving pauper societies out of poverty, while training and education were important amongst Palestinians, the extent to which education would support development in the camps was not the norm, as seen in more developed countries. Sayigh refers to two reasons as to why this was not the case for the Palestinians. Firstly, there simply were not enough spaces available for all the students in UNRWA's education system. This meant that people would be forced to find alternative options that they could not afford. Secondly, the idea that education would actually allow for a refugee to be employed in a better paying profession.³⁸⁵ There were not many opportunities for Palestinians who aspired to join the Lebanese workforce in a non-labour profession, making it difficult to justify spending the time and money for someone to become a scientist or lawyer when they would have to settle for working in construction, or one of the many trades needed within the camps to ensure their self-sufficiency. Those who were educated would generally move to the West or the oil rich Gulf states; throughout the 1960s the number of families in Shatila camp with a son working in the Gulf rose from 5% to 25%.³⁸⁶ One profession that was in demand, which became one of the more popular options for the Palestinian refugee was to be a teacher.

³⁸⁵ Sayigh 2007. op.cit. Pg. 123

³⁸⁶ Sayigh, Rosemary. *Too Many Enemies*. 2nd ed. Holden: Al Mashriq, 2015. Pg. 94

All teachers in UNRWA schools were Palestinian,³⁸⁷ allowing the schools to become a breeding ground for national aspirations. The teachers were mostly born in Palestine, raised in the refugee camps. With UNRWA operating in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) as well, they were forced to remove any inciting information from the history books, meaning that the body responsible for educating the Palestinians did not include Palestinian history in the curriculum.³⁸⁸ The responsibility for teaching students about the British occupation and the Nakba came with the teachers themselves who undertake activities promoting *Palestinianism* outside of the scope of the mandated curriculum.

It reached the extent where UNRWA schools in Lebanon were pressured to forbid any Palestinian history as well as use of the words Palestine, liberation, fida'iyah along with replacing all Arabic names of cities in historic Palestine with the new Hebrew terms. There was threat of a general strike of all teachers in the Palestine Diaspora, allowing the books used in Lebanon to remain.³⁸⁹ Regardless of this decision, after 1958, Palestinian teachers were under constant surveillance, one teacher recalled: "If a teacher was a nationalist they'd have them lose his job. This was part of their work, also beating, shaving heads, and imprisonment."³⁹⁰ Teachers were not allowed to commemorate national days, nor teach Palestinian songs as they were under strict scrutiny.³⁹¹ Teachers that were once leading the nationalist focus of Palestinian life were harassed and after

³⁸⁷ Sayigh 2007. op.cit. Pg. 123

³⁸⁸ Khalili, Laleh. *Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2007. Pg. 71

³⁸⁹ Ibid. Pg. 72

³⁹⁰ Sayigh 2007. op.cit. Pg. 142

³⁹¹ Ibid. Pg. 143

1958 they would have to receive permission from Lebanese authorities before being considered for employment.³⁹² The authority given the responsibility to provide permission for employment was *Maktab Thani*- a powerful domestic security organization, also known as the Deuxième Bureau of Lebanon (DB), that would become one of the main drivers of a need for a Palestinian revolution.³⁹³

5.3.4 Security

Nearly a decade and a half before the widely documented Lebanese Civil War of the 1970s, Lebanon found itself on the brink of internal disaster in 1958. Following the Suez crisis in 1956 Lebanon was ideologically split between those who supported the Pan-Arab notion of Nasser and the predominantly Maronite group who supported the West. At the centre of this quarrel was President Chamille Chamoun who, when he was the Lebanese representative at the UN rejected the creation of the State of Israel and supported Nasser. His tenure as President did not provide for the same policy, he was not exactly a pro-Zionist, but was anti-Nasser and pro-West, his allegiance namely to France.

³⁹² Sayigh 2015. op.cit. Pg. 79

³⁹³ Today, the situation has become more manageable due to a number of NGO's operating throughout Lebanon. The following two organizations located in Beirut are examples of how these organizations impact Palestinian students, old and young. The Ghassan Kanafani Cultural Foundation, started in commemoration of the late Palestinian author and journalist Ghassan Kanafani has actively been setting up kindergartens throughout the refugee camps. Their work, in 2011, directly benefitted approximately 1700 people throughout 6 Palestinian camps, 780 of them children between 3-6 who were provided with a pre-school education. Moreover, they have set up rehabilitation centres for children with mental and/or physical disabilities. The next organization, spearheaded by a number of volunteers, is the Unite Youth Lebanon Project, who aims to unite disadvantaged youth from different religious and ethnic backgrounds, which in a hotbed of political division is ground-breaking. They allow children to see past their respective backgrounds and see a fellow child for who they are rather than who they are labelled to be. What is particularly special about this organization is their bridge academy. The academy is made accessible to Palestinians within the UNRWA schools, starting in grade 10. They set out to improve the students English, help them with decisions pertaining to college and help prepare them for the SAT or TOEFL exams. Once the student is accepted to university is where the magic begins, they ensure the student's tuition, books, accommodations and living expenses are all covered.

He opposed the Arab call to break diplomatic relations with Colonial France and Britain and supported the Eisenhower Doctrine,³⁹⁴ which he would soon attempt to enact.³⁹⁵

The rebel group, mainly comprised of Muslim Pan-Arabists trained and armed by either Syria or Egypt, controlled the Northern and Eastern areas of Lebanon while the Lebanese government controlled Mount Lebanon and East Beirut. Israel, at the request of Lebanese Foreign Minister Charles Malik, played their part, defending the Lebanese-Syrian border for their Lebanese counterparts. The conflict claimed the lives of approximately 2,500 people and when President Chamoun requested the support of the United States they rejected it, deciding to intervene only when the Pro-Western monarchy in Iraq fell. They were able to get the parties to cease fighting and supported General Fuad Chehab, a Maronite who kept the Lebanese Army out of the conflict in order to ensure that they would not sway the outcome, as the new President of Lebanon.³⁹⁶ President Chehab's Presidency lasted from 1958-1964, and it was under his rule that the DB began controlling the refugee camps. Bassam Abu Sharif recalls the treatment of the Palestinians in Lebanon when he was studying in Beirut, recalling:

I was a student in the early 60's at American University of Beirut (AUB) and we used to go and visit camps and we used to see that Palestinians in the camps were treated like animals from the Lebanese DB. They were not allowed to build, also, Palestinians were not allowed to leave the camps without permission even to visit their families in another camp. No demonstration was

³⁹⁴ Hirst 2010. op.cit. Pg. 69

³⁹⁵ The Eisenhower Doctrine was announced by United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower in January 1957. The Doctrine allowed countries to request both economic and military assistance from the United States when being threatened by another country. The policy was a result of Egypt's success in the 1956 Suez Crisis, the United States feared that Nasser would use that victory to spread his Pan-Arab sentiment across other states which in turn would allow the Soviet's to spread their influence. (<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/eisenhower-doctrine>)

³⁹⁶ Hirst 2010. op.cit. Pg. 70-71

allowed, no newspapers, no political meetings, to mentioning of Palestine or the liberation of Palestine.³⁹⁷

The sole concern of the DB was to set up in the outskirts of the camp and oppress the Palestinians. Joseph Kaylani, one of the notorious officers of the bureau, described: “The Palestinian is like a spring, if you step on him he stays quiet, but if you take your foot off he hits you in the face.”³⁹⁸ While this sentiment was not shared amongst the Lebanese population, there was a distinct political divide that created an “us vs. them” mentality. This type of thinking allowed Israel to solidify itself as a state and begin its rampant development while the Palestinians were more entrenched in a battle of survival against Arab security and intelligence officers.

Under the control of the DB, Palestinians were forbidden to visit other camps without permission and those who were visiting a neighbour after nightfall would be punished. Aside from movement, the DB would monitor water usage, bathing hours as well as any building, as mentioned above with regards to using nails.³⁹⁹ To say the word “Palestinian” became a crime under the oppressive rule of the DB,⁴⁰⁰ the attempted curfews and lack of movement in itself has resembled an apartheid system. Though the DB is no longer in power and things have become slightly better for the Palestinians in Lebanon, Zionist publications such as the *Jerusalem Post*⁴⁰¹ and *Times of Israel*⁴⁰²

³⁹⁷ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

³⁹⁸ Sayigh 2007. op.cit. Pg. 141

³⁹⁹ Khalili 2007. op.cit. Pg. 46

⁴⁰⁰ Sayigh 2007. op.cit. Pg. 143

⁴⁰¹ Abu Toameh, Khaled. "Where's the International Outcry against Arab Apartheid?" *The Jerusalem Post*. 17 Mar. 2011. Web. 17 Dec. 2015.

⁴⁰² Boukobza, Sonia. "Looking for Apartheid? Skip Israel, Look up North in Lebanon." *The Blogs The Times of Israel. Looking for Apartheid Skip Israel Look up North in Lebanon* Dec. 2015. Web. 17 Dec. 2015.

attempt to discredit the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement as well as events such as Israeli Apartheid Week by shifting the focus to the Apartheid rules of Lebanon.

At a time where Pan-Arab sentiment was popular and powerful, the Palestinians in Lebanon were forced to view themselves as outsiders. They had a special identity, were bound to the refugee camps, special schools and were surviving on UNRWA rations. The Palestinian population in Lebanon were facing constant shame and deprivation and although Nasser was powerful and popular, the Palestinians could not help but develop an identity separate from their Arab brethren.

5.4 Impact on Identity

From the onset of their exile, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon began to exemplify practices and realities that forced them to see themselves as separate from their Lebanese counterparts. While this separation was not always felt individually, as suggested by Farid Ayad, there was a distinct civil divide. While the basis of nationalism and national identity is enshrined in the development of a national consciousness based on a common history or memory which then develops itself into a functioning society, the treatment of the Palestinians in the camps may have reversed this development.

When exploring classical theory, starting with Smith, the Palestinians were able to develop a sense of economic and legal regularity which would define them. Unfortunately for the refugees, it was not done in similar fashion to most nations, the

Palestinians in Lebanon had a common economy, common laws and common territorial mobility defined by their lack of mobility and economic opportunity. Similarly, Gellner's theory predicated on division of labour may provide for a similar development of identity, in which, the Palestinians were not able to develop a division of labour, as their economic prospects were not exactly in their control. The division of labour, as it applied to the Palestinians, was a product of the evolving ethnocratic make-up of states such as Lebanon, Israel, Syria and Jordan. This is important due to the construction of Palestinian identity not forming itself from memory or history but due to trauma and lack of opportunity in their places of residence.

In the first chapter, a number of Palestinian notables were quoted arguing that the Palestinians are Palestinian because they chose to be, or chose to relate to one another. The experiences in Lebanon provide for a different conclusion, the Palestinians were forced to be "Palestinian"; they were forced to be different than their Lebanese neighbours. That is not to say that they did not have an attachment to their lost homeland, but that the necessity for a homeland and control of their destiny was strengthened by the treatment of the Palestinians in the refugee camps.

In revisiting the first research question; "What events had to take place in order for the Palestinian political factions in the Arab world to be able to control their own narrative/cause and for the Arab, then later the Western world to recognise the PLO as the sole representatives of the Palestinian people?" The separation was forced upon them while in Lebanon. Previous chapters have shown to what extent the Arab world attempted

to control the Palestinian narrative, but the suppression of Palestinian consciousness and the politics of division in Lebanon were instrumental in the Palestinians taking control of their own affairs. The concept of “the other” or “belonging” as theorised by Guibernau, Hobsbawm, Said, Hall and others has shown itself to be essential, but not as regularly depicted as Arab vs. Jews. The initial development of the Palestinians as a group, unique to their surroundings was not formulated against Israel *per se* but against those of which they share a history, ethnicity and language.

This thesis argues that the Palestinian identity before their trauma has become irrelevant in the modern day. The argument of who was in the land of historic Palestine or who God may have promised the land to will not sway political favour to the Palestinians. The Palestinians in the Arab world were not always welcomed, nor were they integrated, even with the best efforts of the United Nations.

The refugees in Lebanon have faced decades of oppression and mistreatment, but in terms of forming a Palestinian national identity, this mistreatment may have been instrumental. The impact of being forced into refugee camps, sent to special schools, surviving on UNRWA rations created a sense of “place” for the Palestinians. The walls of these refugee camps have become a place to channel resistance.⁴⁰³ The graffiti and posters pledging allegiance to different political parties or commemorating certain events has allowed for this identity and history to be passed down from generation to generation.

⁴⁰³ Khalili 2007. op.cit. Pg. 83

During the early 1960s the epicentre of Arab nationalism was in Syria and Egypt, the majority of Palestinians were in Jordan but the Palestinian revolution did not start in these states, it did not start in the West Bank or Gaza, it started in Southern Lebanon. On January 1, 1965 the General Command of al-Asifa Forces (Fatah's military wing) announced that they had conducted a raid into the occupied territories and returned safely. It is not clear whether this raid actually happened or if it was thwarted, nevertheless, there was jubilation in the camps. It took four years before the revolution returned to Lebanon, but the third stage of Abu Lughod's politics of revolution and hope began to take form as a revolution, the suffering has become a struggle. Bassam Abu Sharif also suggests the pertinence of the time in Lebanon, stating that:

In Lebanon particularly, in the camps of Lebanon, the Arab nationalist movement was created raising the slogan that Arab unity is the way to liberate Palestine and return to Palestine while Fatah started al-Asifa in order to start their own military resistance to their colonisers. Certain Arab regimes, the West in general, and Israel in particular were trying to wipe out the belonging of the Palestinians, this adhering of the Palestinians to their identity, the strong belief of the Palestinians roots in the Palestinian soil, these deep roots that have confronted all invasions of their land through history.⁴⁰⁴

Palestine was longed for, but not as a romanticised paradise, but simply where the people felt they were home. Take for example the impoverished Palestinian peasant population who were, for the most part, living on rations. Due to their connection with Europe, Lebanon was more advanced when compared to the surrounding Arab states, allowing for the educated few to flourish. The Palestinians were an agrarian society- their attachment to the land was based on their livelihood. When their land was taken away, so was their sense of ownership and self-sufficiency.

⁴⁰⁴ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

Wayne Norman spoke of remoralising and reconfiguring identity, the changing of content as it affects identity. It is at this stage where this process began, the nature of being Palestinian was not based on being from Palestine, but being treated differently than their neighbour. Here I will refer to the discussion on the impact of identity with Bassam Abu Sharif, where he believes that the Palestinian national identity will always be, and has always been an Arab identity, what changed, or in this case developed, was a Palestinian political identity.⁴⁰⁵ The rights and responsibilities of the Palestinians were not existent, nor was there much opportunity to develop their own society as their rights were taken away. The treatment of the refugees in Lebanon was damning, but it allowed the Palestinians to reengage thoughts on identity developed through a lack of rights, economic opportunity and mobilisation.

In regards to nationalism and identity theory, the Palestinian case acts as an outlier in that it was shaped by the lack of inclusion. The Palestinians came together while geographically dispersed, not because of a memory or attachment, but as a need to survive. The refugees in Lebanon and the rest of the Arab world reignited the bitterness Fatah leaders had towards the Arab armies due to their negligent handling of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. The next chapter will explore how the PLO's revolution created a sense of a quasi-state in Jordan and then Lebanon providing the Palestinians with a sense of pride while empowering the nation.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ Loc.cit

⁴⁰⁶ It is essential to understand that I used Lebanon as one epicentre of Palestinian nationalism. The experiences of Palestinians in Israel, the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Syria and Jordan were all tragic and effective in their own right. According to UNRWA, as of today there are over 1.5 million registered Palestinians living in 58 refugee camps throughout the region. They are all still subjected to poverty while living in fear and insecurity. Important to this chapter is not Lebanon

Chapter 6: The Revolution

Listen to me, the Palestinian identity is based on fighting against occupation and continuous struggle, it is not based on peace. The definition here is important, the Palestinian identity actually became stronger when the Palestinians started fighting and the Palestinian national cause faded or weakened when the Palestinians moved towards peace. You cannot separate the impact of the fighting spirit from the Palestinian identity, the fight is an integral part of the Palestinian story, you cannot separate the identity from the revolution and the idea of fighting for your most basic human rights by any means necessary.⁴⁰⁷

The previous two chapters set the basis of the Palestinian and Pan-Arab identities, as shaped by their initial expulsion and life in the refugee camps. In keeping with Abu-Lughod's three determinants, this chapter will explore the final stage of his three-pronged theory: the politics of revolution and hope. With the creation of the PLO as well as the rise of the Palestinian political factions, Palestinian identity was able to differentiate itself from the rest of the Arab world. In this chapter the fractured concept of Pan-Arab unity and the idea of a Pan-Palestinian consensus are explored through the development of the PLO, the evolution of the Palestinian charter and events in Jordan between 1967 and 1971.

The Palestinians were in dire need of representation, while the creation of the PLO was historic and symbolic, it was highly criticised by many Palestinians who feared that it would do nothing but replicate the 1948 All-Palestine Government.⁴⁰⁸ Abu Iyad believed that the creation of the PLO was a reactionary act by President Nasser due to the popularity of Fatah's campaign for an armed resistance. Though there was reason for

and the relationship between the Palestinians and the Lebanese, rather the shame of depending on financial aid, rations while living on economic and developmental restrictions. The vast majority of Palestinians across the world continue to long for their homeland, but for the most vulnerable the memories and history attached to the homeland have become irrelevant. Palestine is seen by camp-dwellers as a place where they belong, a place where they may apply their skills to benefit themselves, their families and their society.

⁴⁰⁷ Atwan, 2017. op.cit

⁴⁰⁸ Loc.cit.

suspicion, Bassam Abu Sharif believes that regardless of the political wing, the creation of the PLO also meant the creation of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), which would ultimately end up ‘graduating hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from military academies, whether pilots, tank commanders or infantry which gave the Palestinians the opportunity, for the first time to have real trained, military options.’⁴⁰⁹ Nasser feared that Abu Iyad’s sentiments would resonate amongst the Palestinians and Arabs alike, and thereby likely to drag the Arabs into a war with Israel, he called on Ahmed Shuqayri to create an organisation to represent the Palestinians.⁴¹⁰ Shuqayri was a lawyer, a diplomat who held prominent positions including Vice-President of the Saudi Arabian delegation to the UN and Syria’s representative to the Arab League.⁴¹¹ He was the perfect candidate as no Palestinian was as well connected nor as well versed in Arab politics. Shuqayri was not an advocate of the armed struggle, and was therefore against Fatah, referring to the organisation as enemies of the Palestinian resistance movement and denouncing them in the name of the PLO.⁴¹² As Fatah was little known at the time, no one could have predicted that their leader Yasser Arafat would eventually take Shuqayri’s position as chairman of the PLO and become the epicentre of Palestinian politics until his death in 2004.

According to Leila Khaled, airplane hijacker and member of the PFLP, the creation of the PLO was undertaken to shift the focus from their failures in dealing with or responding to

⁴⁰⁹ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

⁴¹⁰ Khalaf, Salah, and Eric Rouleau. *My Home, My Land: A Narrative of the Palestinian Struggle*. New York: Times, 1981. Pg. 40

⁴¹¹ Al-Hout, Maksidi, Asser, 2011. op.cit. Pg. 50

⁴¹² Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. 44

Israel's NWC project. There was fear that this would give the Palestinians an excuse to raise arms against Israel, Khaled notes:

The honourable (sic) presidents and noble kings, without consulting the Palestinian people or considering other candidates, appointed Ahmed Shuqayri chairman of the PLO. Shuqayri was their man. He could be relied upon to make the necessary flamboyant pronouncements to appease the Palestinian masses, without precipitating a crisis or organizing (sic) the Palestinians into a fighting force.⁴¹³

The first Palestine National Congress took place in East Jerusalem on May 28th, 1964, opened by King Hussein of Jordan. The event itself was historic, resulting in the creation of the first Palestine National Charter, which would then be amended four years later. The charter attempted to answer the question that this thesis has explored, who are the Palestinians? The newly formed PLO defined a Palestinian as follows:

Article 5. The Palestinian personality is a permanent and genuine characteristic that does not disappear. It is transferred from fathers to sons.

Article 6. The Palestinians are those Arab citizens who were living normally in Palestine up to 1947, whether they remained or were expelled. Every child who was born to a Palestinian parent after this date whether in Palestine or outside is a Palestinian.

Article 7. Jews of Palestinian origin are considered Palestinians if they are willing to live peacefully and loyally in Palestine.⁴¹⁴

Still anticipating their return to Palestine to be near, this definition of identity is not everlasting as it only includes those born in Palestine or the first generation born in exile.

This narrow approach is myopic and reactive, driven by an imminent return, thereby

⁴¹³ Khaled, Leila, and George Hajjar. *My People Shall Live: The Autobiography of a Revolutionary*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973. *Internet Archive*. OLC Sandberg, 2008. Web. Pg. 35

⁴¹⁴ See Appendix VII

eschewing the developing characteristics of the Palestinian identity in favour of primordial ones. Additionally, the Palestinian identity is defined through a narrow lens viewed to be recurrent or primordial. Of course those who adopted this charter could not foresee the future, nevertheless, the status quo may have led the Palestinian identity to have become extinct. Finally, what may have been most troubling to those who were critical of the PLO were articles 11 to 14 all of which argued for Arab unity, even forcing this belief upon their constituents arguing that

Article 11. The Palestinian people firmly believe in Arab unity, and in order to play its role in realizing (sic) this goal, it must, at this stage of its struggle preserve its Palestinian personality and all its constituents. It must strengthen the consciousness of its existence and stand against any attempt or plan that may weaken or disintegrate its personality.⁴¹⁵

To be Palestinian is to firmly believe in Arab unity, while playing a “role” in liberating their homeland, as portrayed in this charter as well as the Arab League’s resolution of 1964. The Palestinians wanted more than to play a role in their fight for self-determination. A number of events had to transpire in the region before the PLO refined their charter in 1968, starting with the Arab failure in 1967.

I tell you truthfully that I am ready to assume the entire responsibility. I have taken a decision with which I want you all to help me. I have decided to give up completely and finally every official post and every political role, and to return to the ranks of the public to do my duty with them like every other citizen. The forces hostile to the Arab nationalist movement always try to picture it as Abdel Nasser’s empire. That is not true, for the hope for Arab unity began before Gamal Abdel Nasser. It will remain after Gamal Abdel Nasser.”⁴¹⁶
- President Gamal Abdel Nasser

⁴¹⁵ See Appendix VII

⁴¹⁶ “Text of Nasser's Resignation Speech." *Chicago Tribune* 10 Jan. 1967: 5. *Chicago Tribune Archives*. Web.

Even in the bleakest of times that have troubled the Arab world, the Arabs will always have, and have always had a number of attributes that connect them. The Arabs cannot deny their classical bond; they are connected by a similar language, a predominant religion, and a ranging but similar culture. For the Arabs, as discussed throughout this thesis, that part of the story, as defined by Gellner, is not exactly relevant today. The impact of geopolitics and the nation-state has forced ethnic customs and allegiances to redefine themselves in order to fit into national boundaries. The Pan-Arab mentality was served by political instrumentalism to distract from local policies while reaffirming broader ideological views against the West and Israel.

As the Arab nation faltered, the Jewish nation soared. According to Norman Finkelstein, only 1 in 20 American Jews took the trip to visit Israel before the 1967 war. According to Erich Fromm, the Suez Crisis of 1956 was a humiliation in the eyes of American Jews, and the kidnapping of senior Nazi Adolf Eichmann in Argentina was viewed as unbecoming of the Jewish state by American Jewish elites, even likened to the type of “lawlessness of exactly the type of which the Nazis themselves... have been guilty.”⁴¹⁷ Due to the Holocaust, the decline of Europe, in response to the rise of the Soviet Union the United States were naturally inclined to support Israel, due to its democratic nature as well as the Arabs’ Soviet ties. Nevertheless, while the tides were quiet on the Cold War front, the Kremlin sent a message to the White House on June 5th, 1967 reassuring the United States that they would be observers in the Middle East war, as long as they would

⁴¹⁷ Finkelstein, Norman G. *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*. Second ed. London: Verso, 2000. Pg. 19

do the same.⁴¹⁸ Although the United States agreed, Nasser pointed to imperialist collusion by the British and the United States as one of the reasons for their downfall.⁴¹⁹ Regardless of why Israel won the war, or who colluded with whom, the United States found their military ally in the region and American Jews became, what Finkelstein calls; “born-again Zionists.”⁴²⁰ Meanwhile, the Arabs were once again defeated by Israel, their leader had resigned and the rest of Palestine was occupied by the state of Israel.

Yasser Arafat and the others had rushed back to Damascus... Together we listened to that fateful speech of June 9 over the radio. When Nasser ended it by announcing his resignation, our despair reached its peak. It was as if we had suffered a double defeat, military and political- political because for us, despite everything, the fall of Nasser meant the end of all hope. Despite everything, Nasser symbolized (sic) the rejection of the *fait accompli*, the symbol of resistance which to our mind must inevitably emerge.⁴²¹

The excerpt above, as recounted by Fatah leader Abu Iyad, identifies the Palestinians as a people in limbo, not exactly understanding the circumstances or the reality. Just two years before his resignation, Nasser’s Egypt claimed that Fatah were representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood or even worse the CIA. Nasser’s commander-in-chief to the United Arab Forces requested all Arab governments to crush Fatah,⁴²² yet, they were in despair and disbelief that “the great leader of the Arab nation, the man sent by destiny, the hero that was going to help us recover at least part of our usurped country,” had been defeated. According to Abu Iyad, the manner in which the Israelis welcomed the news of

⁴¹⁸ Khaled, Hajjar, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 42

⁴¹⁹ Text of Nasser's Resignation Speech." *Chicago Tribune* 10 Jan. 1967: 5. *Chicago Tribune Archives*. Web.

⁴²⁰ Finkelstein, 2000. op.cit. Pg. 23

⁴²¹ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 51

⁴²² Ibid. Pg. 44

Nasser's resignation meant that they had no choice but to stand against it.⁴²³ Fatah leaders were not the only ones to share this sentiment.

As protests raged throughout the Arab world calling for their President to remain, Nasser was forced to rethink his decision, leaving the decision with Egypt's National Assembly. To which they declared: "The people have stressed they do not agree with you and it always has been your practices to accept the people's will."⁴²⁴ Nasser remained, but Pan-Arabism, as it was practiced in this time period, had taken its final blow.

Even the founders of the pro-Nasser ANM, who later in 1967 would become known as the PFLP declared:

The June defeat, in our opinion, is not merely a military defeat, but actually a defeat for these regimes and their programs (sic). It reveals the incapacity of these regimes to effect any political, military, economic or ideological mobilization (sic) that would ensure steadfastness and victory over neo-imperialism, its alliances and plans in our homeland.⁴²⁵

In the Palestinian political forum, the biggest loser was the PLO itself, people still did not trust Shuqayri and the PLO was not initially invited to the Arab League Summit in Khartoum in 1967, which was called to discuss the question of Palestine and the Palestinians after the war. It took a last minute meeting between the PLO's representative to Lebanon, Shafiq al-Hout and Prime Minister Mahjoub of Sudan to confirm an invitation to Shuqayri.⁴²⁶ The outcome of the summit was the Khartoum Resolution made

⁴²³ Ibid. Pg. 52

⁴²⁴ Text of Nasser's Resignation Speech." *Chicago Tribune* 10 Jan. 1967: 5. *Chicago Tribune Archives*. Web.

⁴²⁵ Amos II, John W. *Palestinian Resistance: Organization of a Nationalist Movement*. New York: Pergamon, 1980. PG. 138

⁴²⁶ Al-Hout, Maksidi, Asser, 2011. op.cit. Pg. 60

famous by the three no's, simply; "No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it."⁴²⁷ This was obviously troubling to Israel, strengthening the argument that the Palestinians and Arabs alike want to destroy Israel and reject Israel's right to exist.

The resolution was not welcomed by the Palestinians either, namely the call for "the withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli forces from the Arab lands which have been occupied since the aggression of June 5."⁴²⁸ The resolution called for the withdrawal of the lands seized in the 1967 war, disregarding those seized in 1948. The PLO withdrew from the summit during its closing session citing the exclusion of their request for a "fourth no" which prohibits any unilateral acceptance of a proposal dealing with the question of Palestine.⁴²⁹ The PLO was neglected once again later on in 1967 when Egypt and Jordan accepted United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 242 which was adopted unanimously on November 22nd, 1967.

The resolution, which gave no mention to the Palestinians, called for:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace

⁴²⁷ "**Khartoum Resolution.**" *Council on Foreign Relations. Web.*

⁴²⁸ Loc.cit.

⁴²⁹ Al-Hout, Maksidi, Asser, 2011. op.cit. Pg. 61

within secure and recognized (sic) boundaries free from threats or acts of force;⁴³⁰

Jordan and Egypt's acceptance of this resolution contradicted the Khartoum Resolution, namely with regards to the recognition of Israel. This left the PLO with no support, as the Arabs began to serve their own interests and after pressure from a number of organisations, Ahmed Shuqayri resigned on December 24th, 1967. He appointed Yahya Hammuda as his successor. His first order of business was to claim that "the PLO is not a party but an instrument for representing the Palestinian people."⁴³¹ The Palestinians were to enter a period of competing ideologies.

6.1 The Rise of Palestinian Political Factions

The Palestinian political arena consisted of four ideologies, according to al-Hout; local movements in isolation from the larger Arab nationalist movements, the Marxist/Leninist movement, the Islamic movement and the Arab nationalist movement.⁴³² At this stage, the Islamic movement, namely the Muslim Brotherhood was dormant and it would be fourteen years before the creation of the Islamic Jihad of Palestine and twenty years before the creation of Hamas. At the time where Islamic sentiment began to rise again, due to the failures of the state in 1967, the Palestinian foundation still found itself to be secular. This era in Palestinian politics would be dedicated to the growth of isolated groups, Marxist groups, and those sponsored by a range of Arab states.

⁴³⁰ See Appendix VIII

⁴³¹ Shemesh, 1988. op.cit. Pg. 92

⁴³² Al-Hout, Maksidi, Asser, 2011. op.cit. Pg. 49

Arafat later declared that “the defeat in 1967 was very painful but at the same time it was a great incentive for us to work harder and achieve something.”⁴³³ Abdel Bari Atwan shared Arafat’s sentiments, educing that “After 1967, and a little before, though Nasser revived the ideas and hope of liberation, it was not until 1967 when the feda’yeen, the guerrillas, when they realised that the Palestinian identity started to get stronger and stronger, deeper and deeper, they gained more confidence and more hope.”⁴³⁴ What became known as the *Naksa*, the setback, for the Palestinians due to losing what was left of their lost land became a political opportunity for the armed resistance. Bassam Abu Sharif recalls the defeat in 1967 from a similar lens, calling a “turning point”, arguing that since Egypt, Syria and Jordan’s military and intelligence institutions were defeated, the Palestinians were provided with an opportunity to organise in a manner that was forbidden by the aforementioned Arab countries.⁴³⁵

In August of 1967, the guerrilla organisations of Fatah, the PFLP, the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), the Vengeance Youth, and the Heroes for Return met in Damascus to create the National Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine (NPF). When the announcement was to be made, there was no representative from Fatah, with the excuse that Fatah was still without a leader.⁴³⁶ While it was founded by a group of individuals, Arafat amongst them, he was still not officially declared leader and when his

⁴³³ *PLO: History of a Revolution. PLO: History of a Revolution-Chronicling the PLO.* Al-Jazeera English, 31 Aug. 2009. Web.
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/plohistoryofrevolution/2009/07/200974133438561995.html>>.

⁴³⁴ Atwan, 2017. op.cit

⁴³⁵ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

⁴³⁶ Abu Sharif, Bassam. *Arafat and the Dream of Palestine: An Insider's Account.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. Pg. 13

colleagues set out to look for him before the announcement all that was found was a note reading; “The leadership is in the field.”⁴³⁷ Due to their absence, Fatah was denied entry into the NPF.

Palestinian identity remained fragmented, still reeling from the loss of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza strip, the most vulnerable became those living in the new Israeli occupied territories. The bond that developed through a historic connection amongst the Palestinians was being driven apart not only geographically but also through time. Twenty years after the *Nakba*, there were new generations of Palestinians who were perceived to be less than their neighbours and the dream of Nasser had become a nightmare. There were two separate fronts, the PLA and the NPF, with Fatah on the outside looking in. Both organisations consisted of Pan-Arabist camps comprised by the educated masses. Most importantly, these organisations were set up in Cairo, Amman, Damascus, Baghdad, Kuwait, Riyadh and Lebanon. In order for a national message to really gain ground, or develop into something everlasting, it was essential to involve the core of the conflict, in this case the core is the base of the national movement; Palestine.

The people of the West Bank, disconnected from the revolutionary movement, took the brunt of Israel’s initial crackdown after the 1967 war. Abu Shakib, a veteran Fatah member recalls that: “We had at least 500 to 600 members in the West Bank, in about 15 days’ Israeli defense (sic) minister (Moshe) Dayan managed to capture 300 of them and everything fell apart. I remember Arafat being in the West Bank at the time travelling

⁴³⁷ Loc.cit.

under assumed names.”⁴³⁸ Being that Arafat was literally “in the field,” for a civilian population that is constantly reminded that their fellow citizens reside in exile, Arafat’s infiltration of the freshly occupied territories was not only important to his legacy as well as his pending role in the Palestinian revolution. More so, he reinvigorated the population, he drew a connection between the refugees, the feda’yeen and those who remained. Unsure of what would happen to the land, the Palestinians only option to unite was in belonging to a nation, defined by more than its territorial unity.

Guibernau explains this as the psychological dimension of national identity; the first of her five dimensions. Before the cultural, historical, territorial and political dimensions, she resorts to the psychological closeness and unification of a group of people. It is difficult to quantify the closeness of a people who face geographical divides, especially considering that the identity of the Palestinians for the previous twenty years had been tied to the Arabist cause. Recalling E.G.H. Joffé’s loyalties in the Arab world, the *Ummah* became dormant after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, and it became time to transfer from the *Quam*, prevalent under Nasser, to the *Watan*. The failures of the ANM; known in Arabic as *Harakat al Qawmiyin al Arab*, and the growing success of Fatah; known in Arabic as (*Harakat al Tahrir al Watani al Filistini*) encapsulate this transfer. From their onset, Fatah defined itself as a *Watani* organisation and Arafat’s trip into Palestine attempted to take it into his own hands.

⁴³⁸ *PLO: History of a Revolution. PLO: History of a Revolution-Chronicling the PLO*. Al-Jazeera English, 31 Aug. 2009. Web. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/plohistoryofrevolution/2009/07/200974133438561995.html>>.

This thesis is not attempting to portray Yasser Arafat as the sole leader of the Palestinian people, but as a pragmatic actor who played a highly impactful role in creating the bridges that connected Palestinian refugees with those still living in Palestine, thus supporting the psychological development of Palestinian national identity. His first step was his mission to the West Bank and Jerusalem to coordinate the resistance developing outside the territories with those who would have to carry out the activities. Upon returning to Damascus, he explained his travels to his colleagues as well as advising them to travel to the battle zones of the 1967 war to retrieve the arsenal left behind by the Syrian army as they retreated.⁴³⁹ Before attempting to retain their land, the Palestinians were thrust into defending their dignity, known in Arabic as *Karameh*.

6.2 The Battle of Karameh

In introducing the pertinence of the battle of Karameh, Afif Safieh recalls;

Karameh was an important moment in contemporary Palestinian history in the sense that it occurred after the humiliating, surprising and intriguing defeat in 1967. Here was a group of guerrilla fighters who violated the principles of guerrilla warfare, which was to always avoid confrontation at the moment of choice of your superior enemy and choose the moment of harassment at your own timing. The guerrillas of Fatah decided to violate these rules and make a stand, and the contribution of the Jordanian army in that battle was of immense importance but that too is due to the fact that the Fatah movement opted to make a stand. Had they not made a stand, had they vanished into thin air and no confrontation had occurred the Jordanian army would not have joined the battle and the Israeli army would not have had as many casualties as they did.⁴⁴⁰

The Palestinian factions used the bases in Jordan to coordinate a number of attacks within Israel, none more troubling than the attack of March 18th, 1968- when an Israeli school bus drove over a landmine. The attack claimed the lives of two adults while wounding a number of children.⁴⁴¹ It was no secret that the Palestinians had crossed the line and Israel

⁴³⁹ Abu Sharif, 2009. op.cit. Pg.16

⁴⁴⁰ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

⁴⁴¹ Nasr, Kameel B. *Arab and Israeli Terrorism: The Causes and Effects of Political Violence, 1936-1993*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1997. Pg. 46

would retaliate; Israel made their intentions explicit. Palestinians travelling from Jericho to Amman would stop in Karameh to inform the militants that many Israeli troops were amassing at the border while Israeli media was declaring that they would soon be attacking the Palestinian camps.⁴⁴² Abu Jihad summarised the situation:

Very quickly we realized (sic) what Israel's strategy was. In the first place the Israelis were sending a message to Jordan. By showing their hand so openly the Israelis were saying to Hussein and his forces the following: "We mean business. We intend to smash Fatah. If you get in our way we'll smash you, too."⁴⁴³

Abu Jihad claims that to be the first message, with the second directed at the Palestinians:

With us the Israelis were playing a much more clever game- or so they thought... Rule number one is that a guerilla force does not stand and fight a regular army... In short they were challenging us to break the rules of guerrilla warfare and to stand and fight. With all the world publicity that was focused on the situation at the time, they calculated that we could not afford to be seen as cowards who ran away. So they believed there would be a good chance that we would stand and fight for the sake of our credibility. And that meant that they could finish us.⁴⁴⁴

For the first time in their history, the Israelis and the Palestinians were set to battle; the United States made one last ditch effort to compel the Palestinians to retreat. Through the Jordanian military, Abu Iyad and Yasser Arafat received a message from the CIA that Israel was intending to attack their base in the Jordan Valley.⁴⁴⁵ Similarly, the Iraqis and Jordanians told Arafat that they have no chance against Israel and that they should retreat.⁴⁴⁶ The advice provided by the United States as well as the Arabs fell on deaf ears. The reasoning behind the tip from the CIA is not as clear, while it may have been done as a favour to King Hussein, acting as a back channel for Israel to ensure that Jordan understood that the attack was not directed at them. Additionally, understanding the

⁴⁴² Hart. op.cit. Pg. 259

⁴⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁴⁵ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 58

⁴⁴⁶ Hart. op.cit. Pg. 260

might of the Israeli army, as well as the mystery that was Fatah, there may have been fear of perception. Israel had developed the strongest army in the region, if they were to convincingly win the battle the images of a defeated refugee camp may have been perceived negatively. Also not known, is whether the United States advised Israel not to carry out the attack, before advising the Palestinians to retreat.

The Palestinian commanders debated whether or not to retreat. Abu Iyad claims that they agreed unanimously after a short debate.⁴⁴⁷ Bassam Abu Sharif recalls arriving to Jordan and seeing Arafat wrestling with the decision himself before telling Sharif; “We will confront them. This is our chance to change the morale of the entire Arab world. We must prove that a small group can stand up to a giant. Even if we die, we will have died trying and thousands more will take our place.”⁴⁴⁸ Bassam Abu Sharif also notes that the decision was not unanimous; instead a number of fighters retreated.

Abu Jihad, who was revered as the military leader of Fatah, was one of the people to retreat to Damascus. Although he claims that he returned to collect weapons, Alan Hart, the writer of one of Arafat’s biographies argues that Arafat was so sure that they were going to die that he instructed Abu Jihad to return to Damascus to spare his life, in order to carry on the leadership of Fatah.⁴⁴⁹ Accounts show that they were all but expecting to lose the war and die in the process, but expected this to be the event needed to ensure the growth and popularity of their cause.

⁴⁴⁷ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 58

⁴⁴⁸ Abu Sharif, 2009. op.cit. Pg. 20

⁴⁴⁹ Hart. op.cit. Pg. 260-261

The exact numbers as to how many died in the battle are disputed and the clear military victor was the Israelis. Palestinians such as Bassam Abu-Sharif claim that “Israel incurred huge losses,”⁴⁵⁰ while Israeli Mordechai Bar-On, author of a biography on Moshe Dayan claims that “Dayan defeated the terrorists on the battlefield.” Regardless of the victory on the battlefield, Bar-On articulates that “Arafat and his people gained in power and status.”⁴⁵¹ For the purpose of this thesis, and what the battle of Karamah meant to the Palestinian national consciousness, understanding that the details may have been fabricated, Abu Iyad’s and Arafat’s collection of events will be used to explain what transpired.

Arafat stated:

Our fighters, our children, they came up from their secret places and they threw themselves at the Israeli tanks. Some climbed onto the tanks and put grenades inside of them. Others had sticks of dynamite strapped to their bodies.⁴⁵²

Abu Iyad stated:

On March 21, exactly three days after General Khammash’s warning I was awakened at dawn by one of the feda’yeen who announced that the Israeli offensive had begun. In the distance tank columns of the Jewish army, followed by infantry units, could already be discerned crossing the Jordan. The artillery went into action while helicopters dropped parachutists behind our lines. Some 15,000 men stormed our bases along a front about eighty kilometers long. The main attack was clearly directed against Karamah, which we had to defend with fewer than 300 men. Without waiting for instructions from his high command, Mashur Haditha- the Jordanian general in charge of the region- gave orders for the Jordanian artillery to fire back. The descending tanks were greeted by a hail of hand grenades and heavy gunfire. Feda’yeen poured down from the

⁴⁵⁰ Abu Sharif, 2009. op.cit. Pg. 21

⁴⁵¹ Bar-On, Mordechai. *Moshe Dayan: Israel's Controversial Hero*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Pg. 149

⁴⁵² Hart. op.cit. Pg. 260-261

surrounding hills to take part in the battle... The fighting continued until twilight, after which the Israelis began to gather their dead and wounded before retreating.⁴⁵³

The Palestinians did sustain more losses than the Israelis, Karamah was devastated and though oft neglected by the Palestinians, without Jordan, it is difficult to say whether or not a single fida'i would have survived the Israeli aggression.

Nevertheless, the Palestinians had their first symbolic victory. The Palestinians reached a crossroads in their history, after the loss in 1967 their identity was on the brink of extinction. The heroes and national symbols of the past were replaced by the ongoing setbacks and the self-pity of viewing themselves as victims and refugees. This all changed in 1968, prior to the battle of Karamah the Palestinians were “eaten by diseases of laziness, dependency and indifference.”⁴⁵⁴ The shift after Karamah was essential due to the belief that the Palestinians, for the first time, viewed themselves as controllers of their own destiny and identity.

As argued in chapter five, the Palestinians identified with one another after the *Nakba* due to the lack of freedom and opportunity. When explored through the lens of classical national theory they can only be classified as a “nation” when Smith’s and Gellner’s theories are reverse engineered to be explained through the lack of a social structure. However, in a critical sense, they were not a nation, they were refugees. As Arabs, attached to the Arab nation, the Palestinian identity was merged with their neighbours, even though those residing in the neighbouring Arab states had little to no rights.

⁴⁵³ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 58

⁴⁵⁴ Khalili 2007. op.cit. Pg.92

The stand at Karameh once again reinvigorated and reconfigured the identity, not so much in the scope of national rights and responsibilities as posed by Norman but through the creation of heroes and hope. The refugees became feda'yeen, and more importantly for their national consciousness the victims became the fighters. In prior years, as the Palestinians sat on the sidelines watching the Arab armies fail to retrieve their lost country, they constantly viewed themselves as victims, patiently waiting for someone else to provide them with direction. The development of a modern Palestinian identity had to shed itself of its own tag of self-pity and overcome the shackles that came with being a refugee.

Israel's plan to rid itself of the unknown organisation infiltrating their security and to "parade captured terrorist leaders in Jerusalem,"⁴⁵⁵ backfired. Instead they acknowledged the Palestinian resistance while giving the Palestinian masses the psychological victory they were waiting for. The resistance movement became something that all Palestinians could get involved in, aside from the fighting itself Palestinians were developing Palestinian schools, orphanages and hospitals.⁴⁵⁶ Abu Jihad recalls that:

Within a day or two of the battle of Karameh many cars and trucks began to arrive at our new headquarters in Salt. They were bringing us presents of blankets, clothes and food from Palestinian communities across the Arab world. From these gifts we had enough food to feed our fighters, including the new recruits, for three months.⁴⁵⁷

Aside from the non-violent support, Fatah's recruitment numbers grew to the extent where they would actually turn fighters away. Ayad claims that after Karameh, Yasser

⁴⁵⁵ Hart. op.cit. Pg. 259

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid. Pg. 266

⁴⁵⁷ Loc.cit.

Arafat and Abu Jihad would go to an open field and recruits would line up in the hundreds for a chance to be chosen as a fida'i.⁴⁵⁸ There was still one issue for Fatah to resolve, they were still without a clear leader. Three weeks after Karamah, Abu Iyad, while in Damascus, received intelligence that one of their comrades, whose name he wouldn't name, was set to announce that he was the commander in chief of *Al Asifa*, the military wing of Fatah. Without consulting the leadership, he released a press release announcing that Yasser Arafat has been appointed as the leader of Fatah. Arafat was not aware and only learnt about this appointment while listening to the radio. Abu Iyad claims that he was irate when he got the news, but his actions leading up to Karamah, which include his visit to Jerusalem, show that he was positioning himself to be the leader of Fatah.⁴⁵⁹ The Palestinian resistance was riding high.

Afif Safieh argues that the stand at Karamah was the first time the Palestinians were successful in motivating their Arab neighbours, saying:

One of the principles of Fatah in '65, when they started, was the idea that the Arabs lacked the will for confrontation and had they had the will they would be militarily superior to the Zionist Israeli challenge. Fatah decided that they would provoke the situation of revolution so the Arabs would decide to engage in the battle. In a way Karamah was a successful model for that ideology although you can go a little bit earlier and say that their provocations of the Israeli state in '65, '66 and '67 provoked the escalation that led to the '67 war and the defeat that followed but in Karamah it was a success.⁴⁶⁰

Bassam Abu Sharif echoes this reaction, though focusing on the reunification of Palestinians, claiming:

When I say reuniting the Palestinians I meant, with the loosening of the grip of the Arab regimes on the Palestinian refugee camps in the surrounding Arab countries the Palestinians found, in the PLO, their representative. This is new, all of a sudden the refugees who were treated as slaves, as tenth grade citizens who were not allowed even to work to earn a living, these refugees found themselves free to join the PLO and finally be proud to say that they are Palestinian and fight to liberate Palestine.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ Ayad, 2015. op.cit.

⁴⁵⁹ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 60

⁴⁶⁰ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

⁴⁶¹ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

6.3 After Karameh

Fatah, then took steps to take control of the PLO, although not all members were supportive of merging the resistance with the bureaucratic and political PLO. By June 1968, half of the seats in the Palestinian National Council (PNC) were occupied by members of the resistance. The first course of action was to amend the Palestinian National Charter. As Karameh was arguably the most important event in reawakening the Palestinian national identity, the revised charter acted as the tool in which the Palestinians redefined their identity. The articles that directly attempted to define the identity were slightly amended to the following:

Article 4: The Palestinian identity is a genuine, essential, and inherent characteristic; it is transmitted from parents to children. The Zionist occupation and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people, through the disasters which befell them, do not make them lose their Palestinian identity and their membership in the Palestinian community, nor do they negate them.

Article 5: The Palestinians are those Arab nationals who, until 1947, normally resided in Palestine regardless of whether they were evicted from it or have stayed there. Anyone born, after that date, of a Palestinian father - whether inside Palestine or outside it - is also a Palestinian.

Article 6: The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist Invasion will be considered Palestinians.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² See Appendix IX

The major changes lie in the terminology, what was referred to as the “Palestinian personality” in the 1964 charter became the “Palestinian identity” and the new charter is more encapsulating as it claims that the Palestinian identity does not change with the circumstances of each person, which obviously vary. Further, with regards to children, the 1968 charter defines the Palestinian father more loosely. Finally, when defining the Jews of Palestine, the 1968 charter considers those living in Palestine before the Zionist invasion as Palestinian while the 1964 charter claims that all Jews who are willing to live in Palestine, loyal to a Palestinian state, are Palestinian. On Arab unity, the 1968 charter asserts:

Article 12: The Palestinian people believe in Arab unity. In order to contribute their share toward the attainment of that objective, however, they must, at the present stage of their struggle, safeguard their Palestinian identity and develop their consciousness of that identity, and oppose any plan that may dissolve or impair it.

Article 13: Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary objectives, the attainment of either of which facilitates the attainment of the other. Thus, Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, the liberation of Palestine leads to Arab unity; and work toward the realization (sic) of one objective proceeds side by side with work toward the realization (sic) of the other.

Article 14: The destiny of the Arab nation, and indeed Arab existence itself, depend upon the destiny of the Palestine cause. From this interdependence springs the Arab nation's pursuit of, and striving for, the liberation of Palestine. The people of Palestine play the role of the vanguard in the realization (sic) of this

sacred (qawmi) goal.⁴⁶³

In 1964, the Palestinians were to play their role, in supporting the Arab world in liberating their homeland. The 1968 charter states that the Palestinians are responsible for their own liberation, and that the Arabs were to play a role. Further, that the Palestinians would lead the way for uniting the Arab world itself. Lastly, possibly the most important part of the new charter was the idea that:

Article 9: Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. This is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase. The Palestinian Arab people assert their absolute determination and firm resolution to continue their armed struggle and to work for an armed popular revolution for the liberation of their country and their return to it. They also assert their right to normal life in Palestine and to exercise their right to self-determination and sovereignty over it.⁴⁶⁴

The Arabs were very clearly embarrassed after the 1967 war and while the Palestinian resistance couldn't reverse the outcome of the war, they were able to shift the focus and revitalise the Arab masses. Egypt and Jordan, who were fierce opponents of Fatah, were now supporters of the resistance. King Hussein of Jordan even publicly announced that they are all feda'yeen.⁴⁶⁵ Regardless of the number of casualties, regardless of the regular determinants of a military victory, Fatah had arrived and the world took notice. In December 1968, the cover of *Time* Magazine sealed the victory for Fatah. The cover story spoke about the rise of Fatah, the 1967 war and the personal story of Yasser Arafat but it was the opening quote that defined the times; "The revolution of Fatah exists! It

⁴⁶³ See Appendix IX

⁴⁶⁴ See Appendix IX

⁴⁶⁵ Khaled, Hajjar, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 46

exists here, there and everywhere. It is a storm, a storm in every house and village.”⁴⁶⁶

Fatah had arrived and was settling comfortably in Jordan as the controllers of the PLO. Before exploring the first major standoff amongst Arab states, it is essential to introduce the political opposition of Fatah: the PFLP who, aside from being the largest opposition to Fatah, they were the group that brought the Palestinian struggle to the international stage.

Soon after the 1967 war, the Movement of Arab Nationalists (*Harakat al Qawmiyin al Arab*) severed ties to the Arab nationalist movement and focused itself solely on the liberation of Palestine. As mentioned in the introduction, one of the founders of the Arab nationalist movement was George Habash who believed that only through Arab unity would Palestine be liberated, the constant failure of this theory forced Habash’s hand resulting in the creation of the PFLP. According to Yamani:

The PFLP did not give up on the idea of Pan-Arabism; it was initially the Palestinian branch of the Arab National Movement. They had a different ideology and organizational (sic) structure providing each branch the autonomy to deduce what the best tactics and policies based on the social, economic and political circumstances of each country. When the PFLP established it cancelled the central decision making process which was necessary for the movement to make the Palestinian identity bold amongst the Arab National Movement in the struggle against Israel.⁴⁶⁷

While the PFLP was created after the Arab defeat in 1967, the divisiveness between the Palestinian faction and the central Arab command (Nasser) began when Israel developed their NWC without an Arab response.⁴⁶⁸ As Yamani mentioned, it was not Pan-Arabism that was disavowed by the PFLP, but the central governance and ideology of the Arab

⁴⁶⁶ "The Guerrilla Threat in the Middle East." *Time Magazine* 13 Dec. 1968. Web.

⁴⁶⁷ Yamani, 2015. op.cit.

⁴⁶⁸ Quandt, William B., Paul Jabber, and Ann Mosely Lesch. *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism*. Berkeley: U of California, 1973. Pg. 85

countries. The founding leaders of the PFLP, George Habash, Wadi Haddad, Hani il-Hindi and Ahmad Al-Yamani did not believe that Nasser's and the Baath's socialist agenda would suffice and instead defined their party through a Marxist-Leninist ideology.⁴⁶⁹ It was believed that the Marxist-Leninist agenda would allow the PFLP to relate with other movements of the time, it also allowed the PFLP to differentiate themselves from other Arab and Palestinian organisations. While ideologically different, it did not take much time for the PFLP to distinguish themselves from the precautionary Arab approach and the predominantly local Fatah approach.

Before exploring the actions of the PFLP, who embarked on an international hijacking campaign, it was what the *New York Times* defined as a "Jerusalem-born Jordanian"⁴⁷⁰ who was born in "Palestinian Jerusalem"⁴⁷¹ who took the first shot, both literally and figuratively, that launched what would become known as "Palestinian terrorism". Shortly after winning the Presidential California Democratic Primary, Robert Kennedy, brother of slain President John F. Kennedy, was assassinated by a 24-year-old man named Sirhan Bishara Sirhan.⁴⁷² When Wadi Haddad found out about the assassination he was fascinated by Sirhan, who was described in the news as a Jordanian Muslim, which he discovered was false due to his being from Jerusalem from a Christian family. He would tell others that Kennedy was killed by a Palestinian Christian, and that this would force people to wonder why a Palestinian would kill an American politician, thinking that

⁴⁶⁹ Cubert, 1997. op.cit. Pg. 52

⁴⁷⁰ Kihss, Peter. "Suspect, Arab Immigrant, Arraigned." *New York Times* 6 June 1968: 1, 21. *New York Times*. Web.

⁴⁷¹ Hill, Gladwin. "Kennedy Is Dead, Victim of Assassin." *New York Times* 06 June 1968: 1,22. *New York Times*. Web.

⁴⁷² Loc.cit.

decision makers would work to reverse the injustices facing the Palestinians in order to ensure assassinations such as this would not continue.⁴⁷³ The publicity Sirhan gained forced Haddad to change his thinking as to how to liberate Palestine and inform the world of the Palestinians.

On July 24th, 1968, the *New York Times* had two headlines pertinent to this research. The first, on page 1, read: “Algeria Detains 21 Israelis from Hijacked Plane” while the second, on page 16, read: “Front Claims Role.”⁴⁷⁴ The PFLP was defined as an “Arab guerrilla organisation,” known at the time to be the “second largest Palestinian guerrilla group after Al-Fatah.” While the Western world did not know what to make of the hijacking, and the Israelis, for obvious reasons, were extremely troubled by the attacks, the Palestinians were provided with an alternative to the popular Fatah organisation.

According to Leila Khaled:

While Fateh (sic) and the PLO were playing hide-and-see and enjoying the comfort of the Nile Hilton, three lonely revolutionaries performed a dramatic history-making feat, which the new PLO denounced. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine seized an El-Al aeroplane of the Israeli semi-military, semi-civilian airlines... The incident was an eye-opener for me. It was the beginning of the end of my exile. I was about to be liberated; I had found an alternative to Fateh (sic), and I sought to make contacts with the PFLP.⁴⁷⁵

The operation, seen as a success by those in the PFLP, was followed up by two more attacks targeting El Al Airlines within months. The first was in Athens, when two gunmen opened fire, killing one civilian and seriously injuring another.⁴⁷⁶ The second, in

⁴⁷³ Nasr, 1997. op.cit. Pg. 49

⁴⁷⁴ "Algeria Detains 21 Israelis from Hijacked Plane." *New York Times* 07 July 1968, Vol. CXVII.No. 40,359:1. *New York Times*. Web.

⁴⁷⁵ Khaled, Hajjar, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 46

⁴⁷⁶ "2 Arab Terrorists Attack Israeli Jetliner in Athens." *New York Times* 27 Dec. 1969, Vol. CXVII. No. 40,515 ed.: 1,2. *New York Times*. Web.

Zurich, carried out by four Arabs, wounded six as the El Al plane was attacked with grenades and gunfire as it was taxiing.⁴⁷⁷ The obvious difference with these two attacks was that there were casualties. It seemed, at least to the *New York Times*, that there was confusion after the first attack and instead of terrorism, it was viewed as a method of public disruption, these two attacks allowed the *New York Times*, to frame the PFLP, not as guerrillas fighting Israel, but as international terrorists.

To Leila Khaled, who would soon become one of the most famous Palestinians, if not the world's, most famous female figures, was jubilant not only about the operation but the inclusion of one Amina Dhahbour. She recalls: "I ran out in my pyjamas screaming throughout the dormitory. 'She did it! She did it! Palestine will be free... A Palestinian woman was fighting while we were talking in far-away Kuwait. Within a few minutes we were all celebrating the liberation of Palestine and the liberation of women.'⁴⁷⁸ If Ms. Dhahbour's actions did not open the door for women to join the resistance, the same day of the attack in Zurich nearly 200 women staged a sit-in in Ramallah, at the time referred to as a city in "Israel-occupied Jordan".⁴⁷⁹ These women did not take the violent route of the resistance, but were able to inform people across the world that their "homeland is taken," and they are protesting to be "treated like a human being."⁴⁸⁰ The Palestinians propelled themselves onto the world stage, while they were referred to as guerrillas and

⁴⁷⁷ Hamilton, Thomas J. "6 on El Al Plane Wounded in Arab Attack in Zurich." *New York Times* 19 Feb. 1969, VOL. CXV111. No. 40,569 ed.: n. pag. *New York Times*. Web.

⁴⁷⁸ Khaled, Hajjar, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 50

⁴⁷⁹ Feron, James. "200 Arab Girls Stage Sitdown at Their School." *New York Times* 18 Feb. 1969, VOL. CXV111. No. 40,568 ed.: 4. *New York Times*. Web.

⁴⁸⁰ Loc.cit.

terrorists, after Karamah and the PFLP operations; there was a sense of excitement amongst the likes of Khaled and Abu Iyad.

Through their resistance, the Palestinians, across both major parties, made a commitment determining that only through armed resistance, controlled by Palestinians and supported by the Arab world, would they liberate their homeland. When tested against Calhoun's three forms of identity- nationalism, ethnicity and kinship, the Palestinians used their trauma and mistreatment to develop a kinship amongst one another, separate from the broader Arab ethnic framework. Post-trauma the Palestinians were separated, living under very different conditions- the refugee camps and the oppression in these camps gave them a time and place while creating a sense of urgency as they found themselves being outliers from the rest of the Arab world.

As already mentioned in the introduction of this thesis about the Hanthala, providing examples of the work of Naji Al-Ali, which depicted the pain, and sorrow of the Palestinian people. It is at this point that the symbolism attached to the Palestinian people began to shift. The "shackles" of colonisation were not yet shaken off, but accepted. Norman argued that the post-colonial shift is the basis of the resurgence of the identity. In accepting their fate, and understanding the uphill battle before them the Palestinians took the burden off the shoulders of the Arab world and made it their own. In an article titled "The Palestinian Diaspora" in the *New York Times*, February 22nd, 1969 Professor Malcolm Kerr of the University of California observed that: "We are witnessing a kind of 'Zionist' movement in reverse, on behalf of a Palestinian Arab Diaspora, insisting on its

right to return to its homeland.”⁴⁸¹ Regardless of the severity or viability of their actions, the Palestinians began carving out their identity and taking responsibility for their own destiny.

While the PLO was of the belief that they were moving independently and successfully, without the time and place provided by the Arab world, they would have been unable to operate. Ultimately, the Arabs were happy to allow the PLO to operate, as long as they did not threaten their sovereignty. As the revolution gained steam, it was all but inevitable that the Arab leaders would feel threatened. The PLO and Arafat were clear that they would not involve themselves in any Arab politics or Arab affairs, the PFLP and their founder George Habash was more akin to the school of thought of “by any means necessary.”

After 22 years of injustice and inhuman living in camps with nobody caring for us, we feel that we have the very full right to protect our revolution, we have all the right to protect our revolution. Our Code of Morals is our revolution. What serves our revolution, what helps our revolution, what protects our revolution is right, is very right and honourable and very noble and very beautiful, because our revolution means justice, means having our homes back, having our country back, which is a very and noble aim.⁴⁸²

The above quote, spoken by George Habash, taken from Leila Khaled’s autobiography reflects the transformation of the Palestinian identity. The revolution brought forth the third stage of Abu Lughod’s theory; it started with the politics of accommodation which was present in the time soon after the Nakba when the Palestinians were forced to acclimatise to their new surroundings. This was followed by the politics of rejection, encapsulating the Nasser years when the Palestinian identity was attached to the broader

⁴⁸¹ "The Palestinian Diaspora." *New York Times* 22 Feb. 1969, VOL. CXV111. No. 40,572 ed.: 28. *New York times*. Web.

⁴⁸² Khaled, Hajjar, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 55

Pan-Arab movement in rejecting Western imperialism, colonisation and intervention. The final stage of Abu-Lughod's theory is defined by the revolution, which started in 1965, going on for decades, albeit with a number of setbacks. At this point, there were two major parties representing the Palestinian people, Fatah and the PFLP. Whilst there was a clear disparity between the ideologies of the two parties, according to Yamani there was a mutual bond: "The relationship between Habash and Arafat was firm in its national allegiance, in that they were both against the state of Israel, although defined by the different perspectives of each leader. On a one to one basis, they were still very close to each other, united by a mutual respect."⁴⁸³ This united stand, was essential to the ensuring the viability of the Palestinian identity.

Bassam Abu Sharif claims, that after Karamah, Arafat had a very simple political programme "that was the base for reunification of the Palestinians who always had different points of views, with different ideologies, but never had a different view in relation to the liberation of Palestine, the return to Palestine, the independence of Palestine."⁴⁸⁴ This clear political programme allowed all Palestinian organisations, regardless of political ideology, to unite under one umbrella, though Bassam argues, Arafat believed that Fatah had to be the head of this organisation as they were the only party that would not let their political ideology to undermine the overall goal. Though there were a number of organisations, the crux of the PLO and the unification of the Palestinians relied on Fatah and the PLO, according to Bassam, despite the disagreements of Fatah and the PFLP, Arafat always viewed them as their closest ally due to the fact

⁴⁸³ Yamani, 2015. op.cit.

⁴⁸⁴ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

that they were not influenced by any foreign government. Regardless of their differences, when things really became contentious, the PFLP would always stand by Fatah, as long as they were dedicated to the initial political programme, liberating the whole of Palestine.⁴⁸⁵

While there was a mutual respect, the differences played an integral part in what would become known as Black September.

After Karamah, and King Hussein's claim that he was also a "Fida'i", the Palestinians started to become more and more powerful in Amman, running their own "quasi-state" in Jordan. While Fatah made it their policy to distance itself from intra-Arab affairs, their popularity in Jordan alone gave the King reason to worry. Abu Iyad refers to October 1968, when one of their first members, Abdel Fattah Hammud, died from a car crash as the initial strain on the relationship. The death was an accident, but when they organised a funeral for Hammud and thousands of people came out in Amman to pay their respects for someone who was no more than a mid-level Fatah operative, King Hussein was threatened.⁴⁸⁶ The Palestinians own strength in Jordan began to backfire against the national cause.

Between the 1967 war and Black September 1970, as recalled by Crown Prince of Jordan Hasan Bin Talal: "There were more than 30,000 cases of lawlessness from the throwing of hand grenades to premeditated murder. There were even attacks against his majesty the

⁴⁸⁵ Loc.cit.

⁴⁸⁶ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 74

King.”⁴⁸⁷ The Palestinians viewed much of this lawlessness as a ploy by the Jordanians themselves in order to cheapen the revolution. One month after Hammud’s funeral news broke that a Royal Jordanian Guard was kidnapped by Palestinians. Abu Iyad claims to have never heard of the organisation and that they later learnt that it was a ploy by the Jordanian Secret Service.⁴⁸⁸ Although Fatah was the leading Palestinian organisation, to be followed by the PFLP, it was the PFLP and the divisions from within it which controlled much of the time in Jordan. While the PFLP evolved into its own party there were people who would disagree with its direction, forcing them to create their own. From the many that were created, those which remained were the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the PFLP-General Command.⁴⁸⁹ Pluralism is essential in democratic governance, but in times of a revolution, the idea of different organisations acting independently may have hindered the progress.

The time in Jordan was dominated by these divides, Mamdouh Nofal, a member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), would point fingers at the PFLP arguing that their ideology “manifested itself in the celebration of Lenin’s birthday in delivering Marxist speeches from pulpits of mosques it was an excuse for threats, expensive cars were stolen and the excuse was that they belong to the bourgeoisies’ classes.”⁴⁹⁰ While Bassam Abu-Sharif from the PFLP points back claiming that; “The

⁴⁸⁷ *PLO: History of a Revolution. PLO: History of a Revolution-Chronicling the PLO.* Al-Jazeera English, 31 Aug. 2009. Web.
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/plohistoryofrevolution/2009/07/200974133438561995.html>>.

⁴⁸⁸ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 75

⁴⁸⁹ Cubert, 1997. op.cit. Pg.52

⁴⁹⁰ *PLO: History of a Revolution. PLO: History of a Revolution-Chronicling the PLO.* Al-Jazeera English, 31 Aug. 2009. Web.

DFLP used to paint slogans such as all power to the resistance. What does this mean? It means that the DFLP was working to overthrow the Jordanian regime.”⁴⁹¹ With the fact that the Palestinians acted out of hand and that the Jordanian government attempted to influence the view of the Palestinians accepted, the PLO was still powerful and were situated in a country with a large shared border with Israel, allowing for their continued operations into the West Bank.

The Palestinian population was generally undereducated and those who were successful were predominantly farmers, this may have played a role in Fatah’s success in recruitment. To attach a Maoist or Marxist-Leninist ideology to a people who find themselves in limbo was possibly too advanced for the destitute Palestinian population. The leaders, or what Horowitz refers to as the “ethnic entrepreneurs” of the Palestinian movement are responsible for defining the trajectory of the people. What the likes of Habash (PFLP) and Hawatmeh (DFLP) did, was to define the Palestinian struggle as a struggle of the times, a global struggle, attached to the other leftist movements around the world. Arafat’s vision was not an “educated vision” or an ideological vision, what resonated is that he allowed all people to play a role and there was one clear view. Arafat was a pragmatist aligning himself with anyone who would support his cause, regardless of ideology, religion or ethnicity.

<<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/plohistoryofrevolution/2009/07/200974133438561995.html>>.

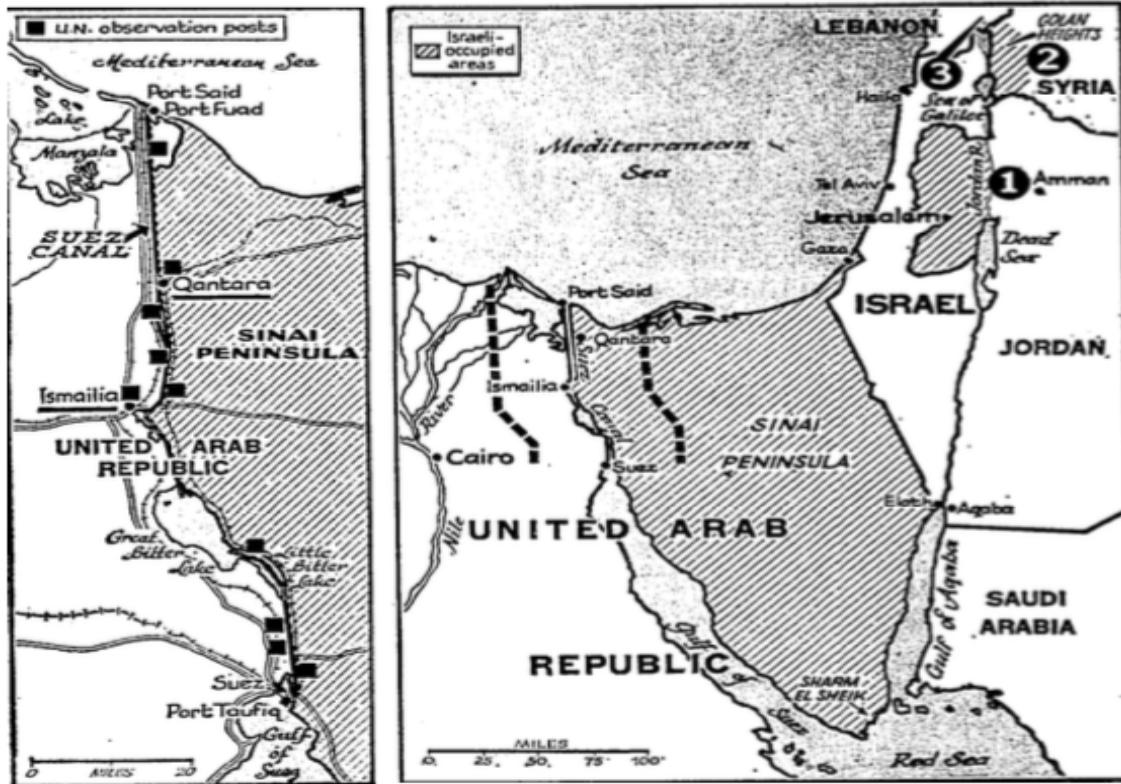
⁴⁹¹ Loc.cit.

6.4 Black September

When the Palestinian revolution began, the first step was to wrestle control of the Palestinian's destiny from the rest of the Arab world. The Palestinian stance at Karameh, then their growth in Amman, allowed them to do so and there was once again pride among the Palestinian population. Regardless of their political connections, they were able to unite under the umbrella of the Palestinian revolution. On the other hand, in carving out their own place in the Arab world, they sent fractures through the idea of Arab unity. Ultimately, with the Palestinians protecting their own national interests, they indirectly gave permission to the likes of Jordan and Egypt to do the same.

On August 6th, 1970, five Arab countries; Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Sudan and Libya met in Tripoli to discuss Arab unity and the Arab-Israeli war. This meeting was called while Secretary of State William Rogers was negotiating a cease-fire between Israel, Egypt and Jordan that would become known as the "Rogers Plan",⁴⁹² which came into effect the next day.

⁴⁹² Hess, John L. "5-Nation Arab Talks End; Lack of Unity Is Still Seen." *New York Times* 7 Aug. 1970, VOL. CXIX. NO. 41,103: 6. *New York Times*. Web.



MIDEAST TRUCE: U.N. aides are to help police it from posts shown in map at left, with command centers at Ismailia and Qantara. Dotted lines on other map indicate truce zone. U.S. sees truce applying also in area of Jordan (1), Syria (2) and Lebanon (3). Aug. 8, 1970

*Figure 3 : Arab-Israel Ceasefire*⁴⁹³

The day the agreement was signed, the Palestinians, and many Arabs alike, began protesting Nasser's ceasefire with the state of Israel. Although the Palestinians were successful in gaining their own identity and wresting away their destiny from their Arab friends, by doing so, they allowed the Arab countries to take action in their own national interests. According to Khaled the main concern was that the Palestinians were not included in the agreement discussions. Even when they were invited to the negotiating table, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the peace talks were generally brokered by Israel's staunchest ally, the United States and driven by Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan.

Nations not directly involved could not make a durable peace for the peoples and governments involved. Peace rests with the parties to the conflict. The efforts of major powers can help; they

⁴⁹³ Smith, Hedrick. "Cease-Fire in Effect Along Suez." *New York Times* 8 Aug. 1970, VOL. CXIX. NO. 41,104: 1,2. *New York Times*. Web.

can provide a catalyst; they can stimulate the parties to talk; they can encourage; they can help define a realistic framework or agreement; but an agreement among other powers cannot be a substitute for agreement among the parties involved.⁴⁹⁴

Once the ceasefire came into effect Hussein and Nasser met in Cairo, upon the King's return to Jordan rumours began to circulate that Nasser gave the King the green light to squash the Palestinian resistance in Jordan due to their public opposition to the agreement.⁴⁹⁵ The Fatah leaders took it upon themselves to visit Nasser in Cairo to hear from him the reasoning behind the agreement where Nasser mocked Arafat asking: "In your opinion, how many years do you need to destroy the Zionist state and build a new unified and democratic state on the whole of liberated Palestine?"⁴⁹⁶ This agreement, brought the Arabs to the bargaining table with Israel, but also initiated the concept of the two-state solution. Part of national identity is defined through a common goal, as well as understanding what is right and what is wrong. One of the major issues behind the Pan-Arab identity is the fact that each group are managed or governed by an individual, or group of individuals, who must take actions that protect their interests. Egypt acted in the best interests of Egypt, Jordan did the same, and the Palestinians handling their own destiny had little option but to allow them to do so. When the Arab states were removed from handling the Palestinian issue, they were free to make decisions, regardless of Palestinian sensibilities.

One month after the Rogers Plan was signed, the PFLP took action, cementing the Western notion that the Palestinians had shifted from a guerrilla group fighting to liberate

⁴⁹⁴ Khaled, Hajjar, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 70

⁴⁹⁵ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 78

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid. Pg. 79

their lost homeland to international terrorists in just over five years. On September 6th, 1970 PFLP commandos hijacked four different planes, one was unsuccessful and diverted to London where Leila Khaled was arrested, one was flown to Cairo where all passengers and staff were removed from the plane before it was blown up and the other two landed in Jordan in what would become known as the “revolution airport”.⁴⁹⁷ Three days later, in order to pressure the British to release Khaled a sympathiser hijacked a B.O.A.C airplane taking off from Bahrain joining the other two airplanes in Jordan.⁴⁹⁸ These hijackings and breach of Jordanian sovereignty provided King Hussein with leverage to rid himself of the Palestinians in Jordan.

Although Arafat suspended the PFLP from the PLO Central Committee, King Hussein went on to create a military government setting off the civil war between the Feda'yeen and the Jordanians. In order to ensure that the Palestinians did not receive any support during the conflict, the Jordanians drove the Iraqis out of Jordan and when Syria decided to send in their forces, Hafiz al-Assad refused to send his air force to cover their soldiers due to the United States and Israel's threats to enter the conflict to remove them. Not wanting Israel to enter their airspace, the Syrians were ultimately removed by the Jordanian Air Force.⁴⁹⁹ The fighting went on, and the Palestinians were simply outmatched.

⁴⁹⁷ "4 Jets Hijacked, One, a 747, Is Blown Up." *New York Times* 07 Sept. 1970, VOL. CXIX. NO. 41,134: 1,3. *New York Times*. Web.

⁴⁹⁸ Weinraub, Bernard. "B.O.A.C. Jet Joins Others in Jordan." *New York Times* 10 Sept. 1970, VOL. CXIX. NO. 41,137 ed.: 1,17. *New York Times*. Web.

⁴⁹⁹ Quandt, Jabber, Lesch, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 125-127

Days into the fighting, Abu Iyad was arrested, prompting Nasser to send a delegation as well as a message urging King Hussein to join the ongoing summit in Cairo and come to a ceasefire. When Nasser's delegation returned to Cairo, they took Abu Iyad with them in order to devise a plan which would allow Arafat to escape Amman and attend the conference himself. Once Arafat was able to escape, King Hussein quickly travelled to Cairo and soon after Nasser was able to broker a ceasefire between Arafat and Hussein.⁵⁰⁰ Just the next day, on September 28th, 1970 the Arab nation and the concept of Pan-Arabism changed forever, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, the leader of the Arabs, died of an alleged heart attack.

Leila Khaled, who was highly critical of Nasser, recalls:

I was stunned, emotionally paralyzed (sic). The feelings I had when Che and Ho died returned. This time perhaps more poignantly, for I was, as every Arab was at one time or other, an admirer of Nasser. He was one of the greatest Arab leaders of the modern era. As a giant among dwarfs, he symbolized (sic) everything noble, great and weak among the Arabs. He was from us and one of us; he was a leader of men. I felt a part of me died with him. I was happy I had lived in the age of Nasser. I will only be happier to live in a liberated Palestine.⁵⁰¹

On the same day, on behalf of Fatah, who were saved just the day before by Nasser, Abu Iyad sent this message to Vice-President Anwar Sadat:

Nasser, who incarnated the aspirations and dreams of the entire Arab nation, had fallen on the field of honour, but that his ideas would remain engraved in the memories of generations to come of the Palestinian people to whom he restored, as to all the Arab peoples, their dignity and cause for hope.⁵⁰²

Soon after the death of Nasser, the PLO held their eighth national congress where the PFLP and DFLP were calling for a united Palestine and Jordan stating:

What links Jordan to Palestine are national ties and a national unity molded by history, culture and language since time immemorial... The Palestinian Revolution which brandished the slogan of the

⁵⁰⁰ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 97-89

⁵⁰¹ Khaled, Hajjar, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 89

⁵⁰² Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 90

liberation of Palestine did not intend to differentiate between the eastern bank and the western bank of the River.⁵⁰³

This idea of a united Palestine and Jordan was a clear threat to the monarchy, something that concerned King Hussein. While there was an agreement between the PFLP and Hussein about unity between the Jordanians and Palestinians, the terms were obviously different. In a letter to his Premier, King Hussein stated that Jordan “must deal conclusively and without hesitation with the plotters who want to establish a separate Palestinian state and destroy the unity of the Jordanian and Palestinian People.”⁵⁰⁴ Unity according to the Jordanians was a united East and West Bank under Jordanian rule, unity according to the PFLP was the whole of Palestine as well as Jordan under Palestinian rule, and unity according to Nasser was Egypt, Syria and Yemen under Egyptian rule.

The root of the problem addressed in this thesis is driven by power politics; this need for power includes the Palestinians. As Shlomo Sand argued, identity is not an overcoat; it is not all encompassing and may change to fit the situation at hand. The Palestinians would align themselves with the Arabs when beneficial and would attack them when beneficial—the Arabs would support the Palestinians when beneficial, but at the same time would act against them when called on to defend their own sovereignty. Black September, and the year that followed, was a severe blow to the Palestinians and Pan-Arabism. During this period, there was a civil war amongst Arab States, there was a United States brokered agreement between Egypt and Israel, the Arabs lost Nasser and according to Yasser Arafat, the Jordanians acted disproportionately: “What took place in Black September

⁵⁰³ Quandt, Jabber, Lesch, 1973. op.cit. Pg. 136

⁵⁰⁴ "Hussein Adamant Against Fedayeen." *New York Times* 3 Jan. 1971, VOL: CXX. No. 41,403: 8. *New York Times*. Web.

was not simply an attack by the Jordanian military regime against the revolution but an attempt of genocide against the Palestinian population as a whole”.⁵⁰⁵

This chapter has sought to show that the Palestinians were successful in separating themselves from the Arab world, but not without consequences. With the Palestinians urging the rest of the Arabs to allow them to control their own destiny and speak for themselves they indirectly gave the Arab world, namely Egypt and Jordan, the excuse to begin acting in their best interests, without receiving a backlash from their own population who were still sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. While Yasser Arafat consolidated power, becoming the leader of the PLO and ethnic engineer of the Palestinian identity, not all Palestinians, or Arabs accepted this. For example, the PFLP constructed their party through a left-wing Marxist ideology connecting themselves with revolutionary fighters in Latin America and Asia, thus reinventing their own identity. Fatah was preoccupied with allowing the Palestinians to fight for themselves, while the PFLP was opening the doors to broaden their reach through similar ideologies, rather than similar national consciousness.

Throughout the *New York Time* articles sourced in this chapter, the Palestinians have been referred to as “guerrillas” when fighting Israel, “terrorists” when hijacking planes and “feda’yeen” when fighting against Jordan. What started as a liberation movement solely against Israel grew to become a war fought on three fronts with the Arabs, the Israelis and the international community. The following chapter analyses the official

⁵⁰⁵ Ginat, J., and Edward J. Perkins. *The Palestinian Refugees: Old Problems - New Solutions*. Norman, OK: U of Oklahoma, 2001. Pg. 42

Arab League decision to allow the Palestinians to be the sole representatives of the Palestinian people culminating in Yasser Arafat's speech to the United Nations, symbolising the Palestinian entities right to join the world stage.

Chapter 7: The Statesman: Diplomacy, Betrayal and Tragedy

I define the PLO as an idea and institution, the idea being our sense of identity and our quest for independence and sovereignty with the idea being stronger than the institution. I always joke by saying that I'm more comfortable representing the idea rather than the institution... I said then, up until now the PLO represented the Palestinian people and it's high time now that the Palestinian people represent the PLO.⁵⁰⁶

The previous two chapters focused on the Palestinian reality: the destitute conditions in the refugee camps as well as the need for the Palestinian revolution as they could no longer depend on the Arab world to liberate their homeland. This chapter will explore the political progress made by the Palestinians; the attempted transformation from guerrillas to statesmen, and the responsibility that came with this newfound power.

To echo the question asked at the beginning of Chapter 1, as posed by Richard Koch and Chris Smith: "Who am I?" The Palestinian paradox of identity was not perpetuated by searching for their role in reference to a group of nations but necessitated by the threat to their very existence. From the outset of their expulsion the identity itself was naturally blurred, as defined by human nature, that in times of despair people will look towards the most likened individual and connect themselves to that group or individuals through different avenues, in this case, religion and/or ethnicity.

During their initial time in the camps, which Khalidi referred to as "the lost years" and defined by Abu-Lughod as the "politics of accommodation" the Palestinians were attempting to reconstruct their identity post-trauma. Taylor's theory argues that people choose their identity not directly due a national consciousness or a spiritual view, but a

⁵⁰⁶ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

manner in which to express what they believe is right, wrong and/or admirable. In the same context, Calhoun postulates that identity may be determined on the basis of nationalism, religion and ethnicity but also kinship.

Take for instance the ANM, which later became the PFLP, founded by Qustantin, Habash and Hawatmeh. When attributed to modern day borders, Qustantin is Syrian, Habash is Palestinian and Hawatmeh is Jordanian. The ANM was a national party founded by likeminded people who represent different nations, understanding that these nations were all citizens of Greater Syria less than a half a century before the party was created, they continued this likeness after the post-colonial divide of their homeland. These values of Arabism as it presented itself at this period in history was predicated by the Sykes-Picot agreement but motivated by the Palestinian Nakba. As proved throughout this thesis, the concept of Arab identity remained prevalent for approximately two decades.

On the other hand, not all Palestinians were privy to the exclusive, intellectual ANM. This thesis argues that the basis of the Palestinian identity is highly attributable to the treatment of the refugees who were forced into the camps and into an impoverished life. While there were cases of where the Palestinians believe they belonged amongst their Arab neighbours, they were, for the most part, humiliated by the system in which they lived. Guibernau argues that the construction of identity may formulate itself, not through choosing to belong to a group, but being rejected from another. As already discussed in chapter one, this concept is essential to Palestinian identity, as they have experienced this phenomenon in a number of sequences. They were provided citizenship without full

rights in Israel, they were provided citizenship without full opportunity in Jordan and most difficult to comprehend, those who remained in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip which were still under Arab control were not provided with a sense of nationality or rights.

With all the limitations in the early years in Jordan and Lebanon, including their expulsion from Jordan, the Palestinians solidified themselves as a nation amongst the Arab nations. What has been reiterated above is essential in individuals understanding where they belong. For that initial connection to be cemented, and become everlasting, it needs social inclusiveness and social collectivity. The definition of identity as derived by Brubaker and Cooper understands identity as a basis for social action, pinning self-understanding against universal self-interest. Throughout the years covered in this thesis (1948-1982), identity in the Arab world was fluid, where universality and individualism were constantly in question. What this thesis has shown is that the concept of universality amongst the Arab nations was in essence a manner in which to protect and promote self-interest. Palestinian social action was essential in ensuring that their identity was not lost in the Arab collectivity. It is for that reason, that the most essential aspect to the resurgence of the Palestinian identity is unity through social action and political objectives.

It is accepted that people will identify with one another viewing each other as friends or comrades against a common enemy, alluding to Guibernau or Hobsbawm's concept of "us vs. them." For the Palestinians, up until the point covered in the last chapter, they

were drawn into conflict with a number of parties, including the British, the Israelis and what is especially essential to this thesis, their fellow Arabs. By 1971, through another tragedy, the Palestinian identity has resurged. Taking the revolution to Israel was essential in reviving the Palestinian people, but just as important was the rejection and/or the oppression faced at the hands of the Arabs. The fact that the Palestinians opposed the state of Israel, and were in conflict with them was obvious, but the fact that they were not completely accepted by their Arab neighbours hindered the strength of the Arab identity and motivated the need for a distinct Palestinian identity. While this thesis attests that after Black September the Palestinian national identity was reconstructed, resurged and solidified the Palestinians were still facing difficulties.

As noted above, Abu-Lughod's concept that the Palestinian national story was defined by three different stages, the politics of accommodation, then rejection followed by revolution and hope. The author of this research argues that the third stage was a three-pronged concept in itself; refugee, revolutionary and statesmen. The Palestinian national consciousness, as it stood after Black September falls under the study of sociology as the unity amongst Palestinians and the Palestinian national identity was driven by history, memory and a developing mythology. The identity still lacked political power and the Palestinians, although a force, were still operating outside of their homeland.

Identity theory is predominantly based on social cohesion whereas nationalism studies constantly stresses the importance of determinants predicated on statehood. When tested against Guibernau's theory on nationalism there is a clear shift that must occur for an

identity to be preserved. While Guibernau does not directly tie nationalism to statehood, her theory, which is made up of five dimensions, starts with psychological, cultural and historical connections, all of which have been postulated through this thesis. The final two dimensions are territorial and political, even though there is a common sentiment amongst Palestinians that there is a territory that bonds them, the political reality is that the state of Israel is made up of nearly 80% of that territory. In order for the Palestinians to make progress politically, they were forced to begin making concessions on their historical, cultural and territorial unity, implicating the psychological dimension.

After 1970, regardless of how depicted, the Palestinians existed and through their conflict with Jordan solidified themselves as a separate entity throughout the Arab world. What followed was the war of attrition, ending in a cease-fire (UNSC Resolution 339)⁵⁰⁷ between Egypt and Israel. What was technically viewed to be the Arab-Israeli conflict has begun to take shape as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It was at this crossroads, that the PLO was forced to decide which path they would take moving forward. Yezid Sayigh postulates this dilemma as follows:

The PLO was faced with a dilemma. If it were to enter the Arab and international systems, thereby protecting its physical security, it would have to renounce its "revolutionary" character and accept the legitimacy of the existing Arab order. Similarly, the hope of achieving some territorial gains within the Arab and international systems implied a scaling down of Palestinian demands. The choice facing the PRM, then, was either to maintain maximal goals, requiring a level of military, infrastructural, social, and economic strength it had not come close to enjoying even at its peak in the 1968-70 period, or to adopt the minimal goals that could be achieved through international diplomacy. Given the PRM/PLO's weakness and the prospect of further defeats at Arab hands, it opted for the second course.⁵⁰⁸

The PLO was provided with an opportunity to control their own destiny, knowing that they would not be able to do so without the support of the Arab world, the PLO made

⁵⁰⁷ See Appendix X

⁵⁰⁸ Sayigh, 1986. Op. cit. Pg. 101

their first concession in their “Ten-Point Plan”. Although the plan opposed Resolution 242, section 2 of the plan may have proved otherwise. Section 2 read as follows,

2. The Palestine Liberation Organization (sic) will employ all means, and first and foremost armed struggle, to liberate Palestinian territory and to establish the independent combatant national authority for the people over every part of Palestinian territory that is liberated. This will require further changes being effected in the balance of power in favour of our people and their struggle.⁵⁰⁹

The major concession, or development, was that the PLO agreed to “establish the independent combatant national authority...over every part of Palestinian territory that is liberated,” in contrast to their national charter of 1968 which defined their homeland as “Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.”⁵¹⁰ Abdel Bari Atwan attributes this concession to the financial rewards promised to the PLO:

I believe that they succeeded in showering the PLO and Fatah with money thus turning it into a paid staff, like any company. This actually affected, not only the identity, but the strength and the roots of the identity. They convinced the PLO that the only way to survive was to take an instalment and have their own state in the West Bank and Gaza, started the trend in 1974 in the PNC when they adopted the Ten Points that they would establish a Palestinian state on one kilometre of territory liberated from the Israelis, thus starting the trend of concessions.⁵¹¹

This concession was disturbing to many, no party was more alarmed than the PFLP. The PLO’s attempt to come to a political solution created a divide amongst the different Palestinian factions. Starting with George Habash’s decision to withdraw the PFLP from the PLO Executive Committee, only to be followed by the Arab Liberation Front (ALF),

⁵⁰⁹ See Appendix XI

⁵¹⁰ See Appendix X

⁵¹¹ Atwan, 2017. op.cit

the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), and the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front (PPSF) to create what would be known as the “Rejectionist Front.”⁵¹² Although the Palestinians were divided, Arafat had a plan and it was set into motion.

At the 1973 Summit in Algiers, it was agreed upon that the PLO would represent the Palestinian people, unfortunately for the PLO, King Hussein did not support this development thus it was not made public. Days after the summit, King Hussein stated that it is his obligation to ensure that the West Bank was to return to Arab control, a notion supported by Anwar Sadat, the new President of Egypt.⁵¹³ By the next summit in Rabat in 1974, partially due to the Ten-Point programme, the Arabs resolved:

1. To affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to return to their homeland;
2. To affirm the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent national authority under the command of the Palestine Liberation Organization (sic), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in any Palestinian territory that is liberated. This authority, once it is established, shall enjoy the support of the Arab states in all fields and at all levels;
3. To support the Palestine Liberation Organization (sic) in the exercise of its responsibility at the national and international levels within the framework of Arab commitment;

⁵¹² Shemesh, 1988. op.cit. Pg. 340

⁵¹³ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 143

4. To call on the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Organization (sic) to devise a formula for the regulation of relations between them in the light of these decisions so as to ensure their implementation;
5. That all the Arab states undertake to defend Palestinian national unity and not to interfere in the internal affairs of Palestinian action.⁵¹⁴

The PLO was finally recognised across the Arab world as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. This chapter will explore this identity as it developed throughout the previous chapters, applying the parallels and shortcomings in both classical and contemporary theory to the Palestinian identity as it is viewed by their Arab brethren.

7.1 Arafat Speech to the United Nations

3210 (XXIX). Invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization

The General Assembly,

Considering that the Palestinian people is the principal party to the question of Palestine,

Invites the Palestine Liberation Organization (sic), the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine in plenary meetings.

2268th plenary meeting

14 October 1974⁵¹⁵

Nearly a month after the UNGA invited him, Yasser Arafat addressed the world body, much to the chagrin of the Israelis. While much of the 138 nation general assembly welcomed Arafat's remarks, Israeli Ambassador Yosef Tekoah's reiterated "Israel's

⁵¹⁴ "Seventh Arab League Summit Conference, Resolution on Palestine." *Le Monde Diplomatique*. N.p., n.d. Web. 3 June 2016.

⁵¹⁵ See Appendix XII

readiness and desire to reach a peaceful settlement with the Palestinian state of Jordan in which Palestinian national identity would find full expression.”⁵¹⁶ Although the Palestinians were coming off armed conflict and expulsion at the hand of the Jordanian army and the Arab world supported the independence of the PLO, recognising them as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, the Israelis continued to refuse to recognise the Palestinians as a distinct people deserving of their own state.

Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter’s gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. I repeat: do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.⁵¹⁷

While Arafat’s speech, a symbolic gesture, is remembered for the famous quote above, he brought the question of Palestine to the world stage. There are two aspects of the speech which will be focused on due to their pertinence to the concept of identity and nationalism, starting with his introduction to what would be a Palestinian recollection of the history of the conflict between the Palestinians and Zionism/Imperialism. Arafat noted:

In addressing the General Assembly today our people proclaims its faith in the future, unencumbered either by past tragedies or present limitations. If, as we discuss the present, we enlist the past in our service, we do so only to light up our journey into the future alongside other movements of national liberation. If we return now to the historical roots of our cause we do so because present at this very moment in our midst are those, who, while they occupy our homes as their cattle graze in our pastures, and as their hands pluck the fruit of our trees, claim at the same time that we are disembodied spirits, fictions without presence, without traditions or future. We speak of our roots also because until recently some people have regarded-and continued to regard-our problem as merely a problem of refugees.⁵¹⁸

The above quote reflects a lot of what has been argued throughout this thesis. The Palestinian nostalgia, or romanticism of their history, was a tool used to inform and

⁵¹⁶ "Transcript of Addresses to the U.N. Assembly by Arafat and Israeli Delegate." *New York Times* 14 Nov. 1974: 22. *New York Times*. Web.

⁵¹⁷ Loc.cit.

⁵¹⁸ Loc.cit.

connect to their lost land, but not a tool to define their future. While this view may have been a forecast into the future, laying the grounds for the two-state discussion and the concession of parts of historical Palestine it also supports the notion that the Palestinians do in fact have their own history, but it is not exactly relevant when speaking of the present and the future. In the same regard, Arafat claimed that: “The Palestine Liberation Organization (sic) was a major factor in creating a new Palestinian individual, qualified to shape the future of our Palestine, not merely content with mobilizing (sic) the Palestinians for the challenges of the present.”⁵¹⁹ The Palestinian people are not defined only by their leadership and the PLO, but the revolution defined a new individual through belonging to a collective.

The PLO and the Palestinian revolution defined who the “us” in “us vs. them”. Through all their conflict with fellow Arabs, “them” continued to be the Zionists, it was the concept of “us” that was up for debate. Since their expulsion, the liberation of Palestine was an Arab project, a Muslim project, a leftist project and only through the rise of the PLO did the liberation of Palestine become a Palestinian project. It so happened that Fatah became the strongest Palestinian faction and that Arafat was the one to relay this opinion, regardless of who controlled the PLO, Palestinian identity was cemented through a popular faction taking over the PLO and then being accepted into the Arab League of nations.

The second aspect of Arafat’s speech which is pertinent to this research is the

⁵¹⁹ Loc.cit.

development and transitioning of identity. Gellner, and to a lesser extent Smith, pointed to the maturing and progress of a nation to belong in the evolving world. Arafat touched on this, starting with education:

We tried every possible means to continue our political struggle to attain our national rights, but to no avail. Meanwhile, we had to struggle for sheer existence. Even in exile we educated our children. This was all a part of trying to survive.

Arafat continues:

The Palestinian people produced thousands of physicians, lawyers, teachers and scientists who actively participated in the development of the Arab countries bordering on their usurped homeland. They utilized (sic) their income to assist the young and aged amongst their people who remained in the refugee camps. They educated their younger sisters and brothers, supported their parents and cared for their children.⁵²⁰

As portrayed in the chapter focusing on the refugees, the Palestinians were invested in ensuring that anyone who was provided the opportunity would be educated. Additionally, just as importantly, those who were successful were responsible for leading the funding of the revolution as well as acting as a social safety web for those less fortunate. While the Palestinians did not have a state structure in which to pay taxes in order to develop and maintain a welfare system people were parting with their own money in order to support people who, in some cases, they have never and will never meet. Outside of the armed struggle and the revolution itself, when the Palestinians began to depend on those in their diaspora to support the less fortunate it supported the concept of community and nationhood. Staying with the aspect of development, another excerpt from Arafat's speech pertinent to the development of nationhood; in attempt to appease the world body:

The Palestine Liberation Organization (sic) can be proud of having a large number of cultural and educational activities, even while engaged in armed struggle, and at a time when it faced increasingly vicious blows of Zionist terrorism. We established institutes for scientific research, agricultural development and social welfare, as well as centers (sic) for the revival of our cultural heritage and the preservation of our folklore. Many Palestinian poets, artists and writers have

⁵²⁰ Loc.cit.

enriched Arab culture in particular, and world culture generally. Their profoundly humane works have won the admiration of all those familiar with them.⁵²¹

In its infancy the PLO was regarded widely either as a revolutionary or terrorist organisation, Arafat stressed that they focused on a number of features. Arafat was attempting to show the world that the PLO was not only a fighting force, but a government in waiting. In supporting education, culture, agriculture and science they were working on becoming a “self-sufficient people” capable of governing their own state. Arafat’s speech was historic, becoming the second non-state entity, after the Pope, to address the UNGA.

Further, as important to the PLO, were UNGA Resolution’s 3236 and 3237; Resolution 3236 officially introduced the Question of Palestine, for the first time including the input of the Palestinian people. The majority of the resolution was riddled with reaffirmation, the following reflection on Arafat’s speech standing out; “*Having heard* the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the representative of the Palestinian people.” Moreover, sections three to seven, which read:

3. *Emphasizes* that full respect for and the realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;
4. *Recognizes* that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;
5. *Further recognizes* the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United

⁵²¹ Loc.cit.

Nations;

6. *Appeals* to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine;⁵²²

The above was the first step recognising that the Palestinian people, not the Arabs of Palestine, were to be, along with the Israelis, key figures in any peace settlement in the region. Following RES/3236 came RES/3237, which provided the PLO with an official status amongst world nations, inviting them to join the UNGA as observers:

1. *Invites* the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

2. *Invites* the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

3. *Considers* that the Palestine Liberation Organization is entitled to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the implementation of the present resolution.⁵²³

⁵²² See Appendix XIII

⁵²³ Loc.cit

7.2 Initial Relations with the United States

Anthony Wanis-St. John, assistant professor at American University in Washington, in an article written in 2006 about the Israeli-Palestinian peace process defines back-channel diplomacy as “official negotiations conducted in secret between the parties to a dispute. These negotiations operate in parallel or replace acknowledged “front-channels” of negotiation; they can be described as the “black markets” of negotiation.”⁵²⁴ He uses this term as a manner in which to define the diplomatic relationship between the Palestinians and Israelis after they agreed in principle to the 1993 Oslo Accords. While this was, and still is, an integral alternative between the Palestinians and Israelis the PLO was well-versed in back-channel diplomacy as they essentially began using this tactic with the United States in the early 1970s.

With tensions high, both the PLO and the Government of Israel, led at the time by Prime Minister Golda Meir, were not at a position in which they could communicate directly, allowing Egypt and the United States to act as a representative of both sides due to the fact that they were already negotiating a peace settlement between Israel and Egypt following the 1973 Yom Kippur war. The 1973 war was a turning point for the Palestinians, it was at this point, according to Afif Safieh, where the Palestinians were forced to give up the guerrilla tactics, arguing:

The war of 1973, where the Palestinians and the Arabs realized that there was no military solution to the problem. America would not allow Israel to be defeated and that we should seek a diplomatic outcome and then move gradually towards accepting Palestinian statehood on parts of Palestine. It was at this point we no longer asked for absolute justice but possible justice, its then we gradually moved from the dialogue by arms to using the arms of dialogue. I was working on Arafat’s teams and lived beside him in the 1981 two-week war with the Israelis, which was the

⁵²⁴ John, Anthony Wanis-St. "Back-Channel Negotiation: International Bargaining in the Shadows." *Negotiation Journal* 22.2 (2006): 119-144. Web. 1 June 16.

rehearsal for the war of 82, it was then I discovered that in Arafat's military thinking, he knew that we are not going to liberate Palestine militarily, all he wanted was the we remain a military actor so that we get recognized as a diplomatic factor. In the absence of an Arab military option, there is no credible Palestinian military option, as Faisal Husseini used to say If I need to defeat Mike Tyson I must not keep inviting him to the boxing ring, I need to invite him to another game.⁵²⁵

It was at this time that William Buffum, former US Ambassador to Lebanon, reported to Washington that the PLO was exploring the possibility of creating a direct line of communication with the United States, as Arafat believed that the United States was the key in coming to a just settlement with Israel.⁵²⁶ A daunting task for the leadership of the PLO as they would first have to begin with repudiating the "Three No's" and the concept of "revolution until victory".

The back-channel diplomacy between the PLO and the United States began prior to the PLO's ten-point programme and following the 1972 massacre of the Israeli Olympic team in Munich as well as the Khartoum hostage situation where two American and one Belgian diplomat were killed. These acts forced President Nixon to establish a no negotiation policy of their own; the United States does not negotiate with terrorists.⁵²⁷ Although President Nixon would not communicate with the PLO, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger kept a close eye on the situation. The first known communique between the United States and the PLO came in December 1973 as a note from Kissinger to President Sadat to be relayed to Arafat in which he posed five points:

1. Establish direct contact with HK [Kissinger] soon.
2. Be specific and realistic in stating what is wanted from US.

⁵²⁵ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

⁵²⁶ Khalil, Osamah. "Oslo's Roots: Kissinger, the PLO, and the Peace Process - Al-Shabaka." *Al Shabaka*. N.p., 3 Sept. 2013. Web. 1 June 2016.

⁵²⁷ Schanzer, Jonathan. *State of Failure: Yasser Arafat, Mahmoud Abbas, and the Unmaking of the Palestinian State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Pg. 23

3. Be prepared to explain further views on the following:
 - Resolution 242- what parts, if any, are acceptable?
 - Arab-Israeli peace settlement.
 - Existence of a Jewish State in Palestine.
 - Jordan and King Hussein.
4. What practical first steps can be taken to establish framework and momentum for later steps?
5. What coordination is desirable with Sadat, Asad(sic), Boumediene, Faisal?⁵²⁸

The note went on to clarify that the US will conduct direct talks in the near future but will continue to protect the interests of Israel and King Hussein, but are serious in that Palestinian interests must be met. Further, they will be attentive to Arab positions (Egypt Syria, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia) and finally that they do not have a peace-plan in place, instead will pursue a step-by-step approach.⁵²⁹ In February of 1974, Robert Houghton, charge d'affairs at the Beirut Embassy, sent a cable to Kissinger claiming that Arafat and Abu-Iyad were more moderate than others and that the PLO was showing signs that they would accept a peace settlement with Israel, in so far that they would gain legitimacy and a national authority over a part of Historic Palestine.⁵³⁰ This concession was configured behind closed doors and the PLO were extremely cautious and ambiguous in relaying this information knowing that the citizens of the West Bank and Gaza as well as the refugees were not ready to give up on the basis of the revolution, namely the liberation of all of

⁵²⁸ Haykal, Muhammad Hasanayn. *Secret Channels: The Inside Story of Arab-Israeli Peace Negotiations*. London: HarperCollins, 1996. Pg. 314

⁵²⁹ Loc.cit.

⁵³⁰ Khalil, Osamah. "Oslo's Roots: Kissinger, the PLO, and the Peace Process - Al-Shabaka." *Al Shabaka*. N.p., 3 Sept. 2013. Web. 1 June 2016.

Palestine as well as the right to return.

In the same month, Fatah's intentions began to become more transparent. The American University of Beirut served as the venue where George Habash (PFLP), Nayef Hawatmeh (DFLP), Ahmad Jibril (PFLP-GC) and Abu Iyad (Fatah) would present their case on the idea of an Arab-Israeli peace process. Those who comprised the "Rejection Front" argued their cases, while Abu Iyad, who was greeted with chants calling for revolution until victory in opposition to a peaceful solution, started his speech with "I'm afraid I am going to disappoint you."⁵³¹ This thesis has argued that the Palestinian identity was not developed as the "other" in comparison to the Israelis, but as another Arab nation amongst Arab nations. With that in mind, Fatah would argue that they are forced to begin exploring the two-state option not due to the strength of Israel, as a part of the Arab propaganda machine after the 1973 war argues that Israel is not invincible, but due to the fear that if the Palestinians do not gain control of the West Bank that King Hussein, "the butcher of our people"⁵³² would be the one to control the destiny of the West Bank.

In 1975, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Harold H. Saunders delivered a statement on the Palestinians before the Foreign Affairs Sub-committee on the Middle East. He stressed that Palestinian rights are an essential aspect of ensuring a viable long-term peace in the Middle East. He went on to provide the statistics, that there are nearly 3 million Palestinians, 450,000 residing in Israel, one million in the "Israeli-occupied" West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza, with the rest living as refugees in surrounding

⁵³¹ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. cit. Pg. 135

⁵³² Loc.cit.

states. He argued that the Palestinian problem was initially dealt with as a refugee problem, with an unusually large amount of them becoming quite successful occupying leading positions around the Arab world. Nonetheless, with regards to this thesis, the most important part of his speech was the following:

Today, however, we recognize (sic) that, in addition to meeting the human needs and responding to legitimate personal claims of the refugees, there is another interest that must be taken into account. It is a fact that many of the three million or so people who call themselves Palestinians today increasingly regard themselves as having their own identity as a people and desire a voice in determining their political status. As with any people in this situation, there are differences among themselves, but the Palestinians collectively are a political factor which must be dealt with if there is to be peace between Israel and its neighbors.⁵³³

In Kissinger's note above he also noted that: "This is not just a matter of refugees."⁵³⁴ This, coupled with the Palestinians exploring a possible two-state solution, provides the complexity of Palestinian identity. Although there are conflicting ideas as to how to resolve the Palestinian problem, to relay what Saunders claimed, it is a fact that there are millions of people who define themselves as Palestinians. For the Palestinians, they have developed into a political force, but for the international community they had to shift from being a refugee population, into a people striving for self-determination. A month after Saunders's statement, the UNGA adopted resolution 3379. "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination", which determined that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."⁵³⁵ This declaration essentially defined the Palestinian people as a race, who were discriminated against due to their Palestinian identity.

As argued in chapter 5, it was the refugees and the treatment of these refugees which

⁵³³ Lukacs, Yehuda. *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record, 1967-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992. Pg. 61-62

⁵³⁴ Haykal, 1996. op.cit. Pg. 314

⁵³⁵ See Appendix XIV

drove the need for a Palestinian political force. When discussing this oppression and the results that followed, Afif Safieh paralleled the events to the Jewish experience:

Jean Paul Sartre, in his reflection of the Jewish question says that it is the anti-Semite that created the Jews and anti-Semitism that preserved those communities throughout centuries giving them the cohesion and drive. I believe that, yes persecution and oppression is a cementing factor driving communities and helps define the identity through the suffering while giving birth to aspirations that are born through said suffering and oppression.⁵³⁶

The refugees were the ones who, after the Nakba, faced discrimination at the hands of their fellow Arabs, forcing the Palestinians to define themselves as separate from the Arab world when Pan-Arabism was the “zeitgeist of the time”, as argued by Elie Podeh.⁵³⁷ While Palestinian identity was fragmented due to their expulsion, no identity is all-encompassing, there will be different facets to each identity which attract people to a certain group. While the refugees were the initial spark which reignited the Palestinian cause, they were part of a broader people who were faced with different realities. Attempting to manage these different, but essential, parts of the Palestinian people and Palestinian identity made the job of the PLO and the defining of the Palestinian identity more difficult.

Essentially, at this stage, while the Palestinians were divided as to how to move forward, the concept of the Palestinian identity remained solid. As explained at the beginning of the chapter, the first stage of the resurgence of the Palestinian identity was accomplished through the reconstruction of their identity. This process took years, even decades, but the Palestinians were successful in differentiating their political identity from their Arab counterparts. When exploring history, culture, territory and other determinants of identity

⁵³⁶ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

⁵³⁷ Podeh 1999. op.cit. Pg. 175

as offered by the theories provided throughout this thesis, a lot remains unchanged. The Arab world, namely the land of Greater Syria, continued to share similar customs, language, cuisine and historical territories. What changed were the social and political realities of the population.

Aside from the Palestinian catastrophe faced during the Nakba it was life in the camps, surviving on rations, faced with restrictions on movement and building initially that created the need for a Palestinian entity in order to protect them from groups such as the DB or the army of King Hussein. With support for the Palestinians being popular amongst the Arab masses, by taking the fight to Israel, Fatah and later the PLO were able to gain support from Arab governments through training, financing and room to operate. At the time of the launch of the Palestinian revolution, they would refer back to the heroic nature of the likes of Sheikh al-Qassam and Abdel Qader al-Husseini to propagate the Arab hero who fought and died against Zionism and colonisation. While this was a common practice, and the Palestinian factions were rewriting history in order to unite their people the losses and failures resulting in their bitter reality outweighed the mythology of the past. The stand at Karameh, although it was a military victory for Israel, the decision to take a stand in Karameh created what Rashid Khalidi referred to a “foundation myth”⁵³⁸. It is indisputable that without the support from the Jordanians the Palestinians would have faced more losses than they did, further arguments that Yasser Arafat was not actually at Karameh⁵³⁹ have become irrelevant. In response to the “myth

⁵³⁸ Khalidi, 2009. op.cit. Pg. 196

⁵³⁹ Bowker, Robert. *Palestinian Refugees: Mythology, Identity, and the Search for Peace*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003. Pg. 17

of Karameh”, Afif Safieh interjects:

I always refer to Karameh as the moment when the masses joined the vanguard. There was there the Fatah movement as the vanguard of a few hundred and the heroic stand they took, defying the laws of guerilla warfare making them extremely popular among an Arab public opinion that needed a morale boost after the humiliating defeat of 1967. So I wouldn't fall into the trap of those who try to ridicule or penalize, just as I would put in prominence the contribution of the Jordanian army.⁵⁴⁰

Pairing the stance at Karameh with the conflict with the Jordanians, as well as the treatment of the refugees, defined the Palestinians. The traditions of the proud fighter and the myths attached to these traditions allowed for the culture to flourish as an identity of the Palestinian revolution. In keeping with the theory, the Palestinian story at this point has satisfied the concept of identity and belonging. The Palestinians identify with one another; they define themselves as a separate Arab people and their likeness is not defined through their history, or through their romantic attachment to a lost homeland. While the attachment to historic Palestine remained, and continues to remain, their contemporary likeness and identity was reconstructed instead to face their reality rather than revive their history. To reiterate a quote by Ali Abunimah in the introduction to this thesis; “Palestine exists because Palestinians have chosen to remember it.”⁵⁴¹ The concept of “Palestine”, and whether or not it existed in the modern-day state system, is arguable. What the different Palestinian factions succeeded in doing was disproving Prime Minister Golda Meir’s statement that “there is no such thing as Palestinian people, they do not exist”.⁵⁴² Be it through a note from Henry Kissinger, a vote at the United Nations, or a statement read by the Deputy Secretary of State, the Palestinians identify themselves as

⁵⁴⁰ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

⁵⁴¹ Abunimah, Ali. "Dear NPR News..." *The Link* 31.5 (1998). Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc. Web. 19 Nov. 2014. Pg. 4 <<http://www.ameu.org/getattachment/c7b04b7f-c7f8-4f35-9383-f21df7d3465b/Dear-NPR-News.aspx>>.

⁵⁴² Said, Edward W., and Christopher Hitchens. *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*. New York: Verso, 2001. Pg. 200

Palestinian, and reconstructed what it means to be Palestinian through their response to the trauma faced in 1948 and the myths and traditions that united them, while differing them from their fellow Arabs.

A premise revealed throughout this thesis is the notion attributed to Gellner that “half the story is enough” and in this day and age the half that is enough is driven by national theory, rather than identity theory. For identity to be preserved, and in this case, the people to be protected by the rule of law, the PLO decided that for their national aspirations to be secured, they must gain recognition as an independent state.

Prior to advancing to the three major events that will close out this chapter; the Camp David Accords, the Tel al-Zaatar and the Sabra and Shatila Massacres it is essential to introduce the 39th President of the United States, Jimmy Carter. In retrospect, Carter is arguably the most pro-Palestinian American President. On March 16th, 1977, just months after his swearing in, at a town hall in Massachusetts Jimmy Carter provided his own three step programme. The first two points were for the PLO to recognise Israel’s right to exist and the establishment of secure borders for Israel. The third point came as shock to many, where he argued that “there has to be a homeland for the Palestinian refugees who have suffered for many, many years.”⁵⁴³ For the first time, the President of the United States supported the concept of a Palestinian homeland.

The Palestinians understood that it was essential for the world, and the United States, to

⁵⁴³ "Carter Backs Palestine Homeland." *The Spokesman-Review* [Spokane, Washington] 17 Mar. 1977: 18.

support their bid for self-determination and independence. Securing a state, in the scope of the theory on nationalism, would allow the Palestinians to define their own set of laws, their territory, their economy all the while developing institutions to preserve their history and customs. Although Carter's statement was critiqued by Kuwaiti diplomat Fayez Sayegh for not defining the Palestinian homeland as Palestine and for referring to the refugees, not the national rights of all Palestinians Yasser Arafat welcomed the comment, declaring: "They tell me he mentioned the Palestinian homeland. If he did, it is a very important note. It is a progressive step because it means he has finally put his hand on the heart of the problem of the Middle East Crisis."⁵⁴⁴ The critique by Sayegh is important as it shows the shift in the Palestinian problem, as the rhetoric for the first two decades after the Nakba focused on the refugees and their right of return. At this integral stage in the Palestinian story, after the Palestinians were recognised as an independent people the focus began to shift to the land of Palestine, in keeping with contemporary nationalism studies. While the Western world was coming to recognise the Palestinian as a distinct people, the pertinence of a state structure, in which they are their own protectorate, became the new aspect of the Palestinian revolution. Though the PLO had changed their rhetoric, now that they gained a semblance of recognition and were more focused being diplomats and politicians rather than statesmen; the 1970's and the early 1980's were mired in a similar, but bloodier, sequence of events. To the outside observer the sides were clear, Israel had their enemies: the Palestinians, the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Jordanians and the Lebanese and the Palestinians had their allies: the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Jordanians and the Lebanese. What transpired between 1975 and 1982

⁵⁴⁴ Tanner, Henry. "Palestinians in Cairo Welcome Carter's Stand on Need for 'Homeland'" *New York Times*. 18 March 1977: 11 Web.

essentially proved otherwise, Yezid Sayigh believes that the PLO had three objectives while in Lebanon:

The first of these immediate goals, without which pursuit of the larger ones would not be possible, was self-defence: the PLO felt it needed sufficient military strength to defend its main headquarters in Beirut, primarily against Lebanese official or paramilitary agencies... The second was the preservation of the PLO's political status, the need to safeguard the progress it had made both internationally and within the Arab and Palestinian arenas in gaining political recognition. Third was inducing movement towards resolving the Palestinian problem through a weakening of Israeli political will.⁵⁴⁵

The rest of this chapter will explore how the Palestinians attempted, and ultimately failed, in satisfying these objectives.

7.3 Lebanon and Syria

'Reform through arms' is what, for the National Movement, the coalition of Muslim/leftist parties, it all came down to. Resisting reform by the self-same means, initially and tactically at least, was what it meant for the Lebanese Front, the Phalangist-dominated coalition of right-wing Maronite Parties.⁵⁴⁶

While Egypt was deliberating creating their own peace with Israel, leaving the Syrian Baathist party, now led by Hafez al-Assad as the "leaders of Pan-Arabism", in turn, the remaining Arab representative of the Palestinians⁵⁴⁷ the PLO were now settled in Lebanon, where they were to be entangled in the Lebanese Civil War. The war was inevitable it just needed the PLO to spark it. Nearing the end of the French colonial era in Lebanon, the Maronite's were the majority, thus it was agreed that the President of the country would have to be representative of this majority, with the Prime Minister being Sunni Muslim, the speaker of the National Assembly Shiite with one government post going to a member of each of the Druze and Greek Orthodox communities.⁵⁴⁸ By the time

⁵⁴⁵ Sayigh, 1986. Op. cit. Pg. 101

⁵⁴⁶ Hirst 2010. op.cit. Pg. 170

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid. Pg. 175

⁵⁴⁸ Haykal, 1996. op.cit. Pg. 335

the Palestinians arrived in Lebanon, the Muslims made-up the majority of the population, forcing them to want the above-mentioned reform.

The defeat of the Arab armies paired with the occupation of the West Bank and the Golan Heights left the PLO with one territory in which they were able to carry out attacks against Israel; the south of Lebanon. At this stage, according to Rashid Khalidi, the PLO were regarded as the “vanguard of a Pan-Arab war of attrition against Israel,”⁵⁴⁹ thus welcomed by the predominantly Shia areas in the south of Lebanon.

The Lebanese Civil war can be traced back to April 13th, 1975, where in an attempt to assassinate Pierre Gemayal, founder of the Maronite *Kataeb* party, four Phalangist militiamen were killed in a drive-by shooting in front of a church by unidentified gunmen. The same day, after a Palestinian anniversary celebrating a raid in northern Israel, 27 unarmed civilians were ambushed and killed by Phalangist gunmen.⁵⁵⁰ From the outset of the Palestinian refugee problem, they were at odds with the Maronites, as discussed in chapter 5. Pierre Gemayal, the leader of the Maronites, when once asked whether or not he would cooperate with the Israelis responded; “I am ready to cooperate with the Devil for the sake of Lebanon.”⁵⁵¹ Understanding what reform and instability in Lebanon would mean to Hafez al-Assad’s primordial dream to reunite Jordan, Syria and Lebanon,⁵⁵² he decided to intervene. Although Assad was naturally a supporter of the

⁵⁴⁹ Khalidi, Rashid. *Under Siege: P.L.O. Decisionmaking During the 1982 War*. New York: Columbia UP, 1986. Pg. 27

⁵⁵⁰ Hirst 2010. op.cit. Pg. 154

⁵⁵¹ Haykal, 1996. op.cit. Pg. 336

⁵⁵² Hirst 2010. op.cit. Pg. 168

Muslim/leftist party, he entered the war in support of the Christians against the Palestinians.⁵⁵³ The Palestinians were once again at war with an Arab counterpart, this time with Syria and factions of the Lebanese government.

The difference this time was that the PLO was not confined by refugee camps, as they were in Jordan. Arafat was essentially a head of a “Para-State”, whose borders included parts of the north and south of Lebanon, the Biqa’ Valley and the Fakhani-Arab University area which was situated in West Beirut.⁵⁵⁴ Though the Palestinians enjoyed vast wealth, and the Palestinians had a sense of authority, Abdel Bari Atwan views this era as a damaging turning point in Palestinian history:

The worst thing that happened to the Palestinian movement and the Palestinian identity was when the Arabs began to interfere in Palestinian affairs, both financially and politically. This was a strong turning point, Fatah for example were given a lot of money, thus spoiling Fatah and the PLO pushing them more and more towards the American and Israeli solutions. I would not be surprised if Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states were initiated by the United States and Europe to, in one way or another, drown the Palestinian movement with a sea of money. I think this was deliberate.⁵⁵⁵

While the wealth enjoyed by the PLO may have played a factor in capitulation, the time in Lebanon had a number of turning points, two major events prove pivotal in this thesis, the Tel al-Zaatar Massacre and the Sabra and Shatila Massacres.⁵⁵⁶ While Assad led the charge in condemning Sadat after the Camp David Accords, his decision to enter the Lebanese Civil War was not only termed “constructive” by Henry Kissinger but was also

⁵⁵³ Triangle 185

⁵⁵⁴ Khalidi 1986. op.cit. Pg. 28-29

⁵⁵⁵ Atwan, 2017. op.cit

⁵⁵⁶ There is an abundance of information on the Lebanese Civil War, which ran from 1975-1990. For more information, I suggest; *Pity the Nation* by Robert Fisk, *The Fateful Triangle* by Noam Chomsky, *Under Siege: PLO Decision Making During the 1982 War* by Rashid Khalidi.

supported by the Israelis.⁵⁵⁷ Political decision-making of the leaders at the time was defined by constant shaming and prevarications, by all parties involved. The reasoning behind including these events and those that will follow is to further prove the necessity of a separate Palestinian entity amongst the broader Pan-Arab identity.

Until this point, there had been considerable focus on the roles played by Egypt and Jordan, although there were a number of eruptions between the Palestinians and the Lebanese, it was predominantly done through the shaming of the defenceless Palestinian refugees. The events in April of 1975 were tragic for both sides, “Black Saturday” of December 1975 proved that these events were not isolated, instead it would be the start of a drawn out sectarian battle in which the Palestinians, the Lebanese, the Syrians, the Israelis, the United States and the United Nations would be involved. Black Saturday started with four Phalange militiamen being found dead in East Beirut. Bachir Gemayel, head of the Lebanese Front, the Maronite forces, advised that 40 Muslims were to be killed for this act. Christian forces then set up a checkpoint in Beirut and the first 40 Muslim men who crossed were taken and beheaded, the Muslims followed this up with their own checkpoint and Christians who crossed would meet the same fate. This went on throughout the day and according to British reporter Robert Fisk, who was in Lebanon during the war, approximately 300 Muslims and Christians were killed that day. This was followed up by a siege of the Karantina refugee camp, where the Palestinian inhabitants were either murdered or expelled. This act by the Lebanese Forces forced the PLO’s hand in joining the Muslims in the civil war obliging Arafat to send his troops to Damour, a

⁵⁵⁷ Chomsky, Noam. *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians*. Boston, MA: South End, 1983. Pg. 185

predominantly Christian area, to support the Muslim assault on the Christian neighbourhood.⁵⁵⁸ With both sides having blood on their hands, the next siege would be end up being the bloodiest one to date.

On January 4th, 1976, the Christian militias began a blockade on Tel al-Zaatar camp which lasted for months.⁵⁵⁹ By June, hundreds of Christian right joined the blockade and launched an assault on the camp as well as the surrounding neighbourhoods of Jisr al-Basha and Nabaa. According to Abu Iyad; “It is not a coincidence that the siege began about ten days after the Syrian army entered Lebanon: The rightist forces had clearly waited for Damascus’ initiative before embarking on the genocide.”⁵⁶⁰ The blockade forced the population to live in extreme poverty, with access to water and food limited. On August 11th, the Arab League finally decided to intervene, drawing up an evacuation plan for the next day where the inhabitants, fighters included, would surrender and be transported away from the area by the Arab peace-keepers and the Red Cross. As the inhabitants began to evacuate the Christian rightists carried out one final offensive when the militiamen opened fire and began to gun down the travelling Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims. By the end of the day, according to Abu Iyad, 1,500 lives were lost on that day alone, matching the 1,500 who died during the siege.⁵⁶¹ While Syria claimed to be neutral, the head of the Muslim/Leftist forces, Kamal Jumblatt, announced that Syria was supporting the rightists throughout the siege.⁵⁶² Abu Iyad’s sentiments on the

⁵⁵⁸ Fisk, Robert. *Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990. Pg. 79

⁵⁵⁹ Talhami 2001. Op. cit. Pg. 113

⁵⁶⁰ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 190

⁵⁶¹ Ibid. Pg. 192

⁵⁶² Talhami 2001. Op. cit. Pg. 114

Syrian involvement, and the late response by the Arab League, reiterates the ongoing argument of this thesis; that the Palestinian identity was a product of the necessity of a Palestinian entity:

The Tal Zaatar (sic) tragedy was but another proof that we could rely on no one but ourselves. The so-called civilized (sic) world chastely averted its eyes from the carnage... The real scandal, however, lies elsewhere: in the Arab world where no government, friendly to the Palestinians or otherwise, lifted a finger to save the 35,000 “brothers” of Tal Zaatar. I refuse to believe that 100,000,000 Arabs were incapable of breaking a siege imposed by a few hundred men, that they couldn’t so much as raise their voices to exert pressure, if not on the Christian militias, then at least on Syria which was protecting them.⁵⁶³

Arafat, who was still attempting to be a “peace-maker” and was still a believer that the PLO should remain out of inter-Arab affairs, actually drew up a ceasefire proposal in order to thwart Syria’s involvement. According to Fatah leader Hani Hassan; just before the siege of Tel al-Zaatar Arafat flew to Damascus to persuade President Assad to hold off on intervening, to which the President approved, providing Arafat with a 48-hour window. Although the Muslims and the Leftists agreed to the ceasefire, it was clear to Arafat that the PLO forces, from other factions, would not attack the Syrian army as soon as they were to intervene.⁵⁶⁴ Just before the Syrians entered Lebanon Arafat, in one last effort to avoid Syrian intervention, left Lebanon to lobby other Arab leaders to persuade Assad not to intervene. Upon his departure, he drew a red-line, demanding his forces not to cross this line. He knew that the moment the PLO forces crossed the red-line near the Israeli border, the Israeli army would advance, and he knew that they were not able to faceoff with Israel due to the tensions of the time.⁵⁶⁵ Arafat did not believe he was able to stop the Syrian intervention, thus, if Israel was to join the war, the PLO would be fighting against the Lebanese rightists, the Syrian army and the Israeli army, essentially spelling

⁵⁶³ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 193

⁵⁶⁴ Hart 1989. op.cit. Pg. 425-426

⁵⁶⁵ Loc.cit.

doom for the Palestinian movement. Though not involved directly in the military confrontation, Egypt's President Sadat was preparing to take a courageous step that brought the Arab world to its knees.

7.4 Arab Day of Mourning

On January 1st, 1977, the United States and the Soviet Union released a joint communique which defined the:

Key issues as withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict; the resolution of the Palestinian question including insuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; termination of the state of war and establishment of normal peaceful relations on the basis of mutual recognition of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.⁵⁶⁶

Israel voiced their issues with this statement, starting with the fact that it did not mention resolutions 242 nor 338 as the principle of any peace plan between the Israelis and the Arabs.⁵⁶⁷ More troublesome to the Israelis than the framework for a peace deal was in the second section of the communique, which called for the Geneva Peace Conference to include “representatives of all the parties involved in the conflict, including those of the Palestinian people.”⁵⁶⁸ Once again, the Palestinians have gained their recognition and the PLO was their representative and the aspect of having the PLO involved in direct negotiation with Israel irked the Israeli government. Interestingly, another party who was unhappy with the communique was Anwar Sadat, who did not want the Soviet Union to be involved. “We kicked the Russians out of the door and now Mr. Carter is bringing them back through the window.”⁵⁶⁹ Unhappy with the American decision to involve the Soviets, Sadat began to develop his own plan.

⁵⁶⁶ See Appendix XV

⁵⁶⁷ "U.S.-Soviet Joint Declaration: Treachery and Betrayal Israeli, Jewish Leaders Denounce Statement As." *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*. N.p., 1977. Web. 20 June 2016.

⁵⁶⁸ See Appendix XV

⁵⁶⁹ Haykal, 1996. op.cit. Pg. 253

Sadat consulted with the President of Romania, the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, the King of Morocco and the Shah of Iran, who was constantly advising Sadat to turn his back on the Arab world and rediscover the separate Egyptian identity, all of which supported his plan to begin direct negotiations with Israel. On November 9th, 1977, Sadat delivered a speech to the Egyptian Parliament, with Yasser Arafat in the audience, to which he claimed: “I am ready to go to the ends of the earth for peace, even to the Knesset itself.”⁵⁷⁰ This obviously angered Arafat who stormed out of the Parliament and immediately left Egypt. Sadat, in a conversation with Walter Kronkite, reaffirmed that he would happily go to Jerusalem if he received an official invitation. Kronkite then contacted Israeli Prime Minister Menachim Begin who stated that he would extend an invitation through the United States as long as Sadat understands that the Israelis would not retreat to the 1967-borders, that they would not be open to discussions with the PLO and that they would not accept a Palestinian state. Sadat was supposedly not bothered by these demands as he had information through his liaison to the Israelis Hassan El-Tuhami that Israel had no problem conceding the Egyptian territory for peace with Egypt.⁵⁷¹ If there was any reservation as to whether or not Pan-Arabism has become an ideology of the past, Sadat’s new policy all but confirmed it. Arafat viewed Sadat as a traitor to, not only the Palestinians, but to the whole Arab world:

There is no doubt that Sadat tricked me and was using me. I was and still am very sure he did it to cause problems for me and, also, to cause splits and divisions among our Palestinian people. To me it was the first proof that Sadat was not being faithful to us Palestinians and to us Arabs. From then on I was convinced he was only playing games to disguise the fact that he was really working for a separate peace. If it wasn’t so, if he wanted to be faithful, he could have done the same thing-yes even the visit to Jerusalem- in another way...In my opinion he should have called a meeting of

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid. Pg. 258

⁵⁷¹ Ibid. Pg. 258-260

Arab heads of state to discuss the whole strategy with them.⁵⁷²

Arafat continued: “If I had been him, I would have said to my Arab colleagues the following: “Give me the chance. I will go and sacrifice myself. If I succeed the success is for all of us. If I fail the failure would have been mine.”⁵⁷³ Sadat’s declaration that he would go to Israel for peace was an obvious issue to the head of the PLO, but at this point the PLO made it evident that they were not entirely opposed to direct negotiations with Israel, but more so that they were blindsided and once again they were to sit on the sidelines as another Arab leader represent the Palestinians with his own interests in mind. Further, Arafat was asked to arrive in Egypt the day before the speech where he was then sent to Libya to meet with Colonel Qaddafi on behalf of Sadat in order to quash the quarrel between the two leaders and ask the Colonel to provide Egypt with funding for their military.⁵⁷⁴ Obviously angered, as he felt that the Egyptian President has tricked him, the PLO were still not entirely convinced that Sadat would follow through and travel to Israel.⁵⁷⁵ Things moved quite quickly as Sadat was slated to land in Tel Aviv on November 19th, only ten days after his declaration.

At the time of his trip, only three countries supported Sadat’s plan; Tunisia, Morocco and the Sudan. Libya called for Egypt to be expelled from the Arab League and the headquarters to be moved from Cairo, the Syrian government declared a national day of mourning, Jordan’s press called his trip an attack on Arab solidarity, the Egyptian embassy in Beirut was attacked by a rocket, students in Iraq declared a strike, Saudi

⁵⁷² Hart 1989. op.cit. Pg. 435

⁵⁷³ Ibid. Pg. 436

⁵⁷⁴ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 206

⁵⁷⁵ Loc.cit

Arabia felt that Sadat put the Arab world in a precarious position and the PLO declared that Egypt was no longer qualified to speak on behalf of the Palestinians or the Arabs.⁵⁷⁶ Though the Arabs were once again united, this time against the country that bound them together. The country of Nasser, the King of all Arabs, delivered the final blow to Arab state unity.

This chapter intends to solidify the reasoning behind the need for an independent Palestinian entity, to support and shape the Palestinian identity. Though Egypt historically allowed the Palestinians to operate within the Gaza Strip, Sadat proved that the intentions of Egypt were similar to Jordan's; to guarantee their interests without remorse for the Palestinian people. Sadat delivered his speech, recognising Israel and lending his own olive branch pleading to the Israeli Knesset: "If you want to live with us in this part of the world, in sincerity I tell you that we welcome you among us with all security and safety."⁵⁷⁷ Though Sadat claimed that "there can be no peace without the Palestinians," and, "it is no use to refrain from recognising the Palestinian people and their right to statehood and their right to return,"⁵⁷⁸ he failed to mention the PLO. Arafat claims that Sadat's decision to leave the PLO out of his speech was actually done at the advice of Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan.⁵⁷⁹ Upon his return to Egypt Sadat invited experts from the PLO, the Arab world and Israel to take part in a meeting to setup a framework for a peace treaty. The PLO and the Arabs boycotted the meeting, and when

⁵⁷⁶ Howe, Marvin. "CAIRO FACES A CRISIS." *New York Times* 19 Nov. 1977: 1+. Web.

⁵⁷⁷ Wren, Christopher S. "SADAT OFFERS ISRAEL 'PEACE WITH JUSTICE,' BUT CALLS FOR RETURN OF OCCUPIED LANDS; BEGIN HAILS HIS 'COURAGE,'." *New York Times* 21 Nov. 1977: 1+. Web.

⁵⁷⁸ Loc.cit.

⁵⁷⁹ Hart 1989. op.cit. Pg. 436

the Israeli delegation arrived to the meeting space in Cairo, only to see a Palestinian flag on the table, they gave the Egyptians an ultimatum; the flag goes, or we go.⁵⁸⁰ The Palestinian flag, the flag of the Arab revolt, was removed by the Egyptian delegation at the request of their guests.

On September 17th, 1978 President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin signed the Camp David Accords, followed up by the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, signed on March 26th, 1979, witnessed by President Jimmy Carter on the White House lawn.⁵⁸¹ There was finally a symbol of peace between the Arabs and the Israelis, for the Palestinians and the Arab world, the peace treaty only normalised the relations of Egypt and Israel, disregarding the Camp David framework which called for a 5-year engagement plan to allow the Palestinians self-governance in the West Bank and Gaza. The response from the Arabs was an economic and diplomatic boycott of Egypt as well as their expulsion from the Arab League (Although Egypt withdrew from the Arab League the same day), an organisation Sadat deemed “useless”.⁵⁸² Egypt was now viewed as a disgrace in the Arab world for capitulating to Israel although all signs pointed to the PLO willingness to accept a Palestinian mini-state living side by side with Israel.

Ben-Gurion’s aspirations went further than the land of historic Palestine, as he stated that Greater Israel should include the Sinai, Transjordan, Southern Lebanon and Southern

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid. Pg. 437

⁵⁸¹ Haykal, 1996. op.cit. Pg. 286

⁵⁸² Ibid. Pg. 287

Syria.⁵⁸³ Though Israel was not able to control Transjordan, and was forced to relinquish the Sinai they were at peace with their western neighbour Egypt and were controlling the West Bank, a large buffer zone with their eastern neighbour Jordan. Essentially, they could rest easy that these two states, Jordan and Egypt, were no longer their enemies due to the Egypt-Israel Peace Agreement and the events of Black September.

In less than a decade the Palestinians were massacred by the Jordanians, the Lebanese, and indirectly by the Syrians and their greatest ally Egypt has abandoned them in order to serve personal interests. It must be said that the PLO were not without guilt in this whole situation, as they did develop their own “para-state” in both Lebanon and Jordan and were open to concessions with Israel before President Sadat actually acted on his trip to Jerusalem and were even drawn into their own civil battles, killing fellow Palestinians who chose to side with other Arab groups, namely Syria.⁵⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the Palestinian people were the ones who grieved, they were massacred, left defenceless and forced into further expulsion and poverty. They were threatened by their fellow Arabs, drawn into a sectarian war in Lebanon. The need for a Palestinian state, in which the Palestinians can live peacefully, was never more essential. Kissinger, fearing that the Lebanese civil war might spill over to Israel and wanting to put an end to the Palestinian question, even suggested to Lebanese President Suleiman Frangieh that the Christian population emigrate to Canada and the United States, thus allowing Lebanon, or a part of it, to become an alternative Palestinian entity.⁵⁸⁵ An idea that all sides privy to the conflict

⁵⁸³ Chomsky 1983. op.cit. Pg. 161

⁵⁸⁴ Fisk 1990. op.cit. Pg. 81

⁵⁸⁵ Talhami 2001. Op. cit. Pg. 115

would not be in support of as the PLO constantly made it clear that this was not their country and Lebanon was not their main enemy.

This thesis has ultimately provided a situation where the concepts of identity and nationality may have similar roots, but in order for an identity to be preserved and to flourish it must satisfy the national theories. The Palestinians, or the PLO, had recognition, but were under constant threat. As expressed many times throughout this thesis, they have an identity; they are united as a people, but were still divided geographically without any real protection or opportunity. As seen with the Kissinger's suggestion, the United States and Western powers were supportive of a resolution to the Palestinian problem when pitted against other Arab states, the next and final event to be discussed in this chapter showed the world that the Palestinians were in dire need for their own territory, that the resolution to the Palestinian plight was simply a recognition of an independent territory of Palestine.

7.5 The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon

In response to the Camp David Accords, Abu Iyad stated:

We weren't going to let Carter, Begin, and Sadat get away with a so-called peace which would deprive the Palestinian people of their future. We had to show Israel that it was futile to exclude us from a settlement and remind the Arabs that it was dangerous to sacrifice us to their selfish interests.⁵⁸⁶

The PLO decided to carry out a military operation in Tel Aviv, where, according to Abu Iyad, they would kidnap soldiers to use to negotiate for the release for Palestinian prisoners. Due to a coastal storm, this plan faltered, forcing the militants to improvise. The person leading the group was a twenty-year-old woman Dalal al-Mughrabi, who

⁵⁸⁶ Khalaf, Rouleau, 1981. Op. Pg. 214

actually grew up fearing war and armed conflict. Except, she was a survivor of the Tel al-Zaatar massacre, essentially a product of that operation. Al-Mughrabi, eight other Palestinian militants, and over 30 Israeli civilians were killed in a shootout with the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) between Haifa and Tel Aviv. Abu Iyad argues that it was the IDF who fired on the bus and the motorists, Israelis argue that it was the Palestinian militants who killed the civilians. Regardless of who was at fault, the result was that the Knesset passed a law allowing Israeli secret service (Mossad) to kill Palestinians wherever they may be in the world in order to quell terrorism and three days later Israel carried out a military assault in Lebanon.⁵⁸⁷ The Tel Aviv bus operation was a tragic mass murder of civilians, motivated by all parties involved in the current geopolitical crisis.

The retaliation for this attack was an Israeli invasion of Lebanon which resulted in nearly 250,000 refugees and 2000 dead. The bombing continued in 1979, Noam Chomsky recalls that the Israeli attacks in Lebanon “was regarded as so ordinary and unremarkable.”⁵⁸⁸ On March 19th, 1978 the UNSC adopted Resolutions 425 and 426 calling for an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and the creation of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon,⁵⁸⁹ the Israelis complied two days later but being that there was no mention of the PLO, Arafat did not agree to the terms until March 28th. Helena Cobban, in her book on the PLO notes:

Arafat’s decision to co-operate with the UNIFIL command-and thus, by implication, to endorse resolution 425- marked a turning-point in the history of the Palestinian resistance movement, whose importance has generally been overlooked. It constituted the first open acceptance by the leader of the PLO of a cease-fire agreement with Israel, and his decision to co-operate with UNIFIL was subsequently endorsed by all the official PLO bodies. Arafat has extracted from the

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid. Pg. 215-216

⁵⁸⁸ Chomsky 1983. op.cit. Pg. 192

⁵⁸⁹ See Appendix XVI

UN negotiators what he considered a fair price for the making this concession: public recognition from them, through their agreement to meet with him openly, of the PLO's interests in and importance to the disengagement process in south Lebanon.⁵⁹⁰

The ultimate result of the 1978 invasion was a Maronite-Israeli partnership with the Maronite forces in East Beirut and throughout the northern coastal enclave and an Israeli agent force occupying the southern part of Lebanon with the PLO facing a prospect of an all-out onslaught assault from both sides with nowhere to go.⁵⁹¹ The PLO and the Palestinians had faced this kind of pressure before, but always had an ally to lean on for support. At this point, outside of the Muslim, Druze and Arabist Lebanese population who were in the bunkers with them there was nowhere to turn to for support.

After relative calm, Israel decided to resume their extensive bombing of Palestinian targets in Southern Lebanon in response to an assassination attempt of their Ambassador in the United Kingdom by the Iraqi sponsored Abu Nidal organisation, who the PLO suggested were motivated by the Mossad.⁵⁹² In August, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin was re-elected as Prime Minister, appointed as his Defence Minister was Ariel Sharon. Sharon, who was highly involved in the group *Gush Enunim* (the Block of the Faithful), an Israeli settler movement whose ultimate goal is the full Judiazation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.⁵⁹³ Sharon was in favour of the ceasefire that was put in place as it allowed him the time to draw up a plan to once again invade Lebanon and put his final solution into play. Sharon's final solution had three elements; first, the ultimate

⁵⁹⁰ Cobban, Helena. *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984. Pg. 96

⁵⁹¹ Khalidi 1986. op.cit. Pg. 34

⁵⁹² Hart 1989. op.cit. Pg. 452

⁵⁹³ Marty, Martin E., and R. Scott Appleby. *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1993. Pg. 469

destruction of the PLO in Lebanon including the liquidation of the PLO leadership, followed by the creation of a puppet Palestinian leadership in the West Bank and Gaza and finally the overthrowing of King Hussein in Jordan allowing for the occupied territories to forever become a part of the Jewish state and Jordan becoming the Palestinian homeland.⁵⁹⁴ The PLO were once the heads of a para-state in Jordan, and when driven out of Jordan, again in Lebanon. Although their intention was to take the fight to Israel, they also had to protect their citizens and provide them with a semblance of rights and social assistance- it was this assistance that drove the economy of Lebanon allowing them to gain power. Palestinian power, so close to the Israeli border, was clearly troubling to Sharon and had to be dealt with.

The 1982 war started on June 4th and the PLO's plan to deal with Israel's invasion was to have the world convene, putting an end to the conflict, as they did in 1956, 1967 and 1973.⁵⁹⁵ On June 5th the UNSC passed Resolution 508 which called for an end to the escalation and for Israel to withdraw.⁵⁹⁶ Though the United States voted in support of Resolution 508, they did not exert any influence on Israel to disengage and on June 21st the State Department claimed that the resolution was no longer relevant.⁵⁹⁷ The Israelis intentions in Lebanon were clear, as propagated by a number of Zionist writers; the editor of the *New Republic* advised that the defeat of the PLO "will clarify to the Palestinians in the West Bank that their struggle for an independent state has suffered a setback of many years" continuing that, "the Palestinians will be turned into just another crushed nation,

⁵⁹⁴ Hart 1989. op.cit. Pg. 445

⁵⁹⁵ Khalidi 1986. op.cit. Pg. 106

⁵⁹⁶ See Appendix XVII

⁵⁹⁷ Khalidi 1986. op.cit. Pg. 107

like the Kurds or the Afghans.”⁵⁹⁸ Danny Rubenstein of *Davar* wrote that “the PLO as an orderly political body is more terrifying to the government of Israel than the powerful terrorist PLO.”⁵⁹⁹ In dismantling any political strength gained by the PLO through their concessions and in keeping with ceasefires, they were able to gain support to carry out their attacks in Lebanon and the Occupied Territories.

As for the war, the Israeli army was too much to handle for the PLO, especially after Syria’s ceasefire with Israel and their decision to withdraw from the war at the end of June.⁶⁰⁰ The war, where Israel intended to corner the Palestinians and the Muslims into East Beirut to cut them off from all sources of foods,⁶⁰¹ where they set up concentration camps where Palestinian prisoners were tortured⁶⁰² and where hospitals were attacked and doctors sent to Israel for interrogation still did not reach its apex.⁶⁰³ What drove the PLO’s fear about leaving Lebanon was the treatment of those who remained. Although the United States provided the Palestinians with written guarantees that a multinational force would be instilled to protect the Palestinian camps, Arafat did not trust Sharon or the Lebanese Christians.⁶⁰⁴ Soon after the expulsion of the PLO, the American promise was already proved insufficient as they could not protect the Palestinians left behind. On September 16th the Lebanese Kataeb Forces, with the support from the air and the sea, carried out a complete massacre of Sabra and Shatila Refugee Camp.

⁵⁹⁸ Chomsky 1983. op.cit. Pg. 199

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid. Pg. 201

⁶⁰⁰ Khalidi 1986. op.cit. Pg. 148

⁶⁰¹ Chomsky 1983. op.cit. Pg. 218

⁶⁰² Ibid. Pg. 231

⁶⁰³ Ibid. Pg. 228

⁶⁰⁴ Abu Sharif, 2009. op.cit. Pg. 101

When reporters were allowed in after a two-day bombardment, there was a shock that created an international outcry. Robert Fisk recalls:

At first, we did not use the word massacre. We said very little because the flies would move unerringly for our mouths. We held handkerchiefs over our mouths for this reason, then we clasped the material to our noses as well because the flies moved over our faces. If the smell of the dead in Sidon was nauseating, the stench of Chatila made us retch. Through the thickest of handkerchiefs, we smelled them. After some minutes, we began to smell the dead.

They were everywhere, in the road, in laneways, in back yards and across the top of the garbage tips. The murderers- the Christian militiamen whom Israel had let into the camps to 'flush out terrorists' - had just left. In some cases, the blood was still wet on the ground. When we had seen a hundred bodies, we stopped counting. Down every alleyway, there were corpses- women, young men, babies and grandparents- lying together in lay and terrible profusion where they had been knifed or machine-gunned to death...Everywhere, we found signs of hastily dug mass graves. Perhaps a thousand people were butchered; probably half that number again.⁶⁰⁵

Arguably the worst attack the Palestinians faced since their expulsion, the Sabra and Shatila massacre marked one of the darkest days in Palestinian history. While the fact that over a thousand people were killed is the point that sticks out, it is the whole Lebanon tragedy that will be remembered as the turning point in the Palestinian movement, forcing the world to understand the need for a Palestinian autonomous region.

For his involvement, Ariel Sharon, who would become the Prime Minister of Israel in the future was found complicit. The Kahan Commission, an internal Israeli fact-finding tour found Ariel Sharon personally responsible.⁶⁰⁶ The PLO was expelled from their last safe-haven which directly borders Israel, the United States proved itself as a dishonest broker and the Arabs, outside of the Muslim/Leftist group in Lebanon, were either at peace, colluding with or forced away by Israel.

⁶⁰⁵ "104 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Events at the Refugee Camps in Beirut- 8 February 1983." *Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs*. N.p., 8 Feb. 1983. Web. 22 June 2016.

⁶⁰⁶ Loc.cit.

This thesis has intended to explore the resurgence of the Palestinian national identity, arguing that the contemporary Palestinian identity was formulated through dealings, not with Israel, but with fellow Arabs. Although the Israelis and the British played an integral role in forcing the Palestinians into expulsion, this thesis is focused on the need for a separate Palestinian entity separate but united with their Arab brethren. This chapter establishes this defining characteristic; while the PLO and Yasser Arafat were attempting to carve out political influence, the Arabs interfered and the Israelis ensured that this would not happen. The next chapter, the conclusion, ties all the determinants of the Palestinian national identity, as argued throughout this thesis, while touching on the Israeli response to an accepted Palestinian nation, with inspirations to create their own state.

What started as a people aspiring to gain recognition by their fellow Arabs, and reconquer the whole of historic Palestine turned into more of a pragmatic movement that reflects the nationalism determinants explored in the literature review. While in Lebanon, the development of a para-state is what forced the Israelis to act. Mordechai Bar-On, former director of education for the IDF, claimed:

Anyone who visited Southern Lebanon... would see that the war was fought not just against terrorist organizations (sic) and the PLO, and not even solely to destroy the PLO's military infrastructure in the region. It was fought against the very existence of the Palestinians as a community with its own way of life, which has been evolving in Lebanon since 1948, and at an enhanced rate since 1975... [against the] health and educational services, political and social organizations (sic), judicial and self-management systems...the Palestinian refugees have once again become a faceless mass of people, uprooted, evacuated and torn away from any form of collective life.⁶⁰⁷

Israel stood by as the Palestinians were drawn into conflicts with the Arabs, as they used

⁶⁰⁷ Chomsky 1983. op.cit. Pg. 256

international terrorism to drive their movement, it was only when they began to set up a social system in Lebanon they attacked. Western theory on nationalism has predicated the need for societal development, something very difficult to develop when in exile. The Palestinians, against all odds, were able to do so. The Israelis understand that “half the story” is enough and the other half grows to be irrelevant. The romantic Palestinian attachment to their homeland is not enough for the development of a Palestinian state, but the political work of the PLO, along with their attempts to follow international law and agreed upon ceasefires, the Israelis feared, would force many in the world to view the Palestinians as a people able to develop and govern their own state.

Essentially, the development of a Palestinian identity post-1948 was a project that had to be worked out amongst their fellow Arabs who were either attempting to control “Palestinian territory” or drive the concept of Pan-Arab unity whereas the development of a Palestinian “nation-state” became a project that had to be worked out with the Israelis, who obviously had interests in ensuring this does not succeed, explaining, partially, their invasion of Lebanon.

When discussing the end of the PLO’s experience in Lebanon, Bassam Abu Sharif sums up the time as follows:

The enemy tried to take out the PLO in Lebanon early, they found that the regime of the time and the army in Lebanon couldn’t do it so they created a civil war in Lebanon and then finally had to invade Lebanon in 1982. They invaded Lebanon with the aim of killing the leadership of the PLO or taking them prisoner. Though they ultimately failed, the PLO left the war in Lebanon weak and more importantly, far away from Palestine. No borders for their forces, and they had to retreat and abide by the rules and regulations of Arab regimes that are friendly, but would not induce war at a time where they were not ready for it.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁸ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

It was a grim reality for the Palestinians, as for the first time in their history, the PLO was not bordered with Israel or the Palestinian Territories. It was also here that the idea of a settlement really began gaining leverage, sending fractures into the Palestinian programme, but not the unity of Palestinians, as argued by Bassam Abu Sharif, who stated:

Then the differences started again, as I said, unity had one vase, one pillar, the programme of liberation, independence and the return to the homeland. Now even that platform dwindled in the mind of those who considered that we should become more tactful, the idea of a settlement started and it was at this point the platform was no longer enough to keep the organizations united. One should differentiate here between two things, unification of the Palestinian organizations under the PLO flag is one thing, and the unification of Palestinians everywhere is another. In the sense, you might have organizations that differ, contradict, boycott each other upstairs in the leadership level of the PLO but that will never carry itself to the streets between members of the organizations who would remain Palestinians, brothers, ready to fight.

But that was a political necessity, certain people believed that the best tactic would be one way while others would believe, no, we should take another route. Anyways. The entering of a settlement like the two state solution was a breaking point in the platform, the PFLP rejected that, in spite of the rejection by the PFLP to join the settlement and to go into a deal the PFLP remained inside the PLO, this is the difference, it didn't flip on the PLO, which remains as the unifying flag of the Palestinian identity.⁶⁰⁹

7.6 An Inclusive Identity

Though this thesis focuses on developments that occurred between 1948-1982, it does not negate the pertinence of what preceded the Nakba and what followed the Shatila attacks. The premise of this research is based on the idea that, regardless of the undeniable Arab connection to Palestine pre-1948, the Palestinian national identity was forced to reconstruct itself after the *Nakba*. The author of this research contends that in 1982 the base of the Palestinian identity was formulated through the three stages conveyed throughout this thesis. In the years that followed, the political landscape changed

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

considerably, having an arguable effect on the identity. In concluding this chapter, two major developments will be introduced in order to justify the time-frame of this thesis.

The first development was the creation of Hamas in 1987, and to a lesser extent the Palestinian Islamic Jihad movement (IJM) which was developed in 1981. The Palestinian political parties who controlled much of the narrative until the 1980's may have disagreed on political issues and ideology but they remained inclusive. The introduction of Hamas and the IJM brought forth an ideology predicated on religion, disregarding the notion that Palestine is at the epicentre of Christianity and there remained a modest, but essential, community of Palestinian Christians dedicated to the Palestinian nation. The leaders of Fatah, the PFLP, the DFLP and the other organisations may have had leaders who were religious, but they did not discriminate against those of different faiths. In Hamas' 1988 covenant, Article Six reads:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinguished Palestinian movement, whose allegiance is to Allah, and whose way of life is Islam. It strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine, for under the wing of Islam followers of all religions can coexist in security and safety where their lives, possessions and rights are concerned. In the absence of Islam, strife will be rife, oppression spreads, evil prevails and schisms and wars will break out.⁶¹⁰

An article such as this will raise a number of issues, especially in discussing political Islam and the notion of an Islamic state. For the purpose of this research, what trouble some people is the idea that Palestine will be an Islamic state, and Islam will be the way of life in Palestine. The Palestinian national identity must be inclusive and the creation of Hamas who would later take control of the Gaza Strip, has two problems. The first clear issue is the fact that Palestinian Christians do exist and a Palestinian state, whether

⁶¹⁰ "Hamas Covenant 1988." *The Avalon Project*. Yale Law School, n.d. Web.

independent or a binational state with Israel, will have to recognise the will of the Jewish people, in addition to the Christian and Muslim populations. The call to create an Islamic state in Palestine is equally polarising to Israel's precondition that the Palestinian Authority must recognise them as a Jewish state to continue peace talks.

More pressing, and impactful to this study is the fact that Hamas is an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood.⁶¹¹ The Brotherhood, a transnational Sunni organisation, was founded in 1928 in Egypt and until today serves as the head of an organisation that has expanded to Jordan, Kuwait, Syria, Iraq, Sudan, Bahrain and as mentioned before, Palestine.⁶¹² As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the Palestinian national movement's initial goal was to wrestle away control of the Palestinian struggle from their more powerful Arab allies. The creation of Hamas, aside from their religious exclusivity restored a sense of transnational control of the movement, as their allegiance to outside actors is inevitable.

The second major development was the Oslo Accords signed by Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin in 1993. The accords resulted in the creation of the PNA of which Arafat was president, possibly conflicting with his role as president of the Executive Committee of the PLO, a conflict that was transferred to Mahmoud Abbas upon Arafat's passing in 2004. While the PLO remained as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people,

⁶¹¹ Loc.cit.

⁶¹² Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. *Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2015. Pg. 20

the cross control is an issue of grief to a number of Palestinian activists.⁶¹³ The Oslo agreement is a highly debated topic amongst Palestinians and Israelis alike, aside of the wide range issues and downfalls in the agreement itself- the creation of the PNA created yet another rift amongst the Palestinian people. Abdel Bari Atwan claims that “you cannot say that we are Palestinian and support Oslo,”⁶¹⁴ while Afif Safieh will argue that; “I for one, supported Oslo without any illusion and I’m speaking about 1993, as in political science as you know a state is defined as an authority on a demography on a geography.”⁶¹⁵ Upon return to the West Bank, the PLO leadership took control of a land and a reality they knew very little about. When Fatah was created, there was a wide range appeal in that they did not discriminate, the leadership came from humble beginnings and gained respect based on their actions. The Fatah leadership that were repatriated in 1994 were the elite class, limiting the control and actions of the popular resistance that grew in Palestine over the decades that preceded.⁶¹⁶ Politically, Hamas controls the sieged Gaza Strip, the PNA controls an occupied West Bank and the different refugee camps range in control and circumstances. As for the PLO, still under the leadership of Fatah and President Mahmoud Abbas, it has been limited to a figurehead status.

The growth of the PNA, and the progress made resulting in the UNGA’s recognition of the “State of Palestine”, officially separated the Palestinian people. Oxford law professor Guy Goodwin-Gill notes the following:

⁶¹³ Brown, Nathan J. *Palestinian Politics After the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine*. Berkeley: U of California, 2003. Pg. 49

⁶¹⁴ Atwan, 2017. op.cit

⁶¹⁵ Safieh, 2017. op.cit.

⁶¹⁶ Aouragh, Miriyam. *Palestine Online: Transnationalism, the Internet and the Construction of*. London: I.B. Taurus & Co, 2012. Pg. 20

The risk of fragmentation – where the State represents the people within the UN and the PLO represents the people outside the UN. Such a division of representation would run counter to the status quo and to the original intent of the international community in recognizing (sic) the PLO. The challenge is to maintain unity in these unique circumstances.⁶¹⁷

Though the UN decision propelled the PNA to a “non-member observer state”, and officially separated Palestinian representation, there is still a unified sense of what it means to be Palestinian. Throughout the timeframe covered in this thesis, the Palestinians enjoyed a sense of healthy pluralism. The leadership had their quarrels, but remained united and steadfast in their struggle, this unity was reflected by the Palestinian population, regardless of social and geographical differences.

⁶¹⁷ "Palestinian Lawyers Affirm Essential Role of PLO at UN." *Maan News Agency*. N.p., 1 Oct. 2011. Web. 18 Sept. 2016.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Recommendations

One should differentiate here between two things, unification of the Palestinian organizations under the PLO flag is one thing, and the unification of Palestinians everywhere is another. In the sense, you might have organizations that differ, contradict, boycott each other upstairs in the leadership level of the PLO but that will never carry itself to the streets between members of the organizations who would remain Palestinians, brothers, ready to fight.⁶¹⁸

The purpose of this thesis was to conceptually analyse the Palestinian national identity as it developed following the trauma of the Nakba. This chapter will summarise the main arguments and conclusions, drawing on the research question and hypothesis. Furthermore, this chapter will describe the limitations of the thesis as well as future recommendations.

8.1 The Research Question Reconsidered

There were three research questions, starting with exploring the events that preceded the recognition of the PLO as the sole representatives of the Palestinian people. The second question asked why the Palestinian case is essential to the study of nationalism. Finally, the third asks whether or not the Palestinian identity, as reconstructed post-Nakba fits into the parameters of Western national theory. The hypothesis argues that the Palestinian identity was hindered due to the manner in which the Arab leaders controlled the conflict with Israel. This, along with the treatment of Palestinian refugees, forced the Palestinians to create their own political faction in order to represent themselves amongst the Arab world, and later the international arena. Further, the Palestinian case is essential, not only to broaden the myopic nature of the study of nationalism, but to also advance the understanding of the Palestinian people and their plight for self-determination.

⁶¹⁸ Abu Sharif, 2017. op.cit.

The methodology used; interviews and content analysis of written records has provided sufficient information to explore the different dynamics of the identity. Using interviews and biographical records allowed for an in-depth perspective into the events that most directly impacted the trajectory of the Palestinian's progression. In addition, the use of UN resolutions and official statements afforded a detailed evaluation of whether or not the actions of the PLO resulted in real political impact.

The underlying constant recognised in researching the Palestinian identity, as it was formulated post-Nakba, is its fluid nature. Without a "time and place" the identity has perpetually evolved to reflect the necessity of the time and situation at hand. Due to this, the identity developed in conjunction with Abu-Lughod's theory separating the Palestinian plight post-Nakba into three stages consisting of the politics of accommodation, politics of rejection and politics of revolution and hope. Abu-Lughod's theory acted as a starting point in formulating what I found to be the three determinants of the Palestinian identity: the refugee, the revolutionary and the statesman.

Between 1948 and 1982, the Palestinian identity took form in response to the trials and tribulations faced at the time. The initial phase of the identity was shaped by the plight and mistreatment of the refugees, followed by the revolutionary stage, concluded by the Fatah's attempt at transitioning the PLO from a guerrilla organisation to a recognised political faction who officially represent Palestinian interests internationally. These three

phases and how they apply to the theory will be revisited in this, the concluding chapter, starting with the refugee stage.

8.2 The Refugee

After the Nakba, the Palestinians were scattered, living predominantly under Israeli, Egyptian and Jordanian authority or in refugee camps situated in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. The fact that the Palestinians were forced to live in camps, and these camps still exist nearly 70 years later is a tragedy, but for Palestinian identity it was this time in the camps where the Palestinians began to view themselves as similar, but different to their Arab counterparts. As Guibernau and Hobsbawm argue, a major aspect of constructing identity is based essentially on belonging to a group of people. The Palestinians did not choose to belong to a Palestinian nation, they were forced to view their being as “different”. Though the Arab world was a region where the state was not the norm, effectively a new phenomenon for the Arabs, when exploring the Palestinian identity there is no region where the protection of a nation state carries more leverage.

The Palestinians were internationally recognised as the Arab refugees of Palestine, collateral damage in the creation of the state of Israel. The seminal theories of Gellner and Smith define nations in the scope of a state structure, which, in essence, makes complete sense when viewed with a Western bias. Without a common economy, common law, freedom of movement and division of labour, referring to the Palestinians as a nation, in Western terms, is problematic. When applying these theories to a multicultural, Western nation, it is very highly plausible. In the 1950s when defining the Palestinian identity, the refugees were Palestinian due to a lack of legal rights, economic opportunity

and movement. Essentially in reverse engineering the theories of Gellner and Smith, one may derive a model that applies to the Palestinian refugees and/or other stateless nations who find themselves without any legal protections.

The Palestinians, namely the refugees, were a pauper society and this has much to do with the reconfiguring of the identity. Palestine was a place where the masses benefited from the fertile lands to the east and north, and the long shoreline to the west. In Lebanon, these opportunities were not available to them. This forced the new generation of Palestinians to sway from the regular Arab culture where one will take on whatever industry their family operated in for generations prior, and explore new opportunities. Due to this, it was the education provided by UNRWA that was necessary. With that being said, the education system also allowed for Palestinians to learn about their lost culture and history. The educators made it part of their duties to inform the youth about Palestine, the Nakba and the reality at hand, making space for the revolution.

8.3 The Revolution

The revolutionary stage, which developed as a result of the Nakba, the treatment of the refugees and the Arab failures, namely that of 1967 acted as a bridge between personal recognition during the refugee years to international recognition in the statesman years. It was during the initial revolutionary years where the Palestinians had to gain recognition from the Arab world. The first step in doing so was the Battle of Karameh. While many Palestinians still view themselves as refugees, and some choose to identify as refugees, the revolution reconfigured how the Palestinians were defined. After the battle of Karameh, those who were solely helpless refugees were able to become fighters and the

fi da' i became a staple of the Palestinian identity. International media began to take notice of the young men claiming ownership to the land widely recognised as Israel.

At the centre of attention was Yasser Arafat. One can argue that on the international level, Arafat may be referred to the “first Palestinian”. Though Gellner was critiqued in the literature review for neglecting history and claiming that all that is relevant is “half the story”, when researching nationalism or identity in the scope of politics his premise is widely justified. Arafat understood this and even with his faults was pragmatic in his approach to the Palestinian struggle. Along with many others, he viewed the PLO as another tool for the Arab world to control the question of Palestine but instead of disregarding the organisation he, along with others in Fatah, began formulating a plan to take control of the PLO. Taking advantage of the situation preceding the 1967 war, Arafat infiltrated the West Bank and began making himself known to those still inside Palestine.

Guibernau offers five determinants of identity; cultural, historical, territorial, political and psychological. When the Arab's faced a tumultuous setback in 1967, Arafat was able to build a sense of unification amongst the Palestinians. Between 1967 and 1969, aside from the aforementioned visit to Palestine and stand at Karamah, he was elected as head of the PLO. The intention of this thesis is not to glorify Arafat or Fatah, but to examine their impact on the resurgence of the identity. The impact of having a leader prepared to risk his life in entering the West Bank and later leading his troops during the standoff with Israel provided a sense of pride to the Palestinian people. With the large amounts of

shame that came with being Palestinian, due to the guilt of being forced from their homes and dependency on rations, it was essential to regain this pride as part of the identity building process. As Guibernau notes, the amalgamation of a people psychologically is pertinent, the complications in doing this when scattered makes it even more difficult. Though this cannot completely be attributed to Arafat or Fatah alone, as there were many people working, with regards to recognition both nationally and internationally, Arafat, even if superficially, was at the centre of this unification.

Another aspect of the psychological impact of the revolution was, what Norman referred to as the post-colonial shift, starting with a *tabula rasa*. Still facing the despair of post-colonialism, having hope, or a sense of progress, allowed the Palestinians to accept what happened in 1948 and begin working on revitalising the Palestinian nation. The first step in doing this was gaining recognition from the Arab world. Without reiterating the events of Black September and the death of Nasser, these events spelled the end of Pan-Arabism as it was practiced at the time. Coupling these setbacks with the refugee stage leverages the notion that the Palestinians did not choose their identity, but were forced to accept it. Similarly, not only did they choose to belong together, they were rejected by other groups. Identity is not constructed solely through a national consciousness, but as Taylor argues, through choosing what is right or wrong or as Calhoun contends by way of a developed kinship. The Palestinian national identity was hereby developed, based predominantly on the social stratification in the Arab world forcing a Palestinian social cohesion driven by political action. Ushering in the next stage; the statesman.

8.4 The Statesman

A wide range of the theory, whether contemporary or classical argues the importance of territory; a “time and place” to preserve a national identity. Still reeling from the events of Black September and the decision by Egyptian President Sadat to make peace with Israel, the PLO was forced to begin making concessions. The most pertinent aspect of this stage is the PLO’s attempt to satisfy the determinants provided by Smith and Gellner. Much of the theory on identity may be applied to the development of the Palestinian identity and although it came to be accepted that there are a “Palestinian people”, they were still lacking a national authority and official recognition from the international community.

If this study set out to examine the Palestinian national identity, strictly in the scope of the sociological development of identity, there would have been more focus on Palestinian society pre-Nakba while disregarding the developments proceeding the launch of the revolution. Instead, as this is a political study, the idea of international recognition and the evolution of the PLO is an essential facet of this research. The PLO understood that in the wake of the falling out with Jordan and Egypt, they were required to begin making concessions and become more pragmatic to secure a national home for the Palestinians. As mentioned above, the theories on nationalism tend to favour the Western state system. For all intents and purposes of this research, the goal was not to question the dynamics of the state system, but to explore the impact of this state system on the Palestinian struggle for liberation and statecraft.

It is for that reason the final chapter focused on the concessions the PLO agreed to make and the response by the Israelis. As it was laid out in chapter 7, the Israelis were not threatened by a guerrilla organisation scattered through the region. Rather, they became wary of the PLO when they began gaining recognition at the global stage, and more importantly, developing a state-like structure in Lebanon which would allow for the Palestinians to claim the lands seized by the Israelis in 1967. The Palestinians in Lebanon became self-sufficient, albeit due to international funding. Nonetheless, they developed their own economy, supported their own education, healthcare and other social services. They policed their refugee camps, and allowed their people to live with an impression of autonomy.

8.5 The Palestinian Identity

Throughout much of the timeframe covered in this thesis, the Palestinian identity reflected the necessity of grouping together in the face of hardship. The base of the identity, even as it is practiced contemporarily can be attributed to the actions taken between 1967 and 1970. The refugee years acted as an awakening to the new reality faced, but it was not until the Arabs lost the war in 1967 did the Palestinian leadership, across the board, understand that they could not depend on the Arabs to liberate their lost homeland. The stand at Karameh created a sense of pride that drove many Palestinians to work in unison to support the revolution in any manner possible. Black September acted as a further assurance that they could not depend on fellow Arabs. It is here that Palestinian national identity was solidified, attributed largely to a social movement, regardless of where one was located, they were connected to the Palestinian revolution and felt a direct impact of the situation in Jordan.

The idea of the “statesman” did not impact what it means to be a Palestinian, instead, it was a method in preserving the Palestinian identity. The Palestinians cannot rest on their historical attachment to Palestine, even if they have documents proving that they resided in Palestine before 1948. The Palestinians exist, and as long as they choose to exist, that will not change. The actions taken during the refugee and revolutionary stage assured that. For “Palestine” to exist, the world would have to accept them into their community of states, allowing them to determine their own future, economy and law, justifying, to a degree, the actions of the PLO as statesmen.

8.6 Research Limitations

While the aims of this research have been met, there will be shortcomings. In the methodology chapter a number of these possible limitations were addressed, starting with the fact that the events explored in this thesis took place between 35 and 70 years ago. Though there is a wide-range of information available on the conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis, the inner workings of the different Palestinian political factions may not be completely understood. Aside from the historical limitations, in the modern day, the separation of the diaspora does create complications. There barriers that exist amongst Palestinians have not ceased to exist, as I wrote this thesis, I was living in between the United Kingdom and Canada with time spent in Lebanon, I have no access to the Gaza Strip, no access to Syria due to the civil war and no guaranteed access into the West Bank or Israel, even as a Canadian citizen. The complexities these restrictions and divisions offer were covered thoroughly throughout the thesis, though as a limitation, it also may hinder access to information.

While reflecting on these limitations, I am confident in the methods used to gain information. With Palestinians having different pasts and presents, emotion and loyalty will effect perception. By way of depending on historical documents, and ensuring that the interviews focused more on personal anecdotes and general opinions rather than emotion allowed for a more impartial analysis. The identity may be heavily impacted by a person's allegiance or location, however, though Lebanon was much of the focus when speaking of the refugees and Jordan was much of the focus when speaking of the revolution, the identity as presented has provided as much uniformity as possible.

8.7 Future Recommendations

In accordance with the limitations, there are a number of dynamics that may be focused on in order to build on this thesis. The first being the next major event in the Palestinian story, which was the Intifada of 1987, leading to the Oslo agreement of 1993. This thesis has mainly focused on Fatah, the PLO and the diaspora, as much of the happenings were situated in the countries surrounding Israel/Palestine. The Intifada brought the revolution to Palestine and also very important in the modern discussion, brought the Muslim Brotherhood offshoot, Hamas, into the mix. Aside from the discussion on Pan-Arabism, religion was not a major identifier amongst Palestinians, the advent of Hamas allows for a study on whether or not Palestinian identity is impacted by religion and the role of Hamas.

Moreover, the outcome of the Intifada was the first major political agreement between the Palestinians and the Israelis; the Oslo Agreement of 1993 resulting in the creation of the

Palestinian National Authority (PNA). The PNA was given a mandate, in which they had authority over the Palestinian Territories. A study into what effects, if any, does a Palestinian entity situated in Palestine have on the identity would provide for an interesting extension of this research.

This thesis set out to define the basis of Palestinian national identity as it developed after the Nakba of 1948. The premise argued was that the Palestinians were forced to carve out their place amongst the Arab world before attempting to join the international community. The Palestinians and the Israelis have a number of similarities in the development of their respective nations and although they are intertwined the existence of one is not dependent on the other. The recognition of the Palestinians as an independent nation by their fellow Arabs is more impactful to the identity than recognition from the state of Israel. A mutual human recognition of rights and responsibilities amongst the Palestinian and Israelis are essential to peace, but for the Palestinians, the choice taken to resist the treatment of the refugees, the appropriation of their land and a mass expulsion of their population was a choice taken to ensure they exist.

In closing, though this thesis has provided sufficient evidence to demonstrate that there was a resurgence of the Palestinian national identity as it exists amongst the Arab world, there is still much work to be done in studying the idea of Palestine as it exists either side-by-side with Israel or as a binational state. In the introduction, a story of the Palestinian national football team and the complexities faced in creating that team was

offered. In conclusion, an anecdote of the 2016 Rio Olympics will be offered. On August 19th, 2016, Avi Mayer, spokesperson for the state of Israel tweeted the following:

Fun fact: The family of #JOR's first-ever gold medalist Ahmad Abughaush is from Abu Ghosh, Israel! Mabrook, Ahmad!⁶¹⁹

Ahmad Abughaush, from a village near Jerusalem is a Palestinian refugee, who won a gold medal for the state of Jordan, is from Israel. The above tweet justifies the pertinence of this study and the need to an ongoing research on identity and nationalism in the Middle East.

⁶¹⁹ Mayer, Avi (@AviMayer). "Fun fact: The family of #JOR's first-ever gold medalist Ahmad Abughaush is from Abu Ghosh, Israel! Mabrook, Ahmad!" August 19th, 2016. 6:53 a.m. Tweet.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Balfour Declaration

His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Source: Schneer, Jonathan. The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. London: Bloomsbury Plc, 2011. Pg. 341

Appendix II: UNGA Resolution 181 (A)

The General Assembly,

Having met in special session at the request of the mandatory Power to constitute and instruct a special committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of the future government of Palestine at the second regular session;

Having constituted a Special Committee and instructed it to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine, and to prepare proposals for the solution of the problem, and

Having received and examined the report of the Special Committee (document A/364) ^{1/} including a number of unanimous recommendations and a plan of partition with economic union approved by the majority of the Special Committee,

Considers that the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations;

Takes note of the declaration by the mandatory Power that it plans to complete its evacuation of Palestine by 1 August 1948;

Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

Requests that

(a) The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;

(b) The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require

such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;

(c) The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;

(d) The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan;

Calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect;

Appeals to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations, and

Authorizes the Secretary-General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of the members of the Commission referred to in Part I, Section B, paragraph 1 below, on such basis and in such form as he may determine most appropriate in the circumstances, and to provide the Commission with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.

Source: General Assembly Resolution 181 (II), Future government of Palestine, A/RES/181(II), 29 November 1947.

Appendix III: UNGA Resolution 194

The General Assembly,

Having considered further the situation in Palestine,

1. *Expresses* its deep appreciation of the progress achieved through the good offices of the late United Nations Mediator in promoting a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine, for which cause he sacrificed his life; and

Extends its thanks to the Acting Mediator and his staff for their continued efforts and devotion to duty in Palestine;

2. *Establishes* a Conciliation Commission consisting of three States members of the United Nations which shall have the following functions:

(a) To assume, in so far as it considers necessary in existing circumstances, the functions

given to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine by resolution 186 (S-2) of the General Assembly of 14 May 1948;

(b) To carry out the specific functions and directives given to it by the present resolution and such additional functions and directives as may be given to it by the General Assembly or by the Security Council;

(c) To undertake, upon the request of the Security Council, any of the functions now assigned to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine or to the United Nations Truce Commission by resolutions of the Security Council; upon such request to the Conciliation Commission by the Security Council with respect to all the remaining functions of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine under Security Council resolutions, the office of the Mediator shall be terminated;

3. *Decides* that a Committee of the Assembly, consisting of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, shall present, before the end of the first part of the present session of the General Assembly, for the approval of the Assembly, a proposal concerning the names of the three States which will constitute the Conciliation Commission;

4. *Requests* the Commission to begin its functions at once, with a view to the establishment of contact between the parties themselves and the Commission at the earliest possible date;

5. *Calls upon* the Governments and authorities concerned to extend the scope of the negotiations provided for in the Security Council's resolution of 16 November 1948 1/ and to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly, with a view to the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

6. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to take steps to assist the Governments and authorities concerned to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

7. *Resolves* that the Holy Places - including Nazareth - religious buildings and sites in Palestine should be protected and free access to them assured, in accordance with existing rights and historical practice; that arrangements to this end should be under effective United Nations supervision; that the United Nations Conciliation Commission, in presenting to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly its detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the territory of Jerusalem, should include recommendations concerning the Holy Places in that territory; that with regard to the Holy Places in the rest of Palestine the Commission should call upon the political authorities of the areas concerned to give appropriate formal guarantees as to the protection of the Holy Places and access to them; and that these undertakings should be presented to the General Assembly for approval;

8. *Resolves* that, in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area, including the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; the most southern, Bethlehem; the most western, Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and the most northern, Shu'fat, should be accorded special and separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and should be placed under effective United Nations control;

Requests the Security Council to take further steps to ensure the demilitarization of Jerusalem at the earliest possible date;

Instructs the Conciliation Commission to present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area which will provide for the maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area;

The Conciliation Commission is authorized to appoint a United Nations representative, who shall co-operate with the local authorities with respect to the interim administration of the Jerusalem area;

9. *Resolves* that, pending agreement on more detailed arrangements among the Governments and authorities concerned, the freest possible access to Jerusalem by road, rail or air should be accorded to all inhabitants of Palestine;

Instructs the Conciliation Commission to report immediately to the Security Council, for appropriate action by that organ, any attempt by any party to impede such access;

10. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to seek arrangements among the Governments and authorities concerned which will facilitate the economic development of the area, including arrangements for access to ports and airfields and the use of transportation and communication facilities;

11. *Resolves* that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible;

Instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation, and to maintain close relations with the Director of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and, through him, with the appropriate organs and agencies of the United Nations;

12. *Authorizes* the Conciliation Commission to appoint such subsidiary bodies and to employ such technical experts, acting under its authority, as it may find necessary for the effective discharge of its functions and responsibilities under the present resolution;

The Conciliation Commission will have its official headquarters at Jerusalem. The authorities responsible for maintaining order in Jerusalem will be responsible for taking all measures necessary to ensure the security of the Commission. The Secretary-General will provide a limited number of guards to the protection of the staff and premises of the Commission;

13. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to render progress reports periodically to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Security Council and to the Members of the United Nations;

14. *Calls upon* all Governments and authorities concerned to co-operate with the Conciliation Commission and to take all possible steps to assist in the implementation of the present resolution;

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff and facilities and to make appropriate arrangements to provide the necessary funds required in carrying out the terms of the present resolution.

Source: General Assembly Resolution 194 (III), *Palestine -- Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator*, A/RES/194 (III), 11 December 1948.

Appendix IV: UNGA Resolution 212

Whereas the problem of the relief of Palestine refugees of all communities is one of immediate urgency and the United Nations Mediator on Palestine in his progress report of 18 September 1948, part three, states that "action must be taken to determine the necessary measures [of relief] and to provide for their implementation"1/ and that "the choice is between saving the lives of many thousands of people now or permitting them to die";2/

Whereas the Acting Mediator, in his supplemental report of 18 October 1948, declares that "the situation of the refugees is now critical"3/ and that "aid must not only be continued but very greatly increased if disaster is to be averted";4/

Whereas the alleviation of conditions of starvation and distress among the Palestine refugees is one of the minimum conditions for the success of the efforts of the United Nations to bring peace to that land,

The General Assembly

1. *Expresses* its thanks to the Governments and organizations which, and the individual persons who, have given assistance directly or in response to the Mediator's appeal;

2. *Considers*, on the basis of the Acting Mediator's recommendation, that a sum of approximately 29,500,000 dollars will be required to provide relief for 500,000 refugees

for a period of nine months from 1 December 1948 to 31 August 1949; and that an additional amount of approximately 2,500,000 dollars will be required for administrative and local operational expenses;

3. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to advance immediately a sum of up to 5,000,000 dollars from the Working Capital Fund of the United Nations, the said sum to be repaid before the end of the period specified in paragraph 2, from the voluntary governmental contributions requested under paragraph 4;

4. *Urges* all States Members of the United Nations to make as soon as possible voluntary contributions in kind or in funds sufficient to ensure that the amount of supplies and funds required is obtained, and states, that, to this end, voluntary contributions of non-member States would also be accepted; contributions in funds may be made in currencies other than the United States dollar, in so far as the operations of the relief organization be carried out in such currencies;

5. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to establish a Special Fund into which contributions shall be paid, which will be administered as a separate account;

6. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to expend the funds received under paragraphs 3 and 4 of the present resolutions;

7. *Instructs* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to establish regulations for the administration and supervision of the Fund;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take all necessary steps to extend aid to Palestine refugees and to establish such administrative organization as may be required for this purpose, inviting the assistance of the appropriate agencies of the several Governments, the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies and other voluntary agencies, it being recognized that the participation of voluntary organizations in the relief plan would in no way derogate from the principle of impartiality on the basis of which the assistance of these organizations is being solicited;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to Appoint a Director of United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, to whom he may delegate such responsibility as he may consider appropriate for the overall planning and implementation of the relief programme;

10. *Agrees* to the convoking, at the discretion of the Secretary-General, on an ad hoc advisory committee of seven members to be selected by the President of the General Assembly to which the Secretary-General may submit any matter of principle or policy upon which he would like the benefit of the committee's advice;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue and to extend the implementation of the present relief programme until the machinery provided for by the present resolution is set up;

12. *Urges* the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Refugee Organization, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and other appropriate organizations and agencies, acting within the framework of the relief programme herein established, promptly to contribute supplies, specialized personnel and other services permitted by their constitutions and their financial resources, to relieve the desperate plight of Palestine refugees of all communities;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly, at the next regular session, on the action taken as a result of this resolution.

Source: General Assembly Resolution 212 (III), Assistance to Palestine Refugees, A/RES/212 (III), 19 November 1948.

Appendix V: UNGA Resolution 302

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 212 (III) 2/ of 19 November 1948 and 194 (III) 3/ of 11 December 1948, affirming in particular the provisions of paragraph 11 of the latter resolutions,

Having examined with appreciation the first interim report 4/ of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East and the report 5/ of the Secretary-General on assistance to Palestine refugees,

1. *Expresses* its appreciation to the Governments which have generously responded to the appeal embodied in its resolution 212 (III), and to the appeal of the Secretary-General, to contribute in kind or in funds to the alleviation of the conditions of starvation and distress among the Palestine refugees;

2. *Expresses* also its gratitude to the International Committee of the Red Cross, to the League of Red Cross Societies and to the American Friends Service Committee for the contribution they have made to this humanitarian cause by discharging, in the face of great difficulties, the responsibility they voluntarily assumed for the distribution of relief supplies and the general care of the refugees; and welcomes the assurance they have given the Secretary-General that they will continue their co-operation with the United Nations until the end of March 1950 on a mutually acceptable basis;

3. *Commends* the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund for the important contribution which it has made towards the United Nations programme of assistance; and commends those specialized agencies which have rendered assistance in

their respective fields, in particular the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Refugee Organization;

4. *Expresses* its thanks to the numerous religious, charitable and humanitarian organizations which have materially assisted in bringing relief to Palestine refugees;

5. *Recognizes* that, without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, continued assistance for the relief of the Palestine refugees is necessary to prevent conditions of starvation and distress among them and to further conditions of peace and stability, and that constructive measures should be undertaken at an early date with a view to the termination of international assistance for relief;

6. *Considers* that, subject to the provisions of paragraph 9(d) of the present resolution, the equivalent of approximately \$33,700,000 will be required for direct relief and works programmes for the period 1 January to 31 December 1950 of which the equivalent of \$20,200,000 is required for direct relief and \$13,500,000 for works programmes; that the equivalent of approximately \$21,200,000 will be required for works programmes from 1 January to 30 June 1951, all inclusive of administrative expenses; and that direct relief should be terminated not later than 31 December 1950 unless otherwise determined by the General Assembly at its fifth regular session;

7. *Establishes* the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:

(a) To carry out in collaboration with local governments the direct relief and works programmes as recommended by the Economic Survey Mission;

(b) To consult with the interested Near Eastern Governments concerning measures to be taken by them preparatory to the time when international assistance for relief and works projects is no longer available;

8. *Establishes* an Advisory Commission consisting of representatives of France, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, with power to add not more than three additional members from contributing Governments, to advise and assist the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East in the execution of the programme; the Director and the Advisory Commission shall consult with each near Eastern Government concerned in the selection, planning and execution of projects;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to appoint the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East in consultation with the Governments represented on the Advisory Commission;

(a) The Director shall be the chief executive officer of the United Nations Relief and

Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East responsible to the General Assembly for the operation of the programme;

(b) The Director shall select and appoint his staff in accordance with general arrangements made in agreement with the Secretary-General, including such of the staff rules and regulations of the United Nations as the Director and the Secretary-General shall agree are applicable, and to the extent possible utilize the facilities and assistance of the Secretary-General;

(c) The Director shall, in consultation with the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, establish financial regulations for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;

(d) Subject to the financial regulations established pursuant to clause (c) of the present paragraph, the Director, in consultation with the Advisory Commission, shall apportion available funds between direct relief and works projects in their discretion, in the event that the estimates in paragraph 6 require revision;

10. *Requests* the Director to convene the Advisory Commission at the earliest practicable date for the purpose of developing plans for the organization and administration of the programme, and of adopting rules of procedure;

11. *Continues* the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees as established under General Assembly resolution 212 (III) until 1 April 1950, or until such date thereafter as the transfer referred to in paragraph 12 is affected, and requests the Secretary-General in consultation with the operating agencies to continue the endeavour to reduce the numbers of rations by progressive stages in the light of the findings and recommendations of the Economic Survey Mission;

12. *Instructs* the Secretary-General to transfer to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East the assets and liabilities of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees by 1 April 1950, or at such date as may be agreed by him and the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;

13. *Urges* all Members of the United Nations and non-members to make voluntary contributions in funds or in kind to ensure that the amount of supplies and funds required is obtained for each period of the programme as set out in paragraph 6; contributions in funds may be made in currencies other than the United States dollar in so far as the programme can be carried out in such currencies;

14. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to advance funds deemed to be available for this purpose and not exceeding \$5,000,000 from the Working Capital Fund to finance operations pursuant to the present resolution, such sum to be repaid not later than 31 December 1950 from the voluntary governmental contributions requested under

paragraph 13 above;

15. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to negotiate with the International Refugee Organization for an interest-free loan in an amount not to exceed the equivalent of \$2,800,000 to finance the programme subject to mutually satisfactory conditions for repayment;

16. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to continue the Special Fund established under General Assembly resolution 212 (III) and to make withdrawals therefrom for the operation of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and, upon the request of the Director, for the operations of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;

17. *Calls upon* the Governments concerned to accord to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East the privileges, immunities, exemptions and facilities which have been granted to the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, together with all other privileges, immunities, exemptions and facilities necessary for the fulfilment of its functions;

18. *Urges* the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the International Refugee Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and other appropriate agencies and private groups and organizations, in consultation with the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, to furnish assistance within the framework of the programme;

19. *Requests* the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:

(a) To appoint a representative to attend the meeting of the Technical Assistance Board as observer so that the technical assistance activities of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East may be co-ordinated with the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and specialized agencies referred to in Economic and Social Council resolution 222 (IX) A 6/ of 15 August 1949;

(b) To place at the disposal of the Technical Assistance Board full information concerning any technical assistance work which may be done by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, in order that it may be included in the reports submitted by the Technical Assistance Board to the Technical Assistance committee of the Economic and Social Council;

20. *Directs* the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to consult with the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine in the best interests of their respective tasks, with particular reference to paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948;

21. *Requests* the Director to submit to the General Assembly of the United Nations an annual report on the work of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, including an audit of funds, and invites him to submit to the Secretary-General such other reports as the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East may wish to bring to the attention of Members of the United Nations, or its appropriate organs;

22. *Instructs* the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine to transmit the final report of the Economic Survey Mission, with such comments as it may wish to make, to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Members of the United Nations and to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

Source: General Assembly Resolution 302 (IV), Assistance to Palestine Refugees I/, A/RES/302 (IV), 8 December 1949.

Appendix VI: Law of Return

- Right of aliyah*** 1. Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an oleh**.
- Oleh's visa* 2. (a) Aliyah shall be by oleh's visa.
(b) An oleh's visa shall be granted to every Jew who has expressed his desire to settle in Israel, unless the Minister of Immigration is satisfied that the applicant
- (1) is engaged in an activity directed against the Jewish people; or
(2) is likely to endanger public health or the security of the State.
- Oleh's certificate* 3. (a) A Jew who has come to Israel and subsequent to his arrival has expressed his desire to settle in Israel may, while still in Israel, receive an oleh's certificate.
(b) The restrictions specified in section 2(b) shall apply also to the grant of an oleh's certificate, but a person shall not be regarded as endangering public health on account of an illness contracted after his arrival in Israel.
- Residents and persons born in this country* 4. Every Jew who has immigrated into this country before the coming into force of this Law, and every Jew who was born in this country, whether before or after the coming into force of this Law, shall be deemed to be a person who has come to this country as an oleh under this Law.
- Implementation and regulations* 5. The Minister of Immigration is charged with the implementation of this Law and may make regulations as to any matter relating to such implementation and also as to the grant of oleh's visas and

oleh's certificates to minors up to the age of 18 years.

DAVID BEN-GURION
Prime Minister
MOSHE SHAPIRA
Minister of Immigration
YOSEF SPRINZAK
Acting President of the State
Chairman of the Knesset

Source: "Law of Return 5710-1950." Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. N.p., n.d. Web.

Appendix VII: 1964 Palestinian Charter

Article 1:

Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian Arab people and an integral part of the great Arab homeland, and the people of Palestine are part of the Arab nation.

Article 2:

Palestine with its boundaries that existed at the time of the British mandate is an integral regional unit.

Article 3:

The Palestinian Arab people possesses the legal right to its homeland, and when the liberation of its homeland is completed they will exercise self-determination solely according to its own will and choice.

Article 4:

The Palestinian personality is an innate, persistent character that will not extinct, and is inherited by sons from parents.

The Zionist occupation, and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people as a result of the disasters that befell it, do not deprive it from its Palestinian personality and affiliation and do not nullify that.

Article 5:

The Palestinians are the Arab citizens who were living permanently in Palestine until 1947, whether they were expelled or remained there. Whoever is born to a Palestinian father after that date, within Palestine or outside is a Palestinian.

Article 6:

Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians. (For the Zionist invasion is considered to have begun in 1917.)

Article 7:

The Palestinian affiliation and the material, spiritual and historical ties with Palestine are permanent realities. The upbringing of the Palestinian individual in an Arab and revolutionary fashion, the undertaking of all means of forging consciousness and training the Palestinians, in order to acquaint him profoundly spiritually and materially with his land, and prepare him for the conflict and armed struggle, as well as for the sacrifice of his property and life to restore his homeland, until the liberation is achieved is a national

duty.

Article 8:

The phase in which the people of Palestine is living is that of national struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Therefore the contradictions among the Palestinian national forces are of minimal importance that must be suspended in the interest of the main conflict between Zionism and Colonialism on the one side and the Palestinian Arab people on the other. On this basis, the Palestinian masses, whether in the homeland or in exile, organizations and individuals, comprise one national front which acts to restore Palestine and liberate it through armed struggle.

Article 9:

Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine and is therefore a strategy and not a tactic. The Palestinian Arab people affirms its absolute resolution and abiding determination to pursue the armed struggle and to march forward towards the armed popular revolution, to liberate its homeland and restore its right to a natural life, and to exercise its right of self-determination and national sovereignty.

Article 10:

Fedaayeen's (freedom fighters) action forms the nucleus of the popular Palestinian war of liberation. This requires its promotion, extension and protection, and the mobilization of all the Arab and Palestinian masses and scientific capacities of the Palestinians, their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution to ensure the continuation of the revolution, its advancement and victory.

Article 11:

The Palestinians will have three mottoes: National unity mobilization and liberation. (The text of this clause came in agreement with the 10th clause of the old version of the national charter, that stipulates the Palestinian people's right to choose any political, economic or social system they believe suitable for their country)

Article 12:

The Palestinian Arab people believes in Arab unity. In order to fulfill its role in realizing this, it must preserve, in this phase of national struggle, its Palestinian personality and the conscience, thereof increase consciousness of its consistence and resist any plan that tends to disintegrate or weaken it.

Article 13:

Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary aims. Each one paves the way for the realization of the other. Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine and that leads to Arab unity. Working for both goes hand in hand.

Article 14:

The destiny of the Arab nation, indeed the very Arab existence, depends on the destiny of the Palestinian issue. The endeavor and effort of the Arab nation to liberate Palestine flows from this connection. The people of Palestine assumes its vanguard role in realizing this sacred national aim.

Article 15:

The liberation of Palestine from the Arab view point is a national duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion from the great Arab homeland and to purge it from the Zionist presence. This full responsibility falls upon the Arab nation, peoples and governments, with the Arab Palestinian people at their lead. For this purpose the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, material and spiritual capacities to

participate actively with the Palestinian people in the liberation of Palestine. They must grant and offer the people of Palestine all possible help and every material and human support and afford it means and opportunities enabling it to continue assuming its vanguard role in pursuing its armed revolution until the liberation of its homeland, especially in the present stage of armed Palestinian revolution.

Article 16:

The liberation of Palestine from a spiritual view point will prepare an atmosphere of tranquillity and peace for the Holy Land in the shade of which all the holy places, will be safeguarded, and freedom of worship and free access to all will be guaranteed without distinction or discrimination of race, color, language or, religion. For this reason the people of Palestine looks for the support of all spiritual forces in the world.

Article 17:

The - liberation of Palestinian from a human point of view will restore to the Palestinian human being dignity, glory and freedom. For this the Palestinian Arab people looks for the support of those in the world who believe in dignity and freedom for mankind.

Article 18:

The liberation of Palestine from an international view point, is a defensive act necessitated by the requirements of self-defense. For this reason the Arab people of Palestine are desiring to befriend all peoples, and looks for the support of the states that love freedom , justice and peace in restoring the legal situation in Palestine, establishing security and peace in its territory, and enabling its people to exercise national sovereignty and freedom.

Article 19:

The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel is null and void from the very beginning, whatever time has elapsed because it was done contrary to the wish of the people of Palestine and their national right to their homeland and contradicts with the principles embodied in the charter of the UN, the first of which is the right of self-determination.

Article 20:

The Balfour Declaration, the mandate document and what has been based upon them are considered null and void. The claim of a historical or spiritual tie between Jews and Palestine does not tally with the historical realities nor with the constituencies of statehood in their true sense. Judaism in its character as a religion of revelation, is not a nationality with an independent existence. Likewise, the Jews are not one people with an independent personality. They are rather citizens of the states to which they belong.

Article 21:

The Palestinian Arab people in expressing itself through the armed Palestinian revolution, rejects every solution that is a substitute for a complete liberation of Palestine. and rejects all alternative plans that aim at the settlement of the Palestinian issue or its internationalization.

Article 22:

Zionism is a political movement organically related to the world imperialism and is hostile to all movements of liberation and progress in the world. It is a racist and fanatic movement in its formation, aggressive, expansionist, and colonialist in its aims, fascist and nazi in its means. Israel is the tool of the Zionist movement and is a human and geographic base for the world imperialism. It is a concentration and a way for

imperialism to the heart of the Arab homeland, to strike at the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity and progress.

Article 23:

The demands of security peace and the requirement of truth and justice oblige all states that maintain friendly relations with people, and loyalty of citizens to their homeland, to consider Zionism an illegitimate movement and to prohibit its existence and activity.

Article 24:

The Palestinian Arab people believes in the principle of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity and the right of peoples to exercise them.

Article 25:

To realize the aims of this charter and its principles the Palestine Liberation Organization will undertake its full role in liberating Palestine.

Article 26:

The Palestinian Liberation Organization which represents the forces of the Palestinian revolution, is responsible for mobilizing the Palestinian Arab people in their struggle to restore their homeland, liberate it, and exercise the right of self-determination on it. This responsibility extends to all military, political and financial matters, and all else that the Palestinian issue requires on the Arab and international arena.

Article 27:

The Palestine Liberation Organization will cooperate with Arab states, each according to its capacities and will maintain neutrality in their mutual relations in light of the requirements of the battle for the liberation, and will not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab state.

Article 28:

The Palestinian Arab people affirms the originality and independence of its national revolution and rejects every manner of interference, guardianship or subordination.

Article 29:

The Palestinian Arab people possesses the prior and original right for liberating and restoring its homeland and form its relations with other states according to the later's stands on the Palestinian issue the extent of their support for the Arab Palestinian people in their revolution to realize their aims.

Article 30:

The fighters and pears of arms in the battle of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army which will be the protection arm of the Palestinian Arab people.

Article 31:

This organization shall have a flag, oath, and anthem all of which will be determined in accordance with a special system.

Article 32:

To this charter- is attached a law known as the basic law of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in which the organization's structure is determined, its committees, institutions and the special function of every one of them, and all the requisite duties assigned to them in accordance with this charter.

Article 33:

This charter cannot be amended except by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the National Assembly in a special session called for this purpose.

Source: "The Palestinian Charter." Palestine Affairs Council. N.p., n.d. Web.

Appendix VIII: UNSC Resolution 242

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. *Affirms* that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. *Affirms further* the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

Source: Security Council Resolution 242, *Land for Peace, S/RES/242*, 22 November 1967.

Appendix IX: 1968 Palestinian Charter

Article 1:

Palestine is the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people; it is an indivisible part of the Arab homeland, and the Palestinian people are an integral part of the Arab nation.

Article 2:

Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.

Article 3:

The Palestinian Arab people possess the legal right to their homeland and have the right to determine their destiny after achieving the liberation of their country in accordance with their wishes and entirely of their own accord and will.

Article 4:

The Palestinian identity is a genuine, essential, and inherent characteristic; it is transmitted from parents to children. The Zionist occupation and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people, through the disasters which befell them, do not make them lose their Palestinian identity and their membership in the Palestinian community, nor do they negate them.

Article 5:

The Palestinians are those Arab nationals who, until 1947, normally resided in Palestine regardless of whether they were evicted from it or have stayed there. Anyone born, after that date, of a Palestinian father - whether inside Palestine or outside it - is also a Palestinian.

Article 6:

The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

Article 7:

That there is a Palestinian community and that it has material, spiritual, and historical connection with Palestine are indisputable facts. It is a national duty to bring up individual Palestinians in an Arab revolutionary manner. All means of information and education must be adopted in order to acquaint the Palestinian with his country in the most profound manner, both spiritual and material, that is possible. He must be prepared for the armed struggle and ready to sacrifice his wealth and his life in order to win back his homeland and bring about its liberation.

Article 8:

The phase in their history, through which the Palestinian people are now living, is that of national (watani) struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Thus the conflicts among the Palestinian national forces are secondary, and should be ended for the sake of the basic conflict that exists between the forces of Zionism and of imperialism on the one hand, and the Palestinian Arab people on the other. On this basis the Palestinian masses, regardless of whether they are residing in the national homeland or in diaspora (mahajir) constitute - both their organizations and the individuals - one national front working for the retrieval of Palestine and its liberation through armed struggle.

Article 9:

Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. This it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase. The Palestinian Arab people assert their absolute determination and firm resolution to continue their armed struggle and to work for an armed popular

revolution for the liberation of their country and their return to it . They also assert their right to normal life in Palestine and to exercise their right to self-determination and sovereignty over it.

Article 10:

Commando action constitutes the nucleus of the Palestinian popular liberation war. This requires its escalation, comprehensiveness, and the mobilization of all the Palestinian popular and educational efforts and their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution. It also requires the achieving of unity for the national (watani) struggle among the different groupings of the Palestinian people, and between the Palestinian people and the Arab masses, so as to secure the continuation of the revolution, its escalation, and victory.

Article 11:

The Palestinians will have three mottoes: national (wataniyya) unity, national (qawmiyya) mobilization, and liberation.

Article 12:

The Palestinian people believe in Arab unity. In order to contribute their share toward the attainment of that objective, however, they must, at the present stage of their struggle, safeguard their Palestinian identity and develop their consciousness of that identity, and oppose any plan that may dissolve or impair it.

Article 13:

Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary objectives, the attainment of either of which facilitates the attainment of the other. Thus, Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, the liberation of Palestine leads to Arab unity; and work toward the realization of one objective proceeds side by side with work toward the realization of the other.

Article 14:

The destiny of the Arab nation, and indeed Arab existence itself, depend upon the destiny of the Palestine cause. From this interdependence springs the Arab nation's pursuit of, and striving for, the liberation of Palestine. The people of Palestine play the role of the vanguard in the realization of this sacred (qawmi) goal.

Article 15:

The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national (qawmi) duty and it attempts to repel the Zionist and imperialist aggression against the Arab homeland, and aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine. Absolute responsibility for this falls upon the Arab nation - peoples and governments - with the Arab people of Palestine in the vanguard. Accordingly, the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, moral, and spiritual capabilities to participate actively with the Palestinian people in the liberation of Palestine. It must, particularly in the phase of the armed Palestinian revolution, offer and furnish the Palestinian people with all possible help, and material and human support, and make available to them the means and opportunities that will enable them to continue to carry out their leading role in the armed revolution, until they liberate their homeland.

Article 16:

The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual point of view, will provide the Holy Land with an atmosphere of safety and tranquility, which in turn will safeguard the country's religious sanctuaries and guarantee freedom of worship and of visit to all, without discrimination of race, color, language, or religion. Accordingly, the people of Palestine

look to all spiritual forces in the world for support.

Article 17:

The liberation of Palestine, from a human point of view, will restore to the Palestinian individual his dignity, pride, and freedom. Accordingly the Palestinian Arab people look forward to the support of all those who believe in the dignity of man and his freedom in the world.

Article 18:

The liberation of Palestine, from an international point of view, is a defensive action necessitated by the demands of self-defense. Accordingly the Palestinian people, desirous as they are of the friendship of all people, look to freedom-loving, and peace-loving states for support in order to restore their legitimate rights in Palestine, to re-establish peace and security in the country, and to enable its people to exercise national sovereignty and freedom.

Article 19:

The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time, because they were contrary to the will of the Palestinian people and to their natural right in their homeland, and inconsistent with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations; particularly the right to self-determination.

Article 20:

The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate for Palestine, and everything that has been based upon them, are deemed null and void. Claims of historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine are incompatible with the facts of history and the true conception of what constitutes statehood. Judaism, being a religion, is not an independent nationality. Nor do Jews constitute a single nation with an identity of its own; they are citizens of the states to which they belong.

Article 21:

The Arab Palestinian people, expressing themselves by the armed Palestinian revolution, reject all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine and reject all proposals aiming at the liquidation of the Palestinian problem, or its internationalization.

Article 22:

Zionism is a political movement organically associated with international imperialism and antagonistic to all action for liberation and to progressive movements in the world. It is racist and fanatic in its nature, aggressive, expansionist, and colonial in its aims, and fascist in its methods. Israel is the instrument of the Zionist movement, and geographical base for world imperialism placed strategically in the midst of the Arab homeland to combat the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity, and progress. Israel is a constant source of threat vis-a-vis peace in the Middle East and the whole world. Since the liberation of Palestine will destroy the Zionist and imperialist presence and will contribute to the establishment of peace in the Middle East, the Palestinian people look for the support of all the progressive and peaceful forces and urge them all, irrespective of their affiliations and beliefs, to offer the Palestinian people all aid and support in their just struggle for the liberation of their homeland.

Article 23:

The demand of security and peace, as well as the demand of right and justice, require all states to consider Zionism an illegitimate movement, to outlaw its existence, and to ban

its operations, in order that friendly relations among peoples may be preserved, and the loyalty of citizens to their respective homelands safeguarded.

Article 24:

The Palestinian people believe in the principles of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity, and in the right of all peoples to exercise them.

Article 25:

For the realization of the goals of this Charter and its principles, the Palestine Liberation Organization will perform its role in the liberation of Palestine in accordance with the Constitution of this Organization.

Article 26:

The Palestine Liberation Organization, representative of the Palestinian revolutionary forces, is responsible for the Palestinian Arab people's movement in its struggle - to retrieve its homeland, liberate and return to it and exercise the right to self-determination in it - in all military, political, and financial fields and also for whatever may be required by the Palestine case on the inter-Arab and international levels.

Article 27:

The Palestine Liberation Organization shall cooperate with all Arab states, each according to its potentialities; and will adopt a neutral policy among them in the light of the requirements of the war of liberation; and on this basis it shall not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab state.

Article 28:

The Palestinian Arab people assert the genuineness and independence of their national (wataniyya) revolution and reject all forms of intervention, trusteeship, and subordination.

Article 29:

The Palestinian people possess the fundamental and genuine legal right to liberate and retrieve their homeland. The Palestinian people determine their attitude toward all states and forces on the basis of the stands they adopt vis-a-vis to the Palestinian revolution to fulfill the aims of the Palestinian people.

Article 30:

Fighters and carriers of arms in the war of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army which will be the protective force for the gains of the Palestinian Arab people.

Article 31:

The Organization shall have a flag, an oath of allegiance, and an anthem. All this shall be decided upon in accordance with a special regulation.

Article 32:

Regulations, which shall be known as the Constitution of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, shall be annexed to this Charter. It will lay down the manner in which the Organization, and its organs and institutions, shall be constituted; the respective competence of each; and the requirements of its obligation under the Charter.

Article 33:

This Charter shall not be amended save by [vote of] a majority of two-thirds of the total membership of the National Congress of the Palestine Liberation Organization [taken] at a special session convened for that purpose.

Source: "The Palestinian National Charter." *The Avalon Project*. Yale Law School, n.d. Web.

Appendix X: UNSC Resolutions 338, 339

*Resolution 338 (1973)
of 22 October 1973*

The Security Council

1. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy;
2. *Calls upon* the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of [Security Council resolution 242 \(1967\)](#) in all of its parts;
3. *Decides* that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, [negotiations](#) shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Source: Security Council Resolution 338 (1973), S/RES/ 338 (1973), 22 October 1973.

*Resolution 339 (1973)
of 23 October 1973*

The Security Council,

Referring to its resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973,

1. *Confirms* its decision on an immediate cessation of all kinds of firing and of all military action, and urges that the forces of the two sides be returned to the positions they occupied at the moment the cease-fire became effective;
2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take measures for immediate dispatch of United Nations observers to supervise the observance of the cease-fire between the forces of Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt, using for this purpose the personnel of the United Nations now in the Middle East and first of all the personnel now in Cairo.

Source: Security Council Resolution 339 (1973), S/RES/ 339 (1973), 23 October 1973.

Appendix XI: Ten Point Plan

1. Emphasize PLO's stand on the UN resolution 242 as it ignores our national rights and deals with our national issue as a refugees' problem. So dealing in any way with this resolution is rejected, be it on Arab or international level including the Geneva conference.
2. The PLO uses all means the most important of which is armed struggle in its fight

- to liberate the Palestinian land and establish the national independent Palestinian authority, on every liberated part from the Palestinian land. Achieving this requires creating a change in the power balance in our nations' favor.
3. The PLO struggles against any design to create a Palestinian entity in return for recognizing and normalizing relations with Israel and its safe borders, and leads to giving up the Palestinian national rights and depriving our people from their right to return and self-determination on our land.
 4. Any partial liberation is just one part of the realization of PLO's strategy to establish the democratic Palestinian state as decided by the PNC.
 5. Jointly fight with Palestinian - Jordanian front aiming at establishing a Jordanian national democratic role in Jordan that unites with the Palestinian entity that struggles and fights.
 6. The PLO struggles for a strong unity between the two nations and all Arab freedom forces that support this program.
 7. In light of this program, the PLO fights to foster a stronger national unity that should be enhanced to a standard that facilitates for easier execution of its national aims.
 8. After establishing the Palestinian authority, it should struggle for unity between conflict-involved countries, as a step towards a complete liberation of the Palestinian land as part of the complete unity.
 9. The PLO struggles to strengthen its solidarity with the socialist countries and world liberal forces to foil all Zionist and imperialist designs.
 10. In light of this program, the revolution leadership is to decide a tactic that serves our issue and allows us to realize our aims.

Source: "The Palestinian Charter." Palestine Affairs Council. N.p., n.d. Web.

Appendix XII: UNGA Resolution 3210

The General Assembly,

Considering that the Palestinian people is the principal party to the question of Palestine,

Invites the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine in plenary meetings.

Source: General Assembly Resolution 3210 (XXIX), Invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization, A/RES/3210 (XXIX), 14 October 1974.

Appendix XIII: Resolution 3236/3237

*Resolution 3236 (1974)
Of November 1974*

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine,

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,^{1/}

Having also heard other statements made during the debate,

Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved and recognizing that the problem of Palestine continues to endanger international peace and security,

Recognizing that the Palestinian people is entitled to self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Expressing its grave concern that the Palestinian people has been prevented from enjoying its inalienable rights, in particular its right to self-determination,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Recalling its relevant resolutions which affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including:
 - (a) The right to self-determination without external interference;
 - (b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;
2. *Reaffirms also* the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return;
3. *Emphasizes* that full respect for and the realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;
4. *Recognizes* that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;
5. *Further recognizes* the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
6. *Appeals* to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;
7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the implementation of the present resolution;

9. *Decides* to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in the provisional agenda of its thirtieth session.

Source: General Assembly Resolution 3236 (XXIX), Question of Palestine, A/RES/ 3236 (XXIX), 22 November 1974

*Resolution 3237 (1974)
Of November 1974*

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine,

Taking into consideration the universality of the United Nations prescribed in the Charter,

Recalling its resolution 3102 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973,

Taking into account Economic and Social Council resolutions 1835 (LVI) of 14 May 1974 and 1840 (LVI) of 15 May 1974,

Noting that the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, the World Population Conference and the World Food Conference have in effect invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in their respective deliberations,

Noting also that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in its deliberations as an observer,

1. *Invites* the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

2. *Invites* the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

3. *Considers* that the Palestine Liberation Organization is entitled to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the implementation of the present resolution.

Source: General Assembly Resolution 3237 (XXIX), Observer status for the Palestine Liberation Organization, A/RES/ 3237 (XXIX), 22 November 1974

Appendix XIV: Resolution 3379 (XXX)

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and in particular its affirmation that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous" and its expression of alarm at "the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative or other measures",

*Recalling also that, in its resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned, *inter alia*, the unholy alliance between South African racism and zionism,*

*Taking note of the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1/ proclaimed by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975, which promulgated the principle that "international co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, zionism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in all its forms, as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination",*

Taking note also of resolution 77 (XII) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twelfth ordinary session,2/ held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975, which considered "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being",

Taking note also of the Political Declaration and Strategy to Strengthen International Peace and Security and to Intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries,3/ adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, which most severely condemned zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology,

Determines that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

Source: General Assembly Resolution 3379 (XXX), Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, A/RES/ 3379 (XXX), 10 November 1975.

Appendix XV: US-USSR Joint Communiqué

The text of the joint U.S.-Soviet statement on the Middle East, as released here yesterday by the State Department, declares:

Having exchanged views regarding the unsafe situation which remains in the Middle East, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance of the United States and Andrei A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, have the following statement to make on behalf of their countries, which are the co-chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East:

1. Both governments are convinced that vital interests of the peoples of this area as well as the interests of strengthening peace and international security in general urgently dictate the necessity of achieving as soon as possible a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This settlement should be comprehensive, incorporating all parties concerned and all questions.

The United States and the Soviet Union believe that within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, all specific questions of the settlement should be resolved, including such key issues as withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict; the resolution of the Palestinian question including insuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; termination of the state of war and establishment of normal peaceful relations on the basis of mutual recognition of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

The two governments believe that, in addition to such measures for insuring the security of the borders between Israel and the neighboring Arab states as the establishment of demilitarized zones and the agreed stationing in them of United Nations troops or observers, international guarantees of such borders as well as of the observance of the terms of the settlement can also be established, should the contracting parties so desire. The United States and the Soviet Union are ready to participate in these guarantees, subject to their constitutional processes.

2. The United States and the Soviet Union believe that the only right and effective way for achieving a fundamental solution to all aspects of the Middle East problem in its entirety is negotiations within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference, specially convened for these purposes, with participation in its work of the representatives of all the parties involved in the conflict, including those of the Palestinian people, and legal and contractual formalization of the decisions reached at the conference.

In their capacity as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the U.S. and the USSR affirm their intention through joint efforts and in their contacts with the parties concerned to

facilitate in every way the resumption of the work of the Conference not later than December 1977. The co-chairmen note that there still exist several questions of a procedural and organizational nature which remain to be agreed upon by the participants to the Conference.

3. Guided by the goal of achieving a just political settlement in the Middle East and of eliminating the explosive situation in this area of the world, the U.S. and the USSR appeal to all the parties in the conflict to understand the necessity for careful consideration of each other's legitimate rights and interests and to demonstrate mutual readiness to act accordingly.

Source: "Text of U.S.-Ussr Mideast Statement." Jewish Telegraphic Agency. N.p., 03 Oct. 1977. Web.

Appendix XVI: UNSC Resolution 425/426

*Resolution 425 (1978)
Of March 1978*

The Security Council,

Taking note of the letters from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon 1/ and from the Permanent Representative of Israel, 2/

Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representatives of Lebanon and Israel, 3/

Gravely concerned at the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and its consequences to the maintenance of international peace,

Convinced that the present situation impedes the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East,

1. *Calls for* strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries;
2. *Calls upon* Israel immediately to cease its military action against Lebanese territorial integrity and withdraw forthwith its forces from all Lebanese territory;
3. *Decides*, in the light of the request of the Government of Lebanon, to establish immediately under its authority a United Nations interim force for Southern Lebanon for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area, the Force to be composed of personnel drawn from Member States;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Council within twenty-four hours on the implementation of the present resolution.

Source: Security Council Resolution 425, Resolution 425 (1978), S/RES/425 (1978), 19 March 1978.

*Resolution 426 (1978)
Of March 1978*

The Security Council,

1. *Approves* the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), contained in document S/12611 of 19 March 1978, 1/
2. *Decides* that the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon shall be established in accordance with the above-mentioned report for an initial period of six months, and that it shall continue in operation thereafter if required, provided the Security Council so decides.

Source: Security Council Resolution 426, Resolution 426 (1978), S/RES/426 (1978), 19 March 1978.

Appendix XVII: Resolution 508

The Security Council,

Recalling Security Council resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978) and the ensuing resolutions, and more particularly, Security Council resolution 501 (1982),

Taking note of the letters of the Permanent Representative of Lebanon dated 4 June 1982 (S/15161 and S/15162),

Deeply concerned at the deterioration of the present situation in Lebanon and in the Lebanese-Israeli border area, and its consequences for peace and security in the region,

Gravely concerned at the violation of the territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty of Lebanon,

Reaffirming and supporting the statement made by the President and the members of the Security Council on 4 June 1982 (S/15163), as well as the urgent appeal issued by the Secretary-General on 4 June 1982,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General,

1. *Calls upon* all the parties to the conflict to cease immediately and simultaneously all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border and no later

than 0600 hours local time on Sunday, 6 June 1982;

2. *Requests* all Member States which are in a position to do so to bring their influence to bear upon those concerned so that the cessation of hostilities declared by Security Council resolution 490 (1981) can be respected;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to undertake all possible efforts to ensure the implementation of and compliance with this resolution and to report to the Security Council as early as possible and not later than forty-eight hours after the adoption of this resolution.

Source: Security Council Resolution 508, Resolution 508 (1982), S/RES/508 (1982), 5 June 1982.

Interviews

Abu Sharif, Bassam, Phone Interview, Toronto, Canada. August 25th, 2017.

To start, how would you generally define the Palestinian identity?

The theme here is the identity, okay, so let's talk about the Palestinian identity. In fact, the identity of the Palestinians can be defined in a very accurate way, the same way we define all people of the Arab nation, they are Arabs. In fact, all the Arab nations were under ottoman occupation, it abused the flag of Islam to put all these nations under an occupation that was very despotic, very brutal and kept all other nations underdeveloped. Even those who were developed were forced to retreat back to dark ages with regards culture, progress, production and construction. The Palestinians, simply put, happened to live in Palestine and Palestine was not defined by the ottoman occupation, in fact, Palestine has been a subject of invasion so many times through history and it has remained Palestine. That doesn't mean Palestine was a separate entity with a separate identity, Palestinians were Arabs and I refer you to the brilliant historian who was born in Akka, Nicola Ziadeh. He has a book, written about Arabs in Palestine and to use a very useful brief sentence he wrote; "Arabs were in Palestine long before Judaism, Christianity and Islam." This gave the inhabitants of Palestine a very clear identity since they were there before any of the monotheistic religions. So the identity is Arab, no doubt about that and the links are so clear though not according to the map designed Mr. Sykes and Monsieur Picot, who redefined the middle east by separating countries calling this Lebanon, calling that Syria, calling this Iraq and calling that Palestine. No, this is a colonial definition and the colonial division of the Arab identity.

Anyway, if we want don't want to deal with the roots, in the sense Nicola Ziadeh did, if we want to take modern history. If we want to start with the Arab renaissance, the Palestinians, together with other Arabs, started a revolt, I don't want to talk about their revolt, continuous revolt against the strangers. I won't call them crusades, this is a western term, to give it a Christian flag, in fact it was an invasion by savages who didn't even know what a bath was. People from France and England at the time used to have one bath per year, it was a celebration when they took a bath. When they came to occupy our areas they started to learn the meaning of hygiene. Anyways, to talk about the revolt of Arabs against ottoman occupation, Palestine was particularly distinguished due to the holy sites, Christians, Muslims, Jews considered Jerusalem a sacred area where they invested a lot of money to ensure the upkeep of their holy sites.

Arabs under ottomans were not allowed to express themselves politically, were not allowed to have institutes, were not allowed to have universities, were not allowed to have their own schools.). Najah school was a prime example of how the Palestinians had to struggle to remain educated when they were living under Turkish rule, the Turks refused to allow the Palestinians to open a school where they would teach Arabic and would shut down institutes that advanced any modes of education, of which were some of the top institutes in the region.

Due to this special religious connection to Palestine, it was distinguished, but it did not waver its identity as an Arab country. Excuse me, it was not a country, it was never a separate country because it was never separated into different countries until Sykes and Picot decided to separate them. Giving the mandate of Palestine to the British colonialists, which was just that, a colony, even though they called it a mandatory area.

All these conditions, the strangers, then the Turks, then the British, then the Zionists did not touch the identity of the Palestinian, but it was brutal colonization, whether they were settlers, armies or occupiers like the Turks or strangers. They remained part of an Arab movement to rid themselves of the Turkish occupation.

Since the Arab's were not allowed to establish any political party or movement, nor to express themselves or call for their freedoms, they were forced to create societies. It was a popular movement around the region to develop Arab societies, who were recruiting, organizing, and calling for the freedom and unity of the Arab nation. These were the slogans that were picked by Sharif Hussain of Mecca, who was in contact with McMahon, the British representative controlling the middle east from Cairo. Who promised him that if the Arabs would fight the Turks and kick them out, the British would help them create a united Arab nation, with the king of Arabs being Hussain and his sons distributed as the governors of the liberated areas. At one point, that was the agreement, and that point covered the first bullet shot by Hussain who was not leading his family or the people of the Hijaz but all the Arabic societies who gathered with recruits, volunteers, fighters, and leaders to form one united Arab army.

In the meantime, the British decided that this Arab unity would not be in the best interests of the British. Anyway, the British, when they decided that Arab unity would not be in their best interests, they betrayed Sharif Hussain. One of the painful points, one night they were sipping wine and became tipsy, and the map which they were studying was left with two lines to mark the borders between Lebanon and Syria. There was a part of the map undefined, until now the part of the map, called Wadi Khaled, has 400,000 Arabs who up until 1994 were not recognized as Lebanese or Syrians. No identity, they are Arabs, but no passports.

My thesis focuses more on the identity as it resurged after the Nakba, do you feel that the identity changed after this catastrophe?

Now we are moving to another angle, when you talk about 1948 this is another angle of looking at the term identity. In this case the identity is not the identity which is defined by Webster's. In this case it has a certain political meaning, not a meaning driven by roots, the political meaning is that the Palestinians have never enjoyed independence as promised by the victors of the world war and the mandatory part of the UN which Great Britain represented. In other words, all the promises that the Palestinians would have their independence were not met and were conspired against. The mandatory idea was created to wipe out the creation of an independent Palestine and to allow the Jews to send immigrants to become colonialist settlers in Palestine.

Also that, when the time comes, Israel will be created, as Lord Balfour has promised. A land with no people for a people with no land, or as I like to call it; a land Lord Balfour did not possess for a people that do not possess the land. So now, when you talk about identity in this case you have to talk about Lord Balfour's decision, and then it becomes political. Although the Palestinians were treated in a very savage, brutal, and racist way. Although they were subject to a large plot drawn by Zionists and supported by colonialists to create Israel on their land, although they were driven by force out of Palestine, they did not lose their identity as Palestinians, they lost their political identity. They suffered, and are still suffering from this brutal conspiracy waged against them by the Western colonial powers and the Zionist gangs (Stern, Irgun, Hagenah). They became victims, their freedom was denied, their independence was denied and they were expelled from their lands, their villages and towns were occupied, as they are until now. Even the 1947 partition plan, which was passed by force through the US coercing the banana republics of Central and Latin America to support it, passed by a slim margin, and was not actually upheld as the Zionists took more land than they were promised.

This led to a catastrophe to the Palestinians on all levels, political, human, social, they turned the Palestinians into refugees and put them into refugee camps. Since then, UNRWA is trying to help these refugees by spending 90% of their budget on foreign employees who take large salaries while the 10% is spent on schools and camps, anyways, that is another catastrophe.

With all these catastrophes, and all this suffering, the Palestinians did not lose their identity. What happened in 1948 did not erase the identity of the Palestinians, not at all, it actually concentrated their identity more than anything. Arabs of Palestine, the identity is Arabs of Palestine.

Well that's an important issue as it pertains to my thesis, the refugees, as we know were treated poorly by the Arab regimes and the Palestinians were forced to see themselves as different than their Arab neighbours.

They were treated as slaves in the camps by Arab regimes. They were put under intelligence control, army control, security control, prevented from any political action, from any political expression, from any political organization, though this was happening to the Palestinians it has never touched their determination to return to their homeland in Palestine of liberating their homes again, of going back to Palestine in order to bring Palestine back to the Arab world. Now, the situation, losing the political identity, was not only done by the colonialists of the west and the Zionist movement but also Arab rulers who were appointed by the colonialists in the major Arab countries in order to allow the colonialists to keep controlling the wealth of the Arab nations, oil and gas and minerals. Also to keep Israel strong enough not to be beaten or defeated allowing the Palestinians to return home.

Since 1948, the catastrophe was not only felt by Palestinians, it was all over the Arab world due to 1948 and the conspiracy which was implemented not only by the Zionist gangs who were not strong enough to beat all the Arab armies, but the Arab armies that

pretended to go into Palestine to in order to prevent the creation of Israel and keep the 1947 agreed upon borders. I refer you here to a book written by a Jordanian officer who was in charge of Jerusalem, Abdullah al-Tel's; *The Hashemite's*. He was talking about the battle of Jerusalem and how the Jordanian army was prevented from defeating the Israeli army.

Anyways, due to 1948 there were repercussions in several Arab countries. In Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser and the group of officers had their revolution and started a completely different line which is the Pan-Arab line calling for the liberation of Palestine, in Syria too, in Iraq too. In these countries the change was due to the realization of certain officers who participated in the so-called Arab experience in 1948 and saw with their own eyes the treason of their kings and rulers of the time. They revolted in order to change the political line and liberate Palestine. Once more, even though there were political repercussions and repercussions on the identity, here, it was the dislodging of the Palestinians and turning them into refugees in Arab countries. It never wavered the fact that we are Palestinian Arabs.

The Palestinians themselves who were in their camps as refugees, under military rule of the Arab regimes started their own organizations secretly in order to fight back and resist the efforts to scratch their political identity as Palestinians who own Palestine, to have rights, to fight the colonization of their homeland. In Lebanon particularly, in the camps of Lebanon, the Arab nationalist movement was created raising the slogan that Arab unity is the way to liberate Palestine and return to Palestine while Fatah started al-Asifa in order to start their own military resistance to their colonisers. Certain Arab regimes, the West in general, and Israel in particular were trying to wipe out the belonging of the Palestinians, this adhering of the Palestinians to their identity, the strong belief of the Palestinians roots in the Palestinian soil, these deep roots that have confronted all invasions of their land through history, as Nicola said Arabs were there before Christianity, Judaism and Islam and remained there even after they were invaded by the Mongols, the Romans, the strangers, the Turks, the British and now the Zionists.

So, understanding that, the idea that Palestinians are Arabs of Palestine and will always will be, how do you view the Arab response to the Palestinian political identity?

Okay this is a very important question, because it will confirm and reaffirm my definition of the word identity and my definition to what you mean of identity in your thesis, focusing on the political identity of the Palestinian people. Now, Palestinians after 1948 suffered from being thrown out by force from their land, not according to the partition plan but much more than the partition. Although the partition plan doesn't say kick them out, the Zionists kicked them out. Although the partition plan says that the property of Jews or Arabs in the areas made for Jews or Arabs must be protected, they were never kept. So hundreds of thousands of Palestinians became refugees in Lebanon, the West Bank, Gaza, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. It is important to note that, to many it might be a new piece of information, but the number of refugee camps in Gaza and the West Bank is far more than the number of refugee camps in the Arab countries.

Now, the West Bank and Jordan, the situation was different because immediately the West Bank became part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and I believe this was the agreement and this was the prize given to Abdallah, in return for accepting the creation of the Zionist state. They promised Abdallah a Kingdom, uniting the West and East Bank of the River Jordan and the price was Palestine.

Never throughout history was there something called Jordan, as a state or a province or whatever, it was created by the British colonialists and was called Transjordan. It was created as a buffer in order to support the British who were fighting the resistance in Palestine and the French who were fighting against the resistance in Syria. Also this buffer acted as a way to prevent Arab resistance in Palestine and in Syria from cooperating and meeting in order to help each other in resisting European colonization. Transjordan was a very poor colony that the British and others used as a smuggling area for their illegal trade.

So Palestinians Arabs became citizens of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, including the refugees that, since 1948 were pushed to the Jordanian area and the refugees that are in the West Bank, Gaza was under the Egyptian administration. Palestinians in the West Bank and East Jerusalem were Jordanian, so the conditions they faced were different from those who sought refuge in Gaza, Syria, Lebanon and so on. In Iraq, they were given houses and citizenship and were considered Iraqis out of Arab comradery. So this means that each Arab country tried to influence the Palestinians the organizations the Palestinians established secretly or privately in their own way. Each Arab country tried to control such societies, and if they didn't manage to, they would create a similar rival organization.

How did the 1967 war impact this Arab control?

There was a turning point long before 1967, let's say 1962-63, the Palestinians started secret organizations to resist the Israelis and liberate Palestine. All were secret organizations and very minute in size because all regimes were fighting these organizations for many reasons, one of them was that certain Arab regimes were scared that if they were to carryout armed struggle they would incur a certain reprisal from the Israelis which they were not ready for, a war for example.

The war of 1967 was its own turning point, in the sense that Egypt, Syria, and Jordan were defeated, all their institutions, armies, intelligence, security, et cetera were crushed in six days. That was an opportunity for the Palestinian to start the really quick work to train and start their resistance of the Israelis. Since all the institutions that prevented such work were crushed, they became absent, creating space for the revolution.

You should add here that in 1964, Egypt was careful, they told the Palestinians that Egypt is not ready for war at the moment and that they should start preparing themselves in order to be ready for the time to carry out their duty of fighting to liberate Palestine. So Egypt pushed for the establishment of the PLO in 1964, the PLO was created along with the PLA and the PLA played a major role of graduating hundreds of thousands of

Palestinians from military academies, whether pilots, tank commanders or infantry which gave the Palestinians the opportunity, for the first time to have real trained, military options. The PLA was established in Syria, in Iraq, in Egypt, and in Jordan all according to the Arab league decision. But as I said before, all these armies were kept under the auspices and control of the Arab armies.

So nonetheless, what the Palestinians benefitted from this experience was to train a massive number of Palestinians who graduated from military academies. At the same time political parties also established secret organizations, the Arab National Movement and Fatah their secret military organizations and in 1967 they were all ready to start armed struggle at the time when darkness of defeat prevailed in the Arab world. All Arabs were in pain, were in grief, they had no trust or confidence in anything Arab anymore. So the Palestinians started.

Now, to start the resistance against the Israeli occupation was the main road to regroup the Palestinians and to erase, gradually, the trauma that had been inflicted on Palestinians in every Arab country from every Arab regime and to be Palestinians again, publicly and overtly.

I was a student in the early 60's at AUB and we used to go and visit camps and we used to see that Palestinians in the camps were treated like animals from the Lebanese DB. They were not allowed to build, also, Palestinians were not allowed to leave the camps without permission even to visit their families in another camp. No demonstration was allowed, no newspapers, no political meetings, to mentioning of Palestine or the liberation of Palestine. For years this has been imposed on Palestinians so the Palestinians resorted to a certain status of fear and in 1967 they removed these burdens to join the Palestinian organizations that were publicly calling for the liberation of Palestine and to fight without fear from any Arab.

This did not change the attitude of Arab regimes, in the sense when the regimes that were defeated woke up and saw that these organizations had their grip on the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people and that this a very dangerous thing, they started conspiring against the revolution or crating their own off shoots inside the Palestinian fighting body.

Ill give you an example, Iraq established the Arab Liberation Army, a Palestinian offshoot to fight for the liberation of Palestine from the Baath party in Iraq. The same was done in Egypt and Syria. Even intelligence services here and there began establishing small organizations like that.

They were trying to disturb this effort to unite the different Palestinian organizations. The opportunity that was created for the Palestinians to pick up their own arms and start their own fight against this occupation in 1967 and to liberate Palestine was very rare and it took place for the first time since 1948. As I said before, the Arab institutions, military, security, and intelligence of the Arab regimes surrounding Palestine were no longer capable of controlling the Palestinians providing for an opportunity for the Palestinians to start moving back and to fight the Israeli occupation.

What role did Yasser Arafat, or the PLO, play in this concept of Palestinian unity?

Though the Arab regimes would attempt to control these organizations, due to the growth, they could not. So most Arab regimes took another alternative, which was to create their own organizations in order to have a finger in centre of the resistance. The situation has become very clear to certain Arab regimes, who were not against the resistance, on the contrary Abdul Nasser was a big supporter of the Palestinian revolution and that is why he pushed for the PLO to be reshaped in order for it to be controlled by the fighting organizations rather than Palestinians who were not members of the fighting organizations. In 1968 I believe a new kind of struggle started internally, and this struggle was led by Arafat to unite the Palestinians.

There is a difference between uniting them and creating an identity. If the meaning of identity here can be defined as unifying the Palestinians under common grounds politically and revolutionary speaking, yes, it was a creation of a unified identity for the Palestinians. But I repeat, we should not create a misunderstanding of the two identities. When defined by Webster's the identity is; Palestinians are Arabs who belong to Palestine, which is part of the Arab world, which was the victim of a large conspiracy of colonialism and Zionism. Now, the political identity is another thing, creating by uniting the different Palestinian organizations under one flag, the PLO.

Now Arafat has led this battle through the PLO, of course, other Palestinians who are genuinely nationalists, revolutionaries, where not against his efforts of having the Palestinians under the flag of the PLO but other elements have intervened, elements like the political programme. It was wrong that Fatah had excellent relations with reactionary regimes that were viewed by the PFLP, for example, as tools of the United States like the Arab Reactionary Regime, especially the regimes like Saudi Arabia and others in the Gulf. The PFLP also considered the Jordanian regime as that, especially after 1970, when the battles were waged against the Palestinian resistance and revolution in Amman and Jordan. So, others had their own ideologies and ideas like the Baathists of Syria and Iraq, but they were never a real problem when it came to national identity and unity. That depended quite a lot on how big the ground of alliance with Arafat and Fatah was, at one point the Iraqis had a battle with Fatah and Yasser Arafat and then became one of their closest allies, creating a ground so large allowing both Iraq and Fatah to share it while fighting the same enemies.

With Syria, Fatah also had excellent relations at one time then battled with Syria and the Syrian army at another. So it was the political programme that was the base for reunification of the Palestinians who always had different points of views, with different ideologies, but never had a different view in relation to the liberation of Palestine, the return to Palestine, the independence of Palestine. So the programme of liberation of Palestine, fighting to return home was big enough to allow all these organizations join, but Arafat realized that unless Fatah leads this organization, they would try to impose another programme or ideology, or insert a programme or ideology of another Arab regime. That's why Arafat remained very close allies, despite of fights and disputes and

contradictions, with the PFLP, he always considered the PFLP the closest ally of Fatah because they were not influenced by any regimes. They had differences in the way the PFLP considered and defined Arab regimes in the gulf or the alliance with Egypt, Syria... Yet he always considered that when things come to things, when the PLO would confront serious danger his closest ally would be the PFLP. That's why the PFLP helped him in the reunification of the Palestinians who were dispersed in the countries surrounding Palestine and those who were dispersed in the West Bank and Gaza.

He had unified them under a political programme, when I say he I mean the PLO, the national council of the PLO, I mean the leadership of the PLO which basically revolved around a pivotal crux of Fatah and the PFLP. Of course you can add other organizations but this is crux where Palestinian unity was built.

My view, I have to insert here that whatever I say pertains to certain era, period of time, period of struggle and the conditions surrounding that period. For example, if you analyze and look carefully into the language used by Fatah in Jordan during the Karameh battle until 1971, when the PLO had to leave Jordan. The language was different than the language used in Lebanon when the PLO was centered in Beirut versus the language used when they left Beirut in 1982 and the language used when they were in exile in Tunisia. Now this is very important because this is the relativity of the political line of the conditions, this is the relativity of how a revolutionary can stick to his cause and remain steadfast to his ideas.

When I say reuniting the Palestinians I meant, with the loosening of the grip of the Arab regimes on the Palestinian refugee camps in the surrounding Arab countries the Palestinians found, in the PLO, their representative. This is new, all of a sudden the refugees who were treated as slaves, as tenth grade citizens who were not allowed even to work to earn a living, these refugees found themselves free to join the PLO and finally be proud to say that they are Palestinian and fight to liberate Palestine.

Though this worked initially, it became a lot more difficult as time went on, what were the difficulties the PLO faced in ensuring the viability of this unity?

The situation has become difficult for the Palestinian revolution because the forces against the Palestinians; Israel, Zionism, United States, the West, Arab regimes, united their efforts to crush the revolution because it was becoming a real danger to the interests of the West, Israel and certain Arab regimes.

The first war that was waged was in Jordan after the PLO's victory in Karameh, forcing the Palestinians to go to Lebanon, but they remained strong and united under a political platform to liberate Palestine, all the while creating hell for Israel. The enemy tried to take out the PLO in Lebanon early, they found that the regime of the time and the army in Lebanon couldn't do it so they created a civil war in Lebanon and then finally had to invade Lebanon in 1982. They invaded Lebanon with the aim of killing the leadership of the PLO or taking them prisoner. Though they ultimately failed, the PLO left the war in Lebanon weak and more importantly, far away from Palestine. No borders for their

forces, and they had to retreat and abide by the rules and regulations of Arab regimes that are friendly, but would not induce war at a time where they were not ready for it.

Then the differences started again, as I said, unity had one vase, one pillar, the programme of liberation, independence and the return to the homeland. Now even that platform dwindled in the mind of those who considered that we should become more tactful, the idea of a settlement started and it was at this point the platform was no longer enough to keep the organizations united. One should differentiate here between two things, unification of the Palestinian organizations under the PLO flag is one thing, and the unification of Palestinians everywhere is another. In the sense, you might have organizations that differ, contradict, boycott each other upstairs in the leadership level of the PLO but that will never carry itself to the streets between members of the organizations who would remain Palestinians, brothers, ready to fight.

But that was a political necessity, certain people believed that the best tactic would be one way while others would believe, no, we should take another route. Anyways. The entering a settlement like the two state solution was a breaking point in the platform, the PFLP rejected that, in spite of the rejection by the PFLP to join the settlement and to go into a deal the PFLP remained inside the PLO, this is the difference, it didn't flip on the PLO, which remains as the unifying flag of the Palestinian identity.

Safieh, Afif, Phone Interview, Toronto, Canada. August 15th, 2017.

My thesis, in short, is attempting to define the Palestinian national identity through Western national theory. The Palestinian identity is generally defined in romantic terms, focusing on culture and arts.

You're addressing a very important topic, though I wouldn't say that the Palestinian identity has been perceived only in romantic terms. The Palestinians played an integral role in the Arab *Nahba* of the late 19th century during the ottoman era, and the emergence of the specific Palestinian identity emerged after the Sykes-Picot agreement and the partition of the Arab world by spheres of influence. We were part of the Arab world, and an important part of the Arab world, as many Palestinians played a role in the Arab renaissance. Forget not, the centrality of Palestine and the cross-section of three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe, which was the world until the discovery of the Americas, Australia and the easier access of China, Japan and the rest which happened after the 17th century. Palestine has been central; Palestine was also seen as indispensable by any emerging power in the world. Because of its geo-centrality it was the arena of dispute for Babylonia and Mesopotamia, Pharaonic Egypt and the emergence of the Greek nation represented by Alexander the great, needed a foothold in Palestine, the Roman empire as well.

Palestinians also have this curious feeling that they are the inheritors of the monotheistic religions and that prophets and gods needed to express themselves directly or through envoys in Palestine. Palestinians feel that they are the custodians of all those messages that took birth in our land. If you ask me that's a hell of a burden. On that, I like to quote the Swiss proverb during the Napoleonic era which said "happy people have no history", we on the other hand are burdened with thousands of years of history so that I wouldn't wave away by saying that it is a romantic feeling, but it is part of the memory.

Well, the Palestinians, as you and others have noted have impacted many generations of history. But for the purpose of my thesis, I want to focus on the Palestinians after 1948, highlighting the impact of events such as the 1967 war and the stand at Karameh in 1968.

Now, Karameh was an important moment in contemporary Palestinian history in the sense that it occurred after the humiliating, surprising and intriguing defeat in 1967. Here was a group of guerrilla fighters who violated the principles of guerilla warfare, which was to always avoid confrontation at the moment of choice of your superior enemy and choose the moment of harassment at your own timing. The guerillas of Fatah decided to violate these rules and make a stand, and the contribution of the Jordanian army in that battle was of immense important but that too is due to the fact that the Fatah movement opted to make a stand. Had they not made a stand, had they vanished into thin air and no confrontation had occurred the Jordanian army would not have joined the battle and the Israeli army would not have had as many casualties as they did.

So yes the I always refer to Karamah as the moment when the masses joined the vanguard. There was there the Fatah movement as the vanguard of a few hundred and the heroic stand they took, defying the laws of guerilla warfare making them extremely popular among an Arab public opinion that needed a morale boost after the humiliating defeat of 1967. So I wouldn't fall into the trap of those who try to ridicule or penalize, just as I would put in prominence the contribution of the Jordanian army.

One of the principles of Fatah in '65, when they started, was the idea that the Arabs lacked the will for confrontation and had they had the will they would be militarily superior to the Zionist Israeli challenge. Fatah decided that they would provoke the situation of revolution so the Arabs would decide to engage in the battle. In a way Karamah was a successful model for that ideology although you can go a little bit earlier and say that their provocations of the Israeli state in '65, '66 and '67 provoked the escalation that led to the '67 war and the defeat that followed but in Karamah it was a success.

I focus a lot on the refugees, and the oppression of said refugee by host Arab states. Would you agree with the idea that the treatment of the refugees by the Arabs played an integral role in the construction of the Palestinian identity?

In several recent interventions, I said that the Jewish experiences was very interesting for several theorists, philosophers and so on. People would wonder what maintained and preserved the communities, while certain historians attribute that to religion, the reality was that half of them were not believers and those who undertook the initial phases of Zionism were shrewdly non-believers. Others attributed to the fact that the Jews were a race and a nation and others would respond that they are technicolor, that they have no genetic similarities.

Jean Paul Sartre, in his reflection of the Jewish question says that it is the anti-Semite that created the Jews and anti-Semitism that preserved those communities throughout centuries giving them the cohesion and drive. I believe that, yes persecution and oppression is a cementing factor driving communities and helps define the identity through the suffering while giving birth to aspirations that are born through said suffering and oppression. I always say we Palestinians have become the Jews of the Jews and we never wanted them to become the Palestinians of the Palestinians. Hence our generous offer of the late 60's of one democratic state where everyone enjoys equal rights and obligations.

I wouldn't restrict Palestinian experiences to one segment of Palestinian society. The oppression was a result of the uprooting of a nation and the diasporisation of that society and one of its tragedies was they did not live in the same environment. Some lived in the orbit of Egypt in the Gaza strip, some were annexed by Jordan and some were in refugee camps in the periphery of the homeland, others moved to more hospitable shores abroad and on an individual basis were more successful. I wouldn't restrict identity to refugee camps only, even though the reemergence of Palestinian nationalism in the early 60's was mainly based on the refugee community. I always say, what would the national

movement been without Edward said as our spokesperson although he lived in New York teaching at Colombia university. What would have been Palestinian cultural identity without Palestinian intellectuals who lived within Israeli society who used to operate through the Rafah communist party, not because they were all communists, but because that was the only platform that allowed their political expression without being persecuted by the Israeli state.

So Palestinian identity has always had the challenge of reconciling the modes of expression of a variety of individuals and social groups that did not necessarily live in the same objectives and conditions. The People of Gaza between 1948 and 1967 were in a different political environment from those who lived in Jerusalem, Nablus, Hebron, et cetera.

So I wouldn't adopt this straight jacket definition the refugees only, it is amongst others. For example, in Palestinian nationalism what happened with Oslo and after Oslo is that the central gravity of the Palestinian nationalism moved from outside to inside. Now you have different schools of thought about what happened post-Oslo and the birth of the Palestinian National Authority. Was it a historic achievement or was it a national capitulation? I for one, supported Oslo without any illusion and I'm speaking about 1993, as in political science as you know a state is defined as an authority on a demography on a geography; to summarize a one year course in one sentence.

We had our leadership abroad, our demography dispersed and our geography occupied, the birth of the PNA was the beginning of the beginning of a return towards a normality. We knew the challenges, we had our Palestinian agenda but the Israelis had their own attitudes. The Israelis wanted to have as much of our geography as possible with as little of our demography as possible. They relied on a sort of self-inflicted impotence of the international community leaving us tete a tete in our confrontation with a stubborn occupier that didn't feel the need to withdraw significantly. Always bear in mind that there is a wide spectrum of opinion.

Pluralism is at the core of democracy, and though the Palestinians have enjoyed positive and negative debate, do you think the PLO allowed this pluralism to strengthen the Palestinian cause during the initial revolution?

You have to give prominence to the birth of the PLO, which is the umbrella, and since its inception was a pluralistic movement, which we were always proud of. Yet the short comings today are monumental and all factions need to do some soul searching as they are all in trouble.

You have two sentences that you have run into

I define the PLO as an idea and institution, the idea being our sense of identity and our quest for independence and sovereignty with the idea being stronger than the institution. I always joke by saying that I'm more comfortable representing the idea rather than the institution. That's one, when Madrid occurred and there were questions as to how the

Palestinians would be represented, and you must remember that we were half the delegation representing half the people, representing half a solution in Madrid. We were part of the Jordanian delegation and the Palestinian delegation must have only been from Gaza or the West Bank, not from East Jerusalem or the diaspora, and they were seeking an interim solution of five years before looking for final status. I said then, up until now the PLO represented the Palestinian people and its high time now that the Palestinian people represent the PLO. As you remember, all the delegates were necessarily, due to the restrictions of Madrid and Washington, not PLO officials. We grew accustomed to have the PLO represent the Palestinians and now the Palestinians represent the PLO because if a few thousand work in the PLO as an institution the 12 million Palestinians were the vehicle of the PLO idea which is the sense of our identity and our seamless quest for independence and sovereignty.

I believe both those quotations for you to embroider around.

Pluralism has been a characteristic of the Palestinian national movement, I always said that I disagree with the theory that the Arabs have agreed to disagree. My answer to this theory is that disagreement is natural, normal and I don't like the work in Arabic; *sahi* (healthy) that it is a healthy sign, no they are natural. We the Arabs still need to learn how to disagree, and we haven't learnt how to, leading to our pluralism being chaotic. Yet, during the Arafat era pre or post Oslo, he always tried to be inclusive and seek a consensus, sometimes that consensus was of a paralytic nature, but Arafat was all-inclusive always attempting to seek consensus, but our pluralism is often chaotic and today we suffer from poverty in our political thought. And the crisis is not only in Fatah circles, which usually is the target of criticism and cynicism by the new intellect elite in Palestinian society all over the world. The political intellectual bankruptcy is shared across the board effecting not only the Islamist factions but the left-wing factions as well, which have monumentally failed renewing themselves post-Soviet collapse on the ideological level and the failed to coalesce, since there is no longer a *raison detre* for independent existence of the DFLP, the PFLP and the People's Party. They were utter failures in having a coalition of left-wing factions that could propel themselves as an indispensable coalition partner of Fatah allowing them to inject their input and be the agitators of ideas as minorities can play a very important role in contributing to the national debates. So I believe we are at a crucial point where everyone needs to look in the mirror, I always say, that we suffer from the following phenomenon: we don't have the authority or the institution that we deserve, we deserve better, nor do we have the opposition we need, we have a lot of opposition but we need better opposition. I joked painfully when we had the split with Hamas that the Palestinian people are plagued with an authority that has two heads and no brain.

National theory predicates identity on many factors, but mainly having socio-economic stability as a people. Do you agree with that idea?

I think one is mistaken if one has an economic approach for the emergence of Palestinian nationalism, au contraire, it was never the driving force. It was the feeling of injustice inflicted and the aspirations for liberation. For example, the first intifada occurred not

during a moment of impoverishment of society, on the contrary, it occurred at the moment of rising economic expectations. So all those traditional approaches seeking economic reasons or driving forces do not apply.

It wasn't freedom of movement, it wasn't impoverishment, it wasn't the pauperization of society; up to the late 60s it was liberation that was the target, not necessarily statehood. I would attribute a few passages to the war of 1973, where the Palestinians and the Arabs realized that there was no military solution to the problem that America would not allow Israel to be defeated and that we should seek a diplomatic outcome and then move gradually towards accepting Palestinian statehood on parts of Palestine. It was at this point we no longer asked for absolute justice but possible justice, it's then we gradually moved from the dialogue by arms to using the arms of dialogue. I was working on Arafat's teams and lived beside him in the 1981 two-week war with the Israelis, which was the rehearsal for the war of 82, it was then I discovered that in Arafat's military thinking, he knew that we are not going to liberate Palestine militarily, all he wanted was that we remain a military actor so that we get recognized as a diplomatic factor. In the absence of an Arab military option, there is no credible Palestinian military option, Faisal Husseini used to say If I need to defeat Mike Tyson I must not keep inviting him to the boxing ring, I need to invite him to another game.

Arms of criticism, criticism by arms.

Atwan, Abdel Bari, Phone Interview, Toronto, Canada. July 13th, 2017.

May you provide your initial thoughts on the Palestinian identity?

I believe that the Palestinian identity is getting stronger and stronger, contradicting the Israeli conception. The Israeli conception, was that the new generations of Palestinians would be different than the older generations, in the sense that it would be weaker. Through my own experiences, I am seeing that the Palestinian identity is really stronger. I am looking at my children for example, third generation, their Palestinian identity is deeply rooted and they are possibly more radical when it comes to the identity than me or my parents.

Israelis always thought that the 3rd or 4th generation would forget the Palestinian identity, and through my travelling I feel that the identity is deeply rooted.

I was born in 1950, from 1948 until 1967, the Palestinian identity was not as strong as it was after 1967. Palestinian people, that generation, who were dismissed from their land, were shocked and they just wanted to live. They were horrified by the Israelis, in that period the identity was not as strong, they just wanted to live in peace, not talk politics, they wanted to survive and live in peace, with hope.

What impact did Pan-Arabism and then the war in 1967 have on the Palestinian identity?

After 1967, and a little before, though Nasser revived the ideas and hope of liberation, it was not until 1967 when the feda'yeen, the guerillas, when they realised that the Palestinian identity started to get stronger and stronger, deeper and deeper, they gained more confidence and more hope. They were living in an era of depression between 1948-1967 due to the shock that the Arab community never actually helped them, they were further shocked because the international community never sided with them and never brought them justice. They lost faith in the international community and they lost faith in the Arab armies and when the PLO started, the PLO was a classical army, similar to the Arab armies so it did not actually revive their hope. It was the fighting identity that started after 1967, the real identity started to grow after the guerilla movements, the Fatah movement, the PFLP movement, those young feda'yeen sacrificed their lives allowing the identity to begin to regain its strength once again.

The worst thing that happened to the Palestinian movement and the Palestinian identity was when the Arabs began to interfere in Palestinian affairs, both financially and politically. This was a strong turning point, Fatah for example were given a lot of money, thus spoiling Fatah and the PLO pushing them more and more towards the American and Israeli solutions. I would not be surprised if Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states were initiated by the United States and Europe to, in one way or another, drown the Palestinian movement with a sea of money. I think this was deliberate.

When we had David Petraeus, CIA chief and ex-military leader in Iraq, say that we told the Qataris to take Hamas in Doha, we asked Qatar to take the Taliban to Doha and open them an embassy. It seems that were similar plans in the past, with regards to the Palestinians, that we do not know that ultimately hindered the Palestinian movement. I believe that they succeeded in showering the PLO and Fatah with money thus turning it into a paid staff, like any company. This actually affected, not only the identity, but the strength and the roots of the identity. They convinced the PLO that the only way to survive was to take an installment and have their own state in the West Bank and Gaza, started the trend in 1974 in the PNC when they adopted the Ten Points that they would establish a Palestinian state on one kilometer of territory liberated from the Israelis, thus starting the trend of concessions.

This will lead us to the Oslo agreement, this was a huge political and national setback, but not an identity setback. Their identity remained steadfast, you had the first intifada in 1987 then the second intifada in 2000 and now you have the intifada in Jerusalem driven by the 4th generation. Those living in 1948 who are living luxuriously in comparison to the other Palestinians in the region, are the ones leading the charge.

National theory predicates identity on many factors, but mainly having socio-economic stability as a people. Do you agree with that idea, or would you focus more on cultural identity?

They came with a lot of theories, Tony Blair introduced the theory of the economic peace based on the good Friday agreement in Northern Ireland. They applied the experiences of Northern Ireland to the west bank. They convinced Salam Fayyad that if he were to fix the infrastructure and provide economic prosperity, would create an economic peace. Though some benefitted, they began giving a misleading account of the Palestinian identity, the idea that we should not fight or apply the military struggle. That the Palestinians should use arts, and speeches. Those ideas were encouraged by the west, that the true Palestinian identity is a peaceful one motivated by arts and lectures.

It doesn't enhance the identity, when we see those teenagers from Nazareth coming to Jerusalem to fight it proves that the economic peace will not enhance, or derail, the identity. It is a very shallow viewpoint, but they strive because they have the money, they can control media and messaging, they also believe that to preserve our identity we have to prove to the Israelis that we are tolerant and civilized, that we can live aside them, though they never would live alongside the Palestinians.

The reality though, is that the majority of the Palestinian people are actually opposed to this idea of "imperfect peace". What you are seeing in Jerusalem shows that this strategy would actually strengthen the identity due to the failures of these "peace plans". If 5% of the population wants to enhance the identity through the arts and through singing or dancing that's fine, but the majority believe that the true identity is through intifada, fighting the occupation by all means. It is a fighting identity, and you are seeing that being passed on through generations.

So, theory aside, what is, in your opinion, the driving force of the Palestinian identity?

Listen to me, the Palestinian identity is based on fighting against occupation and continuous struggle, it is not based on peace. The definition here is important, the Palestinian identity actually became stronger when the Palestinians started fighting and the Palestinian national cause faded or weakened when the Palestinians moved towards peace. You cannot separate the impact of the fighting spirit from the Palestinian identity, the fight is an integral part of the Palestinian story, you cannot separate the identity from the revolution and the idea of fighting for your most basic human rights by any means necessary. You cannot say that we are Palestinian and support Oslo, very few Palestinians support the Oslo agreement, when you compare the amount of people who support Oslo versus the amount of people who support the resistance, you will see where the identity lies.

The Palestinian identity is based on the intifada, it is based on struggle, any other identity you want to develop based on dancing and art, that's fine, you want to live in peace and be different from the norm that is fine but here is no denying that the basis of being Palestinian was developed when the feda'yeen began fighting for our freedom.

We have a writer in our paper who argues that we should not love death, we should love life. Our identity should be based on love and survival and living a good life, we should not base it on death or adore and accept death and martyrdom, we should present ourselves as people who love peace and those who love to live. But if the Israelis don't love to live and they continue to kill and occupy, why should we or how can we, the victim, adopt this idea?

Identity based on struggle, based on intifada, any identity not based on the struggle, the intifada, is fake and not genuine. While there are people who believe this, they are a small percentage, that of course should be acknowledged but the real identity should be on opposing the occupation.

This is how I see it and how that is the conclusion I came through a number of meetings, lectures, articles and reactions to my articles.

The Gandhi type Palestinians will always be there, but you wouldn't find a successful Palestinian Gandhi, many people tried to be the Palestinian Gandhi but, unfortunately, they never triumphed.

Shami, Yusri, Personal Interview, London, England. December 7th, 2015

Tell me a little about Katibe 5.

It was musical, drum and snare, but the hip-hop identity was very applicable to Palestinians. The main topic of Arab rap was all related to Palestine.

Rap allowed me to carve out my place in the Palestinian struggle. Through rap, I identified myself as a part of the revolution.

The main reason why Katibe 5 exists was to connect the Palestinian refugees with the cause.

In the refugee camps, when did you begin to understand you're Palestinian, and what drove this understanding?

I started my schooling in a Lebanese school and lived a “regular” life in Lebanon; after we couldn't afford it any longer I was moved to an UNRWA school. This is when I started to understand what it means to be Palestinian, and it was not until I got more accustomed to life in the camps that I began to realize that I connect with the Palestinians and that I am in fact also a Palestinian.

While in the Lebanese school I was always in solitude and silence, from home to school and school to home. My younger years in the camp were simply fun, but you also notice how horrible it can be. For example, one day outside my friends house, I saw someone get electrocuted, he died right in front of me, this only happens in the camps, not in Lebanon.

On identity?

I am not officially a Palestinian; I am not welcome in Palestine. I was always asked where I'm from; when I say I am Palestinian people will ask me where I am born. When I tell them I was born in Lebanon they tell me, then I am not Palestinian, I am actually Lebanese. I am not Lebanese; I hate Lebanon and for the most part the Lebanese people.

I am a Palestinian refugee, and more so a refugee than a Palestinian.

Not being accepted, by the State of Palestine, or the government, does that not more define your identity as a Palestinian?

I feel first and foremost as a Palestinian due to family. I feel Palestinian because I feel I did something for the cause, I am being punished for being Palestinian why not act like one and embrace it?

The whole idea of being a refugee is to not forget Palestine.

In the camps themselves, outside of the concept of the “refugee camp”, what makes it Palestinian?

The accent is different than the Lebanese, there are Palestinian flags everywhere, all discussions are about being Palestinian and the different problems faced because they are Palestinian.

The people there, like “Handala” still act like they are children, that they are waiting to go back to Palestine. Even the camp is set up similar to old Palestine; there is the Tulkarem neighbourhood, the Tarshiha neighbourhood, the Safoura neighbourhood. They named the schools Akka school, Jaffa School, Khalili School and the hospitals in Burj camp are named Haifa and Jaffa. People try to recreate Palestine in each camp, from the way they talk to the names of the areas to the food.

What is the basis of the Palestinian identity?

It starts with the Refugee and the need of the revolution to create the *Fida'i*. Without the fighter there is no revolution, and without the revolution there is no need for fighters. Without both the fighters and the revolution though, leaves the refugees, alone with no hope.

The refugees were the basis of the *Fida'i*, without the refugees there was no *Fida'i* and without the *Fida'i* there was no hope. As long as the refugees exist, they will provide reason for the *Fida'i*. When the *Fida'i* left Lebanon, lost was the sense of identity and hope.

Yasser Arafat

Yasser Arafat, for me personally, any time that I open a discussion with another Palestinian they bring up Oslo. Until today, there is no one and will be no one that will match Abu Ammar; who will be able to motivate the Palestinians to be as active as before. He created the *Fida'i*, he created the revolution, and he created a cause to protect all his people. He gave his people hope. More than that, what can a leader do?

PLO

The PLO was the hand that pulled out of the dark. Giving hope. We were simple, we were peasants, and we did not understand politics. A hand reached down and raised us up and gave us hope. They gave us education, they allowed us to travel and most importantly they gave us hope to the revolution and the struggle itself.

Yamani, Issam, Personal Interview, Toronto, Canada. September 13th, 2015.

Being that the PFLP was born out of the Arab National Movement, what forced Habash and others to separate themselves from the pan-Arab movement and call for a Palestinian revolutionary uprising?

The PFLP did not give up on the idea of pan-Arabism, it was initially the Palestinian branch of the Arab National Movement. They had a different ideology and organizational structure providing each branch the autonomy to deduce what the best tactics and policies based on the social, economic and political circumstances of each country. When the PFLP established it cancelled the central decision making process which was necessary to for the movement to make the Palestinian identity bold amongst the Arab National Movement in the struggle against Israel.

Understanding that UNRWA has played a role in sheltering Palestinian refugees, do you feel that the manner in which the camps are set up may actually suppress the Palestinians and the Palestinian identity?

The sheltering of the Palestinian refugees by UNRWA has contributed to strengthening the Palestinian Identity due to the fact that the Palestinian refugees in the camps were put together in isolation. They were cut off from all social surroundings, forcing them to depend on one another. The camps also succeeded in creating a Palestinian identity, bringing together Palestinians who used to identify themselves by their towns and villages, forming a unified Palestinian identity.

To what extent did the treatment of the refugees in the countries neighbouring Palestine/Israel hinder the motivations of Pan-Arabism?

It was the services provided by UNRWA (Separate schools, health system and aid) forced the Palestinians to view themselves as different from the other Arabs. The differences between the Palestinians, Lebanese and Syrians were strengthened by the isolation of the Palestinians and the services provided to them by UNRWA. In short, the establishment of UNRWA contributed in developing and strengthening a Palestinian identity separate from their Arab neighbors.

Although there was/is a clear ideological divide between Fateh and the PFLP, was there a sense of a unified Palestinian identity amongst Palestinians?

In their early days, the leadership of Yasser Arafat and George Habash influenced the relationship between Fateh and the PFLP. They took a firm stance of national alliance in the struggle against Israel, irrespective of the different perspectives of each leader. On a personal basis, they were very close, sharing a mutual respect.

What does the right of return mean to you and to the Palestinian identity as whole?

The right of returns legalizes my identity as a Palestinian and attaches it to a physical space where I will have my civil, human and political rights. The right of return will transform my identity from an abstract, complex one, to a reality. There will be no need to hyphenate it; I will be a Palestinian, not a Palestinian refugee, Canadian-Palestinian and so on.

Kubursi, Atif. Personal interview, Hamilton, Canada. 14 Aug. 2015.

Pan Arabism: Logic and Basis

Pan Arabism is based on shared cultural, historical, and political values and imperatives. There is no region that shares as much as the Arabs share among themselves. They share the same language, the same dominant religion, the same history and a contiguous geography. Yet the strategic and economic interests are perhaps the real glue that can cement these countries together. Few regions share the same threats and the same advantages as the Arabs. From the Crusaders to the four hundred years of subjugation by the Ottomans that robbed them their freedom, kept them in bondage and forfeited their progress and future. Their fragmentation in disparate states continued during the western colonial era and was intensified as Sykes-Picot saw their continued suppression, emasculation, fragmentation and dis-integration. Pan Arabism coincided with liberation and independence from colonial powers and their awakening to their state of destitute and fragmentation.

The call for Pan Arabism is motivated by the desire for modernity, secularism, unity and progress. The Arab intellectuals that started the Arab Unity movement saw in it the solidification of Arab independence, strength in unity, more viable economies, solid progress, and unshackling the past of tribalism, ethnic divisions and dependency.

The Arab economies are relatively small, disarticulated, and traditional; they depend heavily on the production of one or two products that are based on non-renewable natural resources and where production is primarily based on monetization of these natural assets. Arab economies are excessively undiversified, modern sectors are small and almost non-existent, and most of these economies depend heavily on importing food and technology.

Arab Unity promises more viable economies based on more efficient scales, larger markets, more diversified economic bases and greater chances for diversification and sharing. Under Pan Arabism the cultural and linguistic commonalities will be anchored on solid economic basis and greater potentials for trade and investment. Arab Unity will bring advantages for the common man and will provide the necessary strength to protect identity and resources.

Success Stories

The real moment of truth of Arab coordinated action came with the OPEC decision to quadruple oil prices following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war. This was the moment where the Arabs demonstrated, albeit for a very short period, that they can use the “oil Weapon” to pressure the west to support reversing of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and Syrian Golan Heights. Against all odds the Arabs coupled their control of the largest share of world proven reserves of oil (75%) with political demands and coordinated their allocation policies with their demands for political influence commensurate with their economic influence. American quarrel with the Arabs then, as Kissinger's Middle East diplomacy revealed, was not with OPEC's quadrupling of oil price; it was pointedly with the *idea* that the Arabs with their new found diplomatic weapon could change the political status quo in the region, [that it could form the basis of Arab power against the West and Israel]. Unfortunately this glorious moment of Arab solidarity did not last long. Absolutely crucial in mitigating this threat was the strategic

alliance formed with Saudi Arabia which opened a wedge between Saudi Arabia and other Arab producers within OPEC. It is believed that an agreement was reached on a "special relationship" between Riyadh and Washington based on the understanding that the Saudis would place their immense assets at the disposal of the Americans, and through the kingdom's position as the swing producer within OPEC assures "moderate" prices and a constant supply of oil to the industrial world. The Saudis also promised the Americans that the kingdom would use its economic influence to moderate Arab politics. In return, the Americans assured the Saudis of providing security to the kingdom and assistance in its techno-industrial development.

Another moment of success is the Arab Boycott of Israel. Until it was shelved following the Oslo Accords in 1993, the Arab League built a very efficient and effective boycott structure that cost Israel by its own admission over \$70 billion in lost investment and trade opportunities. The Arab League drew a list of commodities and companies that Arab countries black listed and prevented them from trading in or with the. The sheathing of the Boycott before realizing its full potential in persuading Israel to unravel its occupation of Arab lands following the Oslo Accords in 1993 sheds sufficient light on a successful coordinated programme and its hasty dismantling.

In both of these cases the Arabs had proven that they can work together, establish effective institution that can implement their collective agreement and that they can wield enormous economic clout when they choose to work jointly.

The Major Failure

The struggle over the waters of the Jordan River cannot be understood in isolation of the Arab struggle against colonial domination of the region and the establishment of Israel in the heart of the Arab World. The Zionist project has been perceived by the Arabs from its outset as a continuation of the colonial era and as an attempt to distort and derail Arab independence and control over their own rich oil and scarce water resources.

Thwarting Israeli plans became the focus of Arab debates and a rallying cause for Arab joint action and solidarity. These debates culminated in crystallizing for the first time a long-term Arab strategy to confront Israel and to draw credible military plans to put an end to its expansionism. The water struggle was transformed into a much larger struggle for reversing the defeat and humiliation of the Nakbah.

The Arabs believed, particularly President Nasir of Egypt, that 1963 would be the Year of Decision in the Arab Israeli conflict. This belief was based on the premise that once Israel completes its NWC it would be in a stronger position economically and militarily and would have a greater advantage vis-a-vis the Arab World, which facts would entice Israel into further expansions and aggressions. The Syrians actually listed six strategic threats that the NWC would pose for the Arabs in a declaration on December 15, 1963 (Rose Al Yusif 1963).

As the implementation of the NWC proceeded and came closer to initiation, the Arab leaders responded with convening urgent Summits. Actually three major Arab Summits were held in January 1964, in March 1964 and a third in September 1965. All three were devoted to organize the Arab response to the successful Israeli diversion. These Summits were preceded by many inter-Arab forums and planning sessions. There is no question that the period from 1953 to the 1964 Summits was characterized by a series of planning sessions and the successful drafting of elaborate strategic plans formulated by the Arab

Defense Council (ADC) and the Arab Joint Command (AJC). But these carefully set plans fell victims to Arab squabbling and inter-regimes rivalry. The favorable conditions of unquestionable Arab solidarity and material and financial support for coordinated and joint, even military, actions, the formulation of carefully set up Arab military plans, an internationally accommodating circumstances (the US administration then was not as biased in favor of Israel as is today, if anything the US tried initially to tame Israeli aggressive behavior) and a narrower gap between Israel's and Arabs' military capacities were not exploited to redress the damage Israel inflicted on the Arab riparians by the diversion scheme. At that time the Israeli air force had an obvious advantage over Arab air forces and proved decisive in upsetting Arab diversion plans.

Israel diverted the Jordan River and the Arabs responded with a Summit Meeting in January 1964 in which the Arab leaders faced two difficult options. The first option involved the use of military force to prevent Israel from expropriating the Jordan River's waters by means of an Arab initiated military strike. The second option involved carrying out the Arab Plan for diverting the Jordan River and its tributaries in Arab land (Lebanon would construct a tunnel that links the Hasbani to the Litani and diverts the spillovers of the upper Hasbani to the Baniyas River; Syria would divert the Baniyas River to the Yarmuk and Jordan would divert the Yarmuk to Jordanian uses). At the same time military preparations would start in earnest to develop the capacity to safeguard the Arab diversions from Israeli attacks.

If the Arab diversion plans were implemented they would have reduced Israel's share of the the Hasbani and Baniyas by over $\frac{3}{4}$ (including the entire waters of the Wazani), and reduced water by $\frac{1}{3}$ for the NWC. A loss of this magnitude would have also raised the salinity of Lake Tiberius to levels that would render a good part of it useless. This, the Arabs figured would be sufficient to dissuade Israel from operating the NWC.

But what explains the Arabs' failure to act on their plans and Israeli success. There are a number of complex factors that might shed some light on these two questions.

First, the dissolution of the UAR unraveled a unique opportunity and critical juncture for Arab cooperation and collective will to challenge Israeli expropriation of the Jordan River and expansionary designs. Syria and Egypt squabbled about the appropriate response to Israeli provocations and blamed each other for failure and inaction. Two Baathist revolutions one in Syria in February 1963 and another in Iraq in March of the same year heightened Egyptian fears that the Syrians and Iraqis would undo Nasir's pan-Arab plans and subvert his leadership. Egypt accused the Syrians and the Iraqis in attempting to embroil Egypt in a war with Israel it would not win and the Syrians accused Egypt of lack of will to stop Israel from completing its plans. This squabble, at the midst of the existential threat that Israel presented with its diversion plan, derailed and undermined collective action and a much needed focus on Israeli challenges.

Second, while it is correct to situate the struggle for water in the Jordan basin within the Arab-Israeli conflict, it may be argued that the Arab strategy to confront Israel suffered from mixing too many objectives at the same time. The confounding of the objective to thwart Israeli diversion of the Jordan River with the liberation of Palestine and the political unification of the Arabs proved to be too ambitious and unrealistic for the window that Israel's diversion plan opened for the Arabs to act.

Third, Israeli air superiority proved decisive on the battle field and rigged the outcome in their favor.

Fourth, while Syria and Egypt and a few Arab states were serious about their commitments, a few countries wavered and hesitated to deliver on their obligations and commitments. It is not fruitful at this time to go beyond this claim.

Fifth, the state of fragmentation that characterizes the Arabs from Sykes-Picot onward has been and continues to be a major obstacle in coalescing a credible Arab strategy to deal with Israel.

Sixth, there are many technical, legal, environmental and strategic factors and aspects that the Arabs can exploit to bolster their positions vis-a vis Israeli asymmetrical exploitation of their shared resources that have not been used to advantage by the Arabs neither then or now.

Seventh, there exists innumerable links between water and oil. These two resources are connected in a strong strategic web that had not been exploited by the Arabs.

Eighth, a number of military assumptions had been made that proved disastrous. The expectation that Israel would attack the diversion sites on their completion instead of their initiation was wrong and costly. Arab military intelligence was quite deficient.

Ninth, Israel baited the Syrians and other riparians into skirmishes and actions that were part of an elaborate Israeli strategy to justify their “reprisal” attacks, the lack of compliance of the Syrians with agreed upon courses of actions proved very costly.

The fact that there are many technical, economic and environmental considerations that bolster Arab arguments and positions are grounded in the parameters of the existing situation of unbalanced, unjust and irrational Israeli water practices. The NWC has been recognized as an “environmental crime” perpetrated by Israel against nature and natural endowments and conditions in the Basin. In the next section an attempt will be made to elaborate on these factors.

Ayad, Farid, Personal Interview, Mississauga, Canada. September 21st, 2015

Comment on the Arab-Israeli War.

The involvement of the Arab states in the 1948 war was quite superficial, not only was the country lost when they joined. To give one example, the weapons used by the Egyptian soldiers would not only get ruined when they were used in difficult weather conditions but they would actually backfire exploding in the faces of the young men.

Growing up in the refugee camps.

I did not live in the camps, I lived just adjacent to it, but as a child but would wake up every morning and head over to Burj el Barajneh camp. My first memory of the camps was early one morning when I was quite young, around the age of Amal (his eldest grand-daughter), and I saw people lined up, so I got in line with them. I thought at the end of this line I would receive some sort of food. When I got to the front I realized that all these people were lined up in the morning to use the washroom!

Being a young Palestinian.

What you must understand first is that there were many poor Lebanese people as well, but I did not see a difference amongst us and our Lebanese neighbours. Not until I was about six years old and about to start school. We were forced to shave our heads due to fear of lice. So while the Lebanese students would have long hair, we would all be bald. This was my first idea that something about us was different.

Involvement in politics.

I got involved in politics soon after Karameh. I can remember Abu Ammar and Abu Jihad coming to Beirut to recruit, Arafat would sit under one tree and Abu Jihad under another on different sides of a field and there would be hundreds of young men lining up to fight. When I joined, I joined to fight, but being that I was very young, both my mother and the PLO would not allow me to. Two reasons, first because they already had enough fighters and that they were also focusing on developing political and professional minds.

On Nasser.

From the moment he became President of Egypt he made it his job to rid the Arab world from European colonization. He drove the British backed King Faruq from Egypt then supported the Algerians in their revolution against the French occupiers. But it was when Nasser drove the British troops out of Egypt and nationalized (sic) the Suez Canal that the Arab dream began to come into fruition.

On Arafat.

I remember when I was a teenager, I played for the Palestinian team in an Arab volleyball tournament. We were all young athletes who were growing and thus always hungry, but we continued to eat on a poor diet. One day, Arafat came to meet with us, I asked him two questions, first was about Black September, which he didn't answer, so I asked him another question. I asked about the food, why is it that the other teams like the Egyptians and the Saudis eating foods like pasta and meat while we were given small portions of unhealthy foods. He listened attentively, and told the coach that each player would be given 5000 Lebanese Liras (Same purchasing power of \$5 in the 1970's) a day for food. Of course by the time every level of the bureaucracy took their cut we were left with 1000 Lira a day. Nonetheless, a number of years later when I was studying in Egypt, my sister who I was living with told me that her neighbour needed to go to the hospital and he so happened to be one of the PLO figureheads. So we are at the hospital and I noticed a group of bodyguards walking in and as they opened up Arafat was standing at the middle, he went first to his comrade to greet him and when thanking me for bringing him he looked me right in the eyes and asked if I ever got my pasta. He was a true, thoughtful leader who cared about his people and showed it, not only on a grand scale but on an individual level.