

The Palestinian Political Discourse between Exile and Occupation

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Abstract

This dissertation is an attempt to explain the general principles behind the Palestinian political discourse that followed *An-Nakba* in 1948. This analysis will be carried out in three parts: the First Part starts with an introduction that lays out the questions, objectives and structure of this research before delving into the theoretical and analytical frameworks that guide the last two chronological parts of the dissertation. The Second Part focuses on the Palestinian political discourse between 1948 and the late 1980s. The Third Part examines the period that followed from the 1990s onward. While trying to distill discursive orienting-principles, the analysis will display how the discursive transformations evolved and it asks about their performative corollaries in everyday life, whether at the ideational or the spatial level.

In addressing this question, this dissertation made two interdependent original contributions: the main contribution uncovers the main rules of formations and logics of the Palestinian representative discourse. That explains also the internal transformation and evolution of this discourse, and how these logics directed policymaking. In general, I attempted to summarize the Palestinian discursive rules of formation into eleven overlapping rules: (1) *an-Nakba* and the order of discontinuity, (2) *an-Nakba* and the pursuit of a solution, (3) provisional horizon, socialization and referentiality, (4) motion, (5) logic of division, (6) statehood, (7) realist-liberalist peace, (8) mathematico-judicial schema, (9) market logic, (10) security as peace, and (11) replacement. The second contribution is a byproduct of exploring the philosophical debates that I touched upon in order to build a methodological framework that helps us understand the connection between change and discourse.

Table of Content

Abstract	2
Table of Content	3
Acronyms	5
Introduction	7
<i>Chapter outline</i>	19
1 Theory and Methodology of Discourse Analysis	25
<i>Discourse</i>	25
<i>Performativity of Discourse</i>	27
<i>Transformation and Change</i>	30
<i>Discourse and Change</i>	33
<i>Discourse and the Inevitability of Metaphor</i>	43
<i>Doing Discourse Analysis</i>	46
2 An Analytical Perspective on the Palestinian Discourse	53
<i>Palestinianism</i>	53
<i>The Language of Politics vs. The Politics of Language</i>	57
Part II	61
3 Since “That Day” and Beyond	62
<i>Since that Day</i>	62
<i>Broken Joints</i>	63
<i>Order of Fragmentation</i>	71
<i>Pan-Arabism, al-Qawmiyya and Nationalism</i>	75
<i>The Organization of Organizations</i>	83
<i>Liberation (al-tahrir)</i>	96
<i>The Armed Struggle</i>	100
<i>Arafat’s Subject-Position and Consensus</i>	110
<i>Politics in/over the West Bank and Gaza</i>	111
4 A Solution: Remaking the Joints	115
<i>Provisional Horizons</i>	115
<i>Liberation as Restoration of the Past</i>	119
<i>Liberation as Establishing a Palestinian State over any “Liberated” Part</i>	122
5 The Rise of the Two-States Solution	131
<i>The Liberation Decline and Rise of the Two-state Solution</i>	133
<i>The Crux of the Matter: The UNSC Resolution 242</i>	137
<i>The Refugees’ Question</i>	140
6 A Referential Function	148
<i>Al-Marji’iyya (The Terms of Reference)</i>	155
7 Politics of the Intifada	158
Part III	169
8 Peace from within the ‘Process’: A Metaphorical Conceptual System	172
<i>Deferral in Motion</i>	172
<i>Old Conceptions Rethought</i>	182
<i>Confusion by Design</i>	190
9 Palestine Re-Imagined?	194
<i>The Disappearance of Palestine as an Imagined Totality</i>	194

Struggle: By Any Means or Nonviolent Means? 202
Peace: A Metaphorical Marketplace 207
Palestine: A Primal Scene in Schoolbooks 225

10 Peace Securitization 232
Security as Peace 232
Security through Institutional/Capacity Building 240

Conclusions: What Makes the Palestinian Discourse? 247

Glossary of Arabic Terms 270

Bibliography 273

List of Figures

Figure 1: Discourse formation 30

Figure 2: Schematic map of Palestine with information on areas in the West Bank and Gaza only
228

Figure 3: Palestine map demarcating the West Bank and Gaza 229

Figure 4: Governorates of the West Bank and Gaza 229

Figure 5: Palestine map according to the Partition Plan of 1947 230

Figure 6: Palestine and surrounding countries 231

Acronyms

AMA	The Agreement on Movement and Access	
ANM	The Arab National Movement	
APG	All-Palestine Government	
API	The Arab Peace Initiative	
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis	
<i>DFLP</i>	<i>Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine</i>	
Doc.	Document	
EC	Executive Committee	
EUPOL COPPS	The European Union Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support	
IM	International Mechanism	
IMF	International Monetary Fund	
IUNGC	<i>Intifada's</i> United National General Command	
MOPIC	Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation	
NSF	[PA] National Security Forces	
NSU	Negotiation Support Unit (at the Palestinian Authority)	
oPt	occupied Palestinian territories	
PA	Palestinian Authority	
PASF	Palestinian Armed Security Forces	
PLF	Palestine Liberation Front	
<i>PFLP</i>	<i>Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine</i>	
PFLP-GA	<i>Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine- General Command</i>	
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization	
PNC	Palestinian National Council	
Quartet	US, EU, UN and Russia	
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees	
UNRWA	The United Nations Relief and Works Agency	
USSC	The Office of the United States Security Coordinator	
WBG	West Bank and Gaza	
AA	Abu Alaa	Head of the PA negotiation team
AM	Abu Mazen (Abbas, Mahmoud)	The PA President
AG	Gen. Amos Gilad	Israeli Security Expert
CD	Condoleezza Rice	US Secretary of State
DH	David Hale	US Middle East Advisor
EO	Eued Olmert	Israel Prime Minister, 2006-8
HA	Maj. Gen.	PA Police Director, Major General

GM	Hazem Atallah	
JJ	George Mitchell	US Envoy to Israel Palestine, 2009
JS	Gen. James Jones	US Special Envoy for the Middle East Security
	Jonathan Schwartz	US State Department Legal Expert
KD	Gen. Keith Dayton	US Security Coordinator
LL	Col. Lane Lance	US Security Expert
P	Anonymous	From the Israeli Intelligence
RS	Robert Serry	United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process
SE	Saeb Erekat	PA Chief Negotiator
SF	Salam Fayyad	Former PA Prime Minister
TB	Tal Becker	Israeli Negotiator
TL	Tzipi Livni	Israel Foreign Minister, 2006-8
UD	Udi Dekel	Israeli Negotiator
YAR	Yasir Abed Rabo	Senior Palestinian Negotiator
ZC	Ziyad Clot	PA Former Legal Adviser

Notes

* Palestine Papers will be cited in the text as the following: first, in the text (Doc.number of the document according to Aljazeera Transparency Unit, The initials of the speaker if s/he quoted directly) e.g., (Doc.4820) or (Doc.4820, AA). While in reference list will be referenced as follows:
Doc.number of the document according to Aljazeera Transparency Unit. *Title of the Document as it Appears on Header*. Location of the meeting if provided. Date. Available at: URL [Accessed date].

** Transliteration of Arabic script

Arabic script is transliterated into roman letters based on a slightly simplified version of the Journal of Middle East Studies transliteration chart. I adopt the online transliteration of Arabic names of individuals and places.

*** The author himself made the translation from Arabic resources to English.

Introduction

In May 2013, the word 'Palestine' became a tagline to designate a rather attenuated version of Palestine on Google Maps. By using the same word (Palestine), Google has simply replaced the totality of the historical referent with some of its parts; it has also disseminated and universalized an elusive image. The Palestinian leadership welcomed this move as a palpable outcome of the "diplomatic victory" (*al-nasr al-siyyasi*) at the UN, which culminated in the recognition of 'Palestine' as a non-member state in November 2012. The new map unambiguously stands for only miniscule fragments of Palestine, one-quarter of its original size, yet applauded as a victory. However strange it could be, this Palestine has now two governments: a caretaker government (*hukumat tasrif a'mal*) in Ramallah and a deposed government (*al-hukwma al-muqala*) in Gaza. In the meantime, Palestinian refugees continue to reside in uncertain conditions where a second or a third term exile is not a hypothetical scenario but a reality, with the recent examples of Palestinian refugees in Iraq, Syria and *al-Naqab* being a case in point.

A great deal of the political and academic literature on the subject addresses Palestine and Palestinians in relation to Israeli policies and mainly as an object of Zionism. For example, while searching for literature on Palestinian discourse, I found a book entitled "*Discourse and Palestine*" (Moors *et al.* 1995). The theme of the book is uneven for obvious reasons: after all, it is an edited book composed of a collection of different conference papers. But here, too, the Palestinians still appear to be an object of Western and Israeli discourses *not* of their own. Furthermore, in the 1980s a group of (mainly) Israeli "new historians" produced a wave of publications that deconstructed the Zionist narrative and demonstrated with abundant evidence how destructive Zionism has been to the Palestinian community. Undoubtedly, this admirable literature have enriched our understanding and opened new avenues for the narrative of the victim to be taken seriously in the western academic world.

In relative terms however, only a narrow scholarship that takes the Palestinians as a subject in their own right. Therefore, internal mechanisms involved in the production of the Palestinian conditions acquired less attention in comparison to their effects. This study attempts to critically investigate the underlying mechanisms that have shaped the Palestinian political discourse since *an-Nakba* (the Catastrophe) in 1948 until 2010. My main assumption is that, once the discursive regime of Palestine is established, it becomes the regulator and producer of interaction between its subject-positions and concrete facts on the ground. From this perspective, the text of the pages that will follow is best read as an interpretation all the way down. In other words, this dissertation by no means presents *the* account of the Palestinian political discourse, but it is essentially a rudimentary interpretation of a specific aspect of their political experience rather than a totality of what could possibly be said on the subject.

The overflow of political concepts and vocabulary has regulated the production of self-image, reality (past and present) and the meaning of *an-Nakba* to its own subject. All of this confluence has been assimilated in the Palestinian lexicon since then. Clearly, each term and concept has certain historical traces beyond any individual or group. The phrase 'Palestinian discourse' is neither a subject that Palestinians themselves have produced *nor* a fixed set of rules, but rather it is the discourse that has been re/producing 'the Palestinian' and to some extent the question of Palestine. Therefore, it is a continuous process of making and remaking.

Taking Israel-Palestine as a research topic is a fraught task, not because of its complexity (which may or may not depend on the research problem) rather because of the psycho-political aura it usually invokes. Whatever it may entail, research is what researchers do and both of them, including this author and this study, are in the domain of constitution. Gramsci fittingly argued that, "everything [we do] is political, even philosophy and philosophies" (Gramsci 1971: 171 cited in Said 1983: 144); this implies that academic research has

political conscious or unconscious meanings and consequences. To my mind, researchers are *not* judges, research is *not* a court, and their product is *not* a verdict but an *interpretation* that has both academic and political merits.

It should be said that discourse is very broad, confusing and often used synonymous with language. However, wherever the word discourse appears in this text, it is there to signify the “rules of formation” or the logics behind a particular conceptualization of a certain phenomena. At the outset of an important book, William Connolly argued that, “To examine [...] discourse is to translate tacit judgments embedded in the language of politics into explicit considerations more fully subject to critical assessment.” (Connolly 1983, preface, first edition) The examination of discourse is essentially critical and political in its commitment to uncover unstated meanings loaded in discursive elements. This philosophical ethos orients the analysis and serves as a source from which the methodological framework will be developed further in the next chapter.

I attempt in this dissertation to uncover the rules of formations of the Palestinian political discourse. Meanwhile, I will explore the discursive transformations and their entailments on the ground with the aim to see beyond the current frames of ‘the real’, and hence ‘the possible’, in order to imagine a different path for positive possibilities. This may bring hope despite the present murky reality and shows that the Israel-Palestine conflict is contingent and thus ‘conflict’ is *not* a destiny. The opposite is true. If discourse, the system of constitution, has been in constant shifts, then change towards an alternative vision of an inclusive humane co-existence is not only possible, but also doable. Grasping discursive dynamics offers an opportunity to imagine how the current Palestinian reality is constructed —with its successes and failures, and thus makes constructive intervention feasible. Such an intervention neither turns the clock backward nor eliminates the past but rather is an engagement with it while reconstituting the present and future.

The Palestinian discourse constitutes a temporal and spatial Palestinian self-image: that is, their identity, the perception of the 'other' and Palestine in time and space. Because it is virtually impossible to study the totality of that discourse, we need to zoom-in and focus on the Palestinian representative or official political discourse. This would tell us about the Palestinian participation in shaping their own reality, how they acted and what dominant interpretations they embraced.

Still this is very broad and the political-apolitical distinction is elusive. Moreover, the meaning of "Palestinian" is not so straightforward; it signifies different things to its own subjects.¹ An anecdote in Sari Nusseibeh's book (2001: 5) makes the point quickly. For example, although two Palestinian intellectuals, Walid Khalidi and Nusseibeh, were reflecting on the dominator 'us' to signify the Palestinian people, they had different conceptions of it. For the former, it represents the diaspora Palestinians, while it refers to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza for the latter. Yet, both are united by the idea of speaking of the parts as if they were the whole and with a sense of prioritization of one part over others. This spectacle, highlights that however fragmented the Palestinian populace is, it still maintains an ability to speak "Palestinianism"² notwithstanding the munificent efforts to subdue this ability since the inception of the Zionist project in Palestine.

To narrow it further, this analysis examines the genealogy of Palestinian political interpretations and decisions since *an-Nakba* while focusing on discursive shifts. Therefore, this research is situated within diaspora-occupation experience and conceives the 'Palestinians' as a subject of their own. Although much (colonial, occupation and imperialist) 'power' has been exerted on the Palestinians, it has produced a speaking and resistant/accommodating subject out of the diaspora-occupation conditions.

¹ The etymology of the words "Palestine" and "Palestinian" is already studied by many researchers, it is derived from various civilizations that inhabited that place.

² Several scholars in the field used the term "Palestinianism" before.

This is what I mean by 'Palestinian discourse', and thus the subject for scrutiny. It is a constellation of mini-discourses that belong to different eras and geopolitical sites, each discourse passing its rules of formation into other discourses.

Since 1948, the Palestinian identity and experience have acquired three forms: refugees, the "Arabs of" Israel, and the occupied people in the West Bank and Gaza. To be a refugee, unequal citizen, or occupied involves the mediation of an entire network of regulations, political and legal judgments, language, and social practices to constitute each classificatory subject-position. As a result of power redistribution, almost every Palestinian individual has become a subject of refugee regime, occupation, state discrimination, or a combination of thereof.

A detail-focused debate on Palestine has multiplied exponentially at the cost of the overarching narrative and picture. The regularity of imagining the totality of everything within the mandate map Palestine and Palestinian population everywhere was discontinued leaving the stage for new forms of statements to articulate Palestine by its parts. This also triggered a process of a re-interpretation of the 'self,' the 'other,' 'context' and the relationships that bind them together. While details have attracted ample academic inquiry, the evolution and change within and between these details did not muster the same attention. What are the underlying rules that produced and ordered these details and how they have changed over the last six decades is what this research attempts to establish.

Therefore, instead of focusing on the details, this study examines the mechanisms of discourse production in Palestinian politics since *an-Nakba* with a commitment to uncover implicit judgments loaded in the language of politics.

I find *an-Nakba's* metaphorical denotation, which captures the Palestinians' conditions since 1948, a very useful analytical gateway into the subject. *An-*

Nakba registers the broken or malfunctioning joints between the Palestinians and their homeland. How to heal and reconstruct these joints has been the subject-matter of the entire Palestinian political enterprise since then, which took various scenarios that will be elaborated in Chapter 4. The post-1948 conditions were perceived as essentially temporary and return to the homeland, once liberated, is inevitable. As a result, the political calculations were very much influenced by a provisional mood of thinking that has been deeply implicated in a spontaneous referentiality to corpus of institutions and laws to which the Palestinians became a subject of. This spontaneity became self-fulfilling and an *ipso facto* slow moving socialization process.

The 20-year peace process is undoubtedly a touchstone in the Palestinian political experience. This process is governed by the Western experience of peace and unpeace, which in practical terms, involves extractions from the realist-liberal traditions. The idea of moving *forward* (what I will be referring to as the logic of motion) has set the discursive order, priorities and introduced a new dichotomous classifications: progressive and backward forces. This metaphorical motion functioned as a yardstick for making judgments about the Palestinian rights, peace interpretation, and human subdivision. It also ignited an urge to revisit key concepts in the Palestinian struggle. Moving forward bifurcated the Question of Palestine into “issues” of dispute and gaps that need to be settled through negotiations *only*. By this way of thinking, what was considered complicated and an impediment to motion was postponed to a supposedly forthcoming stage. In doing so the key issues of the conflict such as the Palestinian national rights and self-determination were bypassed instead of being dealt with. Now what is left of the overall matter was put in a market-like interaction whereby each element is processed according to mathematical and judicial operations that disguised the human and historical face of the elements in question.

The refugees have played a significant role in shaping the Palestinian discourse until the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) seriously contemplated abandoning the struggle for *liberating* the entire mandate

Palestine and became satisfied with four times less than that. And, this is not all. The negotiation record typified in the Palestine Papers leaked to Aljazeera (the Doha-based media network) in January 2011 show that the PLO and the Palestinian Authority (PA) once again went beyond its position in 1988 (a Palestinian state on 22 percent of Palestine, self-determination and return of the refugees) and ventured its readiness to settle for less than what the Oslo Accords were supposed to yield.

How has all this happened? How could what used to be unimaginable and unrealistic have become the official and most realist goal? What is the relation between the Palestinian discourse at different stages of the struggle and present reality? What are the policies and decisions, made or missed out, in this discourse? One could argue that the Palestinian leadership had no option or was forced to settle for less, but this is dubious. After all, there is “no neat way to draw the line between persuasion and force, and therefore no neat way to draw a line between a cause of changed belief which was also a reason and one which was a ‘mere’ cause. But the distinction is no fuzzier than most.” (Rorty 1989: 48) Even if I do not go as far as Rorty, the argument remains too deterministic. As we shall see in the analysis, choices were made and constructed; they were never given.

Delineating transformation, development (positive or negative) and change in the ways of conceptualization at different stages in the Palestinian struggle is a central question. The extent of Palestinian internalization of occupation discourse is yet another important issue to take on board. Arguing about discourse’s functionality and performativity invites the following question: how does internalization relate to occupation as a system of discourse? Connolly’s inspiring analysis of the “essentially contested concepts” leaves us with this question: does not the Palestinian internalization of occupation concepts and terminologies imply that they share with the Israelis a range of judgments loaded in them? Bearing in mind that to internalize something does not necessarily mean to accept it, rather to go along with it as a *fait accompli*.

I find the poststructuralist approach to social studies a very useful source for building the theoretical and analytical framework that will guide the analysis to answer the research questions. Poststructuralism is a philosophy of critical interpretation that takes discourse and language analysis as a method for constructing knowledge.

I have examined a rich corpus of primary and secondary sources which include: literature, autobiographies, accounts written by politicians, newspapers, school textbooks, documents from the diplomatic record of negotiations including all Palestine Papers. Yet, there is still a lot left out. I see discourse as something already in the public domain; therefore this study does not venture to prove or disapprove certain claims, or compile 'new facts' and 'truths' from hidden archival material. My purpose here is to engage with the already too much known and visible material, and turn it into a "difficult gesture" (to borrow a phrase from Foucault) in the process of extracting the rules of its formation. These rules can be found in styles, moods, tropes, metaphors and statements. This aim and methodology does not necessarily require the examination of the entire literature on the subject.

Interpretation is always context-based and informed by situational material, whether linguistic or non-linguistic. However, language remains a key space for the constitution of power-relations and meaningful acts. Therefore, examining political statements is indispensable to accessing underlying rules and logics that form and regulate the flow of these statements. Although political statements are found in political texts, acts and institutions, discourse analysis transcends individualities and intentions to mediate on the subject-position from which individuals speak and act. As such, while examining statements (associated with particular individual names) I am merely concerned with the authority and representativeness with which they speak. As Shapiro argues: "What *is* privileged is the linguistic structure within which subjects are caught up" (1984: 4, emphasis added).

The transformation in the Palestinian discourse is obvious; yet it remains a lacuna in literature. It is quite a challenge to define the exact point at which transformation and change occurred. After all, social developments are slow moving. Many scholars attribute this change to major developments on the international scene, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union and the first Gulf War. In consequence, the United States has become the main dominant player (or perceived as such) in world politics and the Israel-Palestine conflict in particular. Accordingly, the realist argument has ascribed the shift in the Palestinian goals to this mega narrative (see Ben-Ami 2006; Finkelstein 2004, Khalidi 2006, among others). To be fair this argument appears sound and is backed with rich empirical evidence. However, the analysis of this study exposes its limitation and demonstrates first, how transformation has been a continuing feature inside the political discursive regime from the beginning. Second, spectacular shifts, such as the Palestinian declaration of independence in 1988, were only the effects of a much deeper, but slow moving, changes.

Briefly put, this dissertation has two interdependent original contributions: the main contribution uncovers the main rules of formations and logics of the Palestinian representative discourse. That explains also the internal transformation and evolution of this discourse, and how these logics directed policymaking. In general, I attempted to summarize the Palestinian discursive rules of formation into eleven overlapping rules: (1) *an-Nakba* and the order of discontinuity, (2) *an-Nakba* and the pursuit of a solution, (3) provisional horizon, socialization and referentiality, (4) motion, (5) logic of division, (6) statehood, (7) realist-liberalist peace, (8) mathematico-judicial schema, (9) market logic and (10) security as peace, and (11) replacement. The second contribution is a byproduct of exploring the philosophical debates that I touched upon in order to build a methodological framework that helps us understand the connection between change and discourse. Processes of change are tightly related to the dynamics of discourse and its ways of development. That is not because discourse causes change or one precedes the other, but rather because *change* itself is not outside discourse. Indeed,

we can only make sense of change through interpretation and narrative as will be explained in the next chapter.

It is almost impossible to study the totality of any discourse, or more accurately, totality itself is impossible; therefore cutting through history to delimit the (non-) boundary of the case study is inescapable. Albeit necessary, boundaries and questions are arbitrary and among the primary exclusions researchers commit.

The first delimitation is the subject of this study itself. Examining the Palestinian discourse comes at the cost of grasping the whole discursive regime of Israel-Palestine. The Israel-Palestine system of occupation is entrenched in Palestinian and Israeli everyday life. Occupation involves two things: occupier and occupied. Palestinians occupy the latter whereas Israelis occupy the former; meanwhile both remain subjects of occupation discourse. To interpret the system of occupation requires an understanding of two forms of subjectivities. Although studying the Israeli-Palestinian discourse, as one unit is far more instructive, yet it is beyond the capability of a lone researcher. Furthermore, it is analytically and practically more useful to study Palestinian and Israeli discourses separately while being mindful of their interconnectedness. The outcome would be two related interpretive versions out of which one may constitute a broader interpretation of the whole phenomenon of occupation in Palestine. Therefore, this effort aims to examine the Palestinian discourse separately as an initial step towards a more developed scrutiny of the whole phenomenon.

The second delimitation springs from the demarcation of a beginning and end to the historical “positivity.” I follow Foucault’s understanding of positivity as an emergence and transformation of a particular discursive system. As we shall explain later, post-*an-Nakba* order represents a historical positivity and the subject of this research. Nineteen forty-eight and the subsequent events of the Arab-Israeli conflict have led to enduring and deep transformations *to* and *within* Palestinian society. The spontaneous collective Palestinian national

identity and narrative acquired a conscious delineation to cope with the existential changes that have befallen them since 1948.

The Palestinian discourse after the 1947-8 events developed mainly in exile by those whom were (forcibly) garnered a refugee identity. Nineteen sixty-seven events added another layer to the collective Palestinian identity and narrative that include: the occupation, occupied people and occupied Palestinian territories (oPt). Currently, the Palestinian narrative is colored by 'refugeeism', occupation, marginalization and hence the resistance of each. This trinity, or assemblage, is spatially, socially, economically and politically fragmented. The reality of this disintegration is loaded in the metaphorical meaning of *an-Nakba*, as I will explain later in Chapter 3. The Palestinian discourse after 1948 became hyper-politicized; this suits the meta-theory of discourse analysis very well. Needless to say the history before 1948 informs the discourse after. The historical perspective and familiarity with literature on Israel-Palestine in general inform the way I approach post-1948 politics.

Thirdly, this research does not include the discourse of Palestinians in Israel, as their subject deserves an independent research of its own, yet I benefit from existing literature on the subject. Finally, this dissertation stands without an examination of the Islamic turn in the Palestinian politics,³ which coincided temporally with the PLO's diplomatic maneuvers at the outset of the first *Intifada*. Considering how the two discourses interacted would have provided a more holistic interpretation, but due to familiar research constraints, this research is adjourned to another project in the future.

Since *an-Nakba*, Palestinian politics has undergone constant change and transformation. Patterns of political statements were sustained for a period of time, and gradually other patterns appeared while others disappeared. Therefore, the discursive rules of formation have evolved through a manifold

³ Islamic-oriented political discourse is often referred to as 'Political Islam', which is a dubious term because Islam has been always political.

process of deferral, differentiation, equivalence, juxtaposition of concepts and ideas that belong to different historical and political thoughts. This dense inter-discursive process encompassed ample conflicting, ambiguous and paradoxical elements, hence the dynamic and unfixed relationships, which served as the means of articulation and de-articulation.

The Palestinian perception of Palestine as a totality of an entire area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River was discontinued in their political calculations. Today, it is imaged through its parts and visions. This has implications on how Palestinians perceive themselves as an “imagined community” while conducting politics and making choices. Indeed, more than half of the Palestinian population (the refugees) was marginalized and later characterized as a burden and obstacle to peace and progress. Palestinian exile was the initial author⁴ of the Palestinian narrative. As Edward Said argues, “[e]xile is thus the fundamental condition of Palestinian life, the source of what is both over —and underdevelopment about it, ...” (Said 1992: xxviii). This implies, that Palestinian narrative, struggle and conscious identity had actually developed *in exile* and *by* the exiled. The paradox is immaculate in the way the Oslo Process represented and dealt with the question of refugees.

The story in the pages to follow may seem as fragmented and confused as the reality of Palestinian society and politics. But again, this must be better than an artificial and neatly structured narrative. The fragmentation is reflected in the confluence of various complex discursive layers and logics. However, putting this into a historical perspective is essential if we are to understand the connections between different parts of the story. The story emerges as symbioses between theoretical, historical and concrete policymaking inputs. If this study is to have any political focus, I hope that it is clear enough to the reader that theoretical tools and thoughts (I have in mind the realist-liberalist

⁴ By ‘author’ we mean the “principle of grouping discourse” (Foucault 1984: 116).

peace paradigm) are not neutral but part of the invisible action-orienting regimes at macro and micro levels. These regimes pivot on abstractions and hence lapses and erasures of a rather complex reality, and still in the realm of “problem solving” (Cox 1981). The following chapters do not aim to solve the problem but to make problems in what seems otherwise unproblematic.

Chapter outline

The dissertation is divided into three main parts. The first part expounds on the theoretical and analytical framework. I try to make a simplified interpretation of discourse and how it functions based on relevant literature. Then, the chapter continues to develop a theoretical framework in order to grasp the meaning of political change and transformation in social studies and attempts to explain mechanisms of change in relation to discourse. I touch briefly on the role of metaphor in discourse theory that will help analyze the linguistic sources. The chapter ends with a guideline for doing discourse analysis by highlighting possible ways to analyze, select and contextualize the research material.

The second chapter builds the analytical framework of this research. It develops an interpretation of Palestinian political discourse as a social phenomenon of complex and multi-layered clusters of different discursive regimes and practices. Besides the historical contextualization, this discourse is also situated within a world already equipped with political norms and concepts.

The second part consists of five chapters and focuses on the period between 1948 until the late 1980s. Chapter 3 establishes the genealogical discursive developments after 1947-8 and an evaluation of some familiar historical events. It begins by examining the metaphorical meaning of the word *an-Nakba*, which serves as an analytical lens. *An-Nakba* provides two themes: the first is the broken links between the Palestinians and Palestine. While the second theme embodies the struggle to recover the links with the homeland, this is the subject of Chapter 4. Then the chapter investigates the organizing

system of the Palestinian discourse that includes: the 'self,' 'other,' and the interpretative framework of the context. The analysis shows how the disappearance of Palestine as an 'imagined totality' has evolved, which opened up for the emergence of new identities and spatial mapping. I argue that *an-Nakba* de-articulated Palestine and a new discursive reconstruction emerged in a relatively short period of time.

The analysis explores how the already available political terminology, in conjunction with the regional context, constituted a perspective on what was happening in Palestine and decision-making. The concept of liberty and self-determination as the performative practice of peoples (or nations) informed the construction of the required re/action, i.e. struggle for liberation of the homeland. Although the link between liberation and the armed struggle was dominant in the discourse, it started to recede as the PLO began to consider diplomatic options until it disappeared completely. Liberation and armed struggle stabilized the discourse, yet both gradually receded and gave way to the concept of "political settlement" through "non-violent" struggle and negotiations. Then, the perception of the 1967 war and how it affected armed struggle among other concepts is examined. The war opened a new horizons and opportunities, which strengthened the PLO and the other organizations. The armed struggle and its link with liberation began to be qualified and to appear in a typological order with other political principles and was therefore no longer "the only option". The chapter ends with a scrutiny of the mechanisms of power distribution internal to the Palestinian political regime. Ruling by consensus was intended to create national unity and democratic power-relations between the Palestinian movements. However, it led to disunity and undemocratic distribution of power. Finally, the first *Intifada* in 1987 helped to migrate the PLO political discourse into the West Bank and Gaza.

By and large, Chapter 4 and 5 are a continuation of Chapter 3. They move the analysis into the second theme of *an-Nakba* and develop an account of the imagined solutions. The chapter begins with a brief contextualization of the

imaginative horizon. It establishes that the provisional and temporary calculations were the rule after 1948, and from then on, the discussion continued to map out the constitution of imaginable solutions. A process of socialization and interdiscursive interactions opened up for new terminologies and concepts to materialize. In effect, a process of re-articulation and de-articulation of previous constructions ensued. Then the analysis mediates on imagined solutions: liberation as the restoration of the past and the creation of a democratic state over entire Palestine. While Chapter 5 begins by discussing the interpretation of the Israeli-Egyptian Camp David Accords of 1978 and then the emergence of liberation as establishing a state on any part of Palestine. The later scenario discontinued and gave rise to a more focused political thinking based on the two-state solution as stipulated from resolution 242. Finally, Chapter 5 ends with a discussion on the political status of the Palestinian refugees' subject-position. Refugees became the main authors of the Palestinian political discourse especially after various Palestinian organizations joined the PLO in 1968. The refugees were framed not only as a problem, but also a "burden"; and the issue became the transfer of the refugees to other institutions and de-linking the 'problem' from the PLO's responsibility. Later, the right of return construed a "bargaining chip".

Chapter 6 draws on the rules that implicitly informed the construction of the Palestinian discourse discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. In addition to the process of socialization and provisional horizon, I found a referential function governing the dispersion of discursive statements. By the referential function I mean referral practice to a wide range of diplomatic, political and legal discourse that the Palestinian constituted as international and Arab legitimacy. The dual legitimacy premeditated the contents of a possible settlement and negotiation in advance.

The reference to dual legitimacy supplied the Palestinian discourse with raw discursive materials and served the internal justification by representing the UN or Arab interpretation of the Palestinian question to be legally and morally above any other interpretations. Apparently within the invisible alliance

between socialization, provisional horizon and referentialism with the systematic imbedded power-relations in the referential function, the Palestinians are likely to remain at the receiving end no matter what kind of balance of power exists in the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians.

Chapter 7 explores how the politics of the first *Intifada* helped the gradual shift in the PLO's spatial and political focus into the West Bank and Gaza. The analysis shows how the *Intifada* provided the necessary nexus between 'outside-inside' Palestinians. With the help of the flyer-mechanism, the referential political language was migrated into the discourse of 'inside'. Despite the increasing intensity and spread of the events on the ground, diplomacy-ridden subjects dominated the local newspapers' themes and space. What is outstanding from this spatial juxtaposition on paper is yet another unuttered spatial juxtaposition between inside and outside (exile), and a relationship between internal concrete events and external diplomatic ones.

A correlation was made between the "possibility" of the statehood and the *Intifada*. From the beginning, the statist discourse gave the *Intifada* a function and lever to back the pursuit of state. Framing the *Intifada* through a matrix of referentiality and PLO politics led to socialization *en masse* in the West Bank and Gaza. This involved a public assimilation of the terminologies of diplomatic scenarios for the Question of Palestine, which we are now familiar with in hindsight. Assimilation entails sharing the meaning loaded in imported terminologies and concepts.

The Third Part covers the period after 1990s in four chapters and ends with concluding remarks. Chapter 8 engages with the theoretical debate around metaphor and peace discourse. It mediates on the role of kinetic metaphor in an active peacebuilding process. I investigate the role of latent motion tropes play in conceptualizing the "process" of peacemaking to see what this tells us about the "peace" and its "making". Later, the discussion moves to show how the embedded metaphor in the Israel-Palestine peace process has provided

an analytical lens and helped structure the Palestinian discourse for the last two decades (since 1990). I contend that logic of motion has set the discursive priorities and constituted contradictory forces: forward, progressive and backward forces. This “process” of peace coincided with another “process” to govern motion.

The analysis then moves to the effect of metaphorical abstractions and their entailed actions on key concepts in the Palestinian discourse. The preeminence of transition and motion rule intercepted the possibility of articulating and making interpretations. Peace rituals became another constitutive substratum. Later the discussion evaluates the representation of peace and justice, and the concrete implications of that.

Chapter 9 analyzes the representation of material and ideational existence of Palestine in the Palestinian political discourse. It demonstrates how the logics of partition and market embedded in peace rituals dismantled the representation of Palestine as an imagined totality; this had an impact on the Palestinians as an “imagined people”. In accordance with the logic of partition, Palestine was spatially and demographically bifurcated. In other words, each of these subjects was categorized into issues and sub-issues, core and generic ones. Then I scrutinize the conceptualization of the means of struggle and its internal transformation.

After that the analysis moves on to the market-like operations in the Palestinian discourse in combination with a mathematico-judicial schema of ratios and referentiality. While analyzing the language of the diplomatic record I find a pattern of logics and tropes organizing the discourse. The metaphorical market logic in conjunction with the mathematico-judicial formula modulated the key aspects of the conflict and correlated them with ‘peace’, this logic objectified land, the human body and language. The peace agents’ imaginative thinking was framed by market vocabulary and concepts. After that, I discuss the idea of state “viability”, and argue that the Palestinian engagement with the definition of what viability means implies an acceptance

of the right of others to determine the quality of their statehood and thus sovereignty and self-determination. Finally, I examine the primal scene of Palestinian school textbooks prepared by the PA. The disappearance of Palestine as an imagined totality is clearly reflected in the textbooks. The visual and textual representation of Palestine emphasizes the West Bank and Gaza, while places beyond that are ignored.

The first part of Chapter 10 discusses the role of security in the construction of peace. It begins with a genealogical tracing of the concept of “security and peace” in the Western experience and the realist-liberalist theory on peacemaking. It shows how peace is frequently juxtaposed with security as a singular phrase, “peace and security”; therefore, the two concepts are normally articulated together with an underlying essential linkage between them. However, security-ridden tropes are discursively hegemonic, both linguistically and performatively (in form of policies, plans, and acts). This is the rudimentary linguistic material in the process of peace securitization. Then, the discussion turns to the Palestinian engagement with security/peace discourse. It shows how the Palestinians internalized the discourse of “peace as security” in their concrete policymaking. The second part of the chapter, however, moves into the liberal component of peace, institutional/capacity building. It examines the actual contents of institutional-building programmes. As a result, the chapter illustrates, firstly, how the concept of security oriented these programmes, the allocation of funds and the setting of priorities. Secondly, it examines the relationship between capacity-building plans and the existing occupation order. I argue that these plans did not pose any challenge to the existing occupation order rather a symbiotic relationship unfolded. Finally, the discussion shows how securitization infiltrated the Palestinian discourse.

Theory and Methodology of Discourse Analysis

Discourse

The word 'discourse' is usually received with ambiguous connotations that encumber the reader. One of the immediate objections has to do with the discourse-reality relationship and what causes what. Leaving aside the meta-theoretical debate on the matter, of which there is already enough,⁵ I argue that discourse is not esoteric or beyond comprehension outside the supposedly ivory towers of academia. In simple words, discourse constitutes how we conceive things in one way rather than another. It governs the regular distribution of vocabulary, allegories and statements about a certain subject. It is a regime that produces regularities, rules, subjects, and defines the social boundaries through particular power structures (Foucault, 1972; 1984). Edward Said explains the relationship between discourse, interpretation and reality in a very elegant and succinct way that deserves a quotation:

All knowledge that is about human society, and not about the natural world, is historical knowledge, therefore rests upon judgment and interpretation. This is not to say that facts or data are nonexistent, but that facts get their importance from what is made of them in interpretation. No one disputes the fact that Napoleon actually lived and was a French emperor; there is however, a great deal of interpretative disagreement as to whether he was a great or in some ways a disastrous ruler of France. (1997: 162)

Then we are not concerned with the validity or correctness of judgments and constructions of things, rather how things are transformed into social and political meaningful objects of discourse through interpretation and the "violence that we do to things" in order to put them in a certain regular order, articulation, classification, codes (Foucault 1972: 229).

⁵ More on this debate see Rorty 1989; 1992; Guzzini 2000; Lyotard 1983; Gaddis 1996; Campbell 1998a; 199b.

Poststructuralism takes discourse as the “political site” for the re/production of subjectivity, operation of power-relations and identity (Hansen 2006: 16). Discourse analysis aims neither to predict nor provide causal explanations for it does not see the problem in the cause or in the point of origin, but rather in the rules and the relations that made particular outcome possible at the first place. Moreover, “causes,” “truths,” “change,” and similar concepts have to be constructed before one can speak of them. The approach is bound up with an interpretive “ethos” which has “inherently critical” aims to uncover the contestability of established truths, and certainly *not* an alternative theory of “truth” (cf. Connolly 1984: 151-2; 1993; Campbell 1998b; 2010: 223). Foucault’s understanding of “critique” is at the heart of poststructuralism. It is worth citing this understanding at length because it will enlighten the analysis in the pages that follow:

A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest. ... It is something that is often hidden, but which always animates everyday behavior. There is always a little thought even in the most stupid institution; there is always thought even in silent habits. Criticism is a matter of flushing out that thought and trying to change it: to show that things are not as self-evident as one believed, to see what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such. Practicing criticism is a matter of making facile gestures difficult. (Foucault 1988: 154-5; cited in Campbell 1998: 191)

As a critical ethos, poststructuralism is attentive to “how” questions: how things became social things, how subjects are constructed and how the “real” becomes “reality.” Simply put, it aims to write the history of the present. Most of Foucault’s work ponders first-order questions.⁶ “Why” questions assume a pre-given reality, pre-social, subjects and objects, that is, the possibility of a certain course of actions and policies. In contrast, “how” questions investigate processes that constitute subject-positions in a particular discourse (i.e., it

⁶ For example, Foucault investigates the construction knowledge in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), concepts formation in *The Order of Things* (1970); and transformation of penal system in Europe in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) among others.

examines the possibility for becoming). Hence, how questions reveal power-relations that animate the mechanisms that construct social realities (cf. Doty 1993: 298; 1996: 4).

Poststructuralism adopts a discursive ontology that construes meaning as unstable, unfixed and always-in motion (Foucault 1977; Derrida 1982). Simultaneously, there is always a struggle within discursive structures for meaning, stabilization and transformation. However, while bearing on the Gramsci's thoughts, Laclau and Mouffe (2001: 111) argued that meaning could be stabilized temporarily when hegemony becomes possible. Hegemony should not be confused with dominance; the former refers to meaning negotiation that leads to wide acceptance of, or ideally a consensus over, certain principles. Such agreement is a matter of degree, contingent and unfixed (Fairclough 1992: 74).

This account does not deny the material existence; to the contrary, what is denied is the claim that material objects "could constitute themselves as objects outside of any discursive conditions of emergence" (Laclau and Mouffe 2001: 108). Discourse constitutes subject-positions, moves the material existence into the discursive reality and hence to a social existence. In short, "there will be no way to rise above the language, culture, institutions, and practices one has adopted, and view all these as on a par with all the others." (Rorty 1989: 50) The discussion turns now to answer this question: how does discourse constitute realities?

Performativity of Discourse

Foucault develops the most thorough understanding of discourse, its formation and performativity in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972). Although, he does not wish to establish a methodology of discourse analysis, ambitious reading of his works helps researchers to build their own discursive analytical toolkit.

For poststructuralism discourse is the only site for meaning production and a place for the objects and subjects of which discourse speaks. Discursive analysis is about interpretation. “[U]nderstanding involves rendering the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar, interpretation is unavoidable and such that there is nothing outside discourse, even though there is a material world external to thought.” (Campbell 2010: 229)

For many people, discourse is often conflated with language (script or speech) and many discourse theorists define discourse by what it does. For example, Campbell (2010: 226) defines it as “a specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constructed, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible.” In a similar fashion, Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000: 3-4) define it as “systems of meaningful practices that form the identities of objects and subjects.” Obviously, these definitions do not tell us anything about discourse itself. There is no accurate definition of discourse, so the only way to define discourse is to understand how it works, its formation and internal mechanics (see figure 1). For this purpose, I will build a specific analytical model to analyze the empirical case and research material based on my reading of *Archaeology of Knowledge*.

It is true that discourse is a language, but only if we understand language as more than just a series of words one after another. It is composed of meaningful signs: linguistic (e.g., words, coded message) and non-linguistic (e.g., culture, traditions, norms, images, films) (Fairclough 1992) which produce and do concrete things irreducible to language itself. The entailments of certain articulations, signs and what discourse does are the concerns of research and discovery (Foucault 1972: 54).

In *The Order of Things* (1970), Foucault examined the pre-conceptual level (concepts’ raw material) in great details. Analysis of the pre-conceptual belongs to the internal configuration of text and schemata that define forms of deduction, inference, derivation, coherence and incoherence. Concepts

formations are at the level of discourse. Concepts are composed of a group of signs, both linguistic and non-linguistic. These signs are attached to one another according to particular “rules of formation” or “logics” in Laclau’s (2000) words; the relations between various signs produce “statements.” Concepts provide the schemata for linking, arranging, weighing and ordering statements inside discourse.

Statements create relationships between a proposition and a designated referent(s). Discursive rules of formation do not determine the nature of the referent but rather they put it within a particular framework and perspective in order to make social purpose and meaning. A referent is therefore a variable entity, a place that can be occupied by other possible objects, subjects, individuals, groups, *etc.* It is not the ‘object’ itself, but a contingent ‘corresponding’ discursive representation. On this account, discourse consists of an array of statements governed by a single system of formation and rules (Foucault 1972: 103-121).

Discourse analysis must uncover the rules of formation, relations, determining the subject-positions (what position should the referent occupy to constitute a subject of discourse), material function, entailments and meaning, therefore it is *not* about semantics or the grammar of language. More specifically, to analyze discourse involves uncovering and scrutinizing its rules of formation while bearing in mind that “one must neither, embody them [rules of formation] in things, nor relate them to the domain of words; in order to analyze the formation of enunciative types, one must relate them neither to the knowing subject, nor to a psychological individuality.” (Ibid. 70)

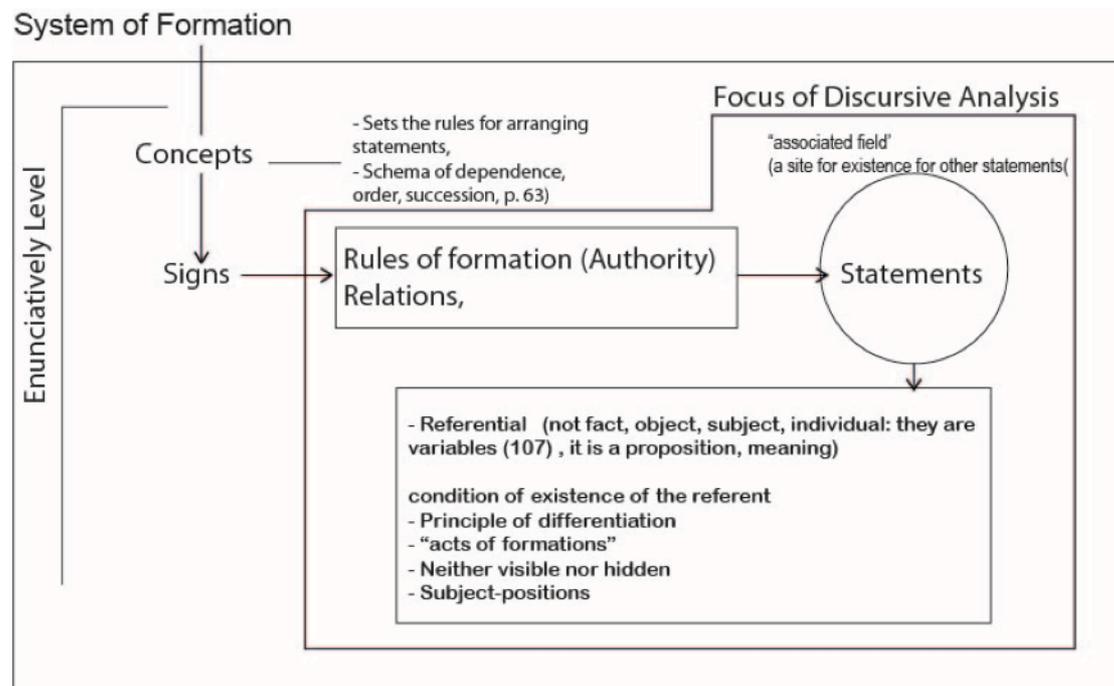


Figure 1: Discourse formation

Transformation and Change

Titles of the sort “change of x to y” are common in comparative research that aspires to explain historical and sociological conditions that underlay change. Yet, very limited research attempted to address *change* itself, its mechanics and logics (or illogic) of operation. Then how could one compare or explain change in the absence of a reasonable ontology of change, in other words: what is change? It is easier to show how discourse is sustained than to expose its internal processes of transformation. Discourse transformation is under-theorized; hence, mechanisms of transformation remain unclear. In this section I shall try to mediate on the process of transformation and change in the theory of discourse.

Positivism declares “objective reality” as the source of meaning, and hence the origin of transformation and change. As a result, change is attributed to prior changes in material objects. For example, Mearsheimer argues (1994-5: 42-3) that ideas are “imaginary” and in the mind of the subject; therefore “objective reality” determines their nature. A little thought unravels the limitations of such arguments. Firstly, words like ‘ideas,’ ‘objective,’ ‘reality,’ ‘fact,’ ‘truth’ are not properties of material objects, rather they become

significant within discursive statements and mediation of the rules of formation (e.g., style, codes, presuppositions, order, exclusion). Secondly, these words and their derived adjectives (e.g., objectively, ideally, factual, etc.) are defined by other words that are beyond any material objectivity in a circular way (Shapiro 1985-86; Hacking 1999: 22-3; Carver 2008). Furthermore, their meanings have already gone through considerable transformation over time, which is still ongoing and always problematic (Connolly 1983).

One needs to distinguish between *correspondence* with meaning and *emitting* meaning. Correspondence between objects and constructed concepts projected on them is possible and logical. However, the latter (objects emitting meanings) is impossible because objects (out there) are indifferent to conceptualization and meaning. For example, realism and rationalism are a set of ideas and criteria that “don’t just float around in empty space ... they are there because they materialized in, they inform, social practices.” (Hall 1985: 103) At the same time, conceiving social practices within discourse is not idealist determinism. Discourse is performative: it creates representations and practices that produce meanings. This also challenges the assumption of causality and its *priori* (i.e., ideas cause practice or practice cause ideas). Performativity indicates that both representations and practices are mutually constitutive, concomitant, and involve the linguistic and non-linguistic elements (Campbell 1998; Hansen 2006; Bialasiewicz *et al.* 2007).

Unlike the positivist approach, constructivism considers ideas to be the source of change. For example, Dueck (2004: 522-3) argues that “strategic ideas are the implicit or explicit causal assumptions” that produce change. He also adds that these ideas are reactions to the “external pressures” from the anarchical international system. Dueck is right in saying that ideas do matter, however, there are two corollary prejudices here. Firstly, treating ideas as something coming from outside, i.e. a pre-given anarchic system, the necessity of chronology (an existing structure, ideas followed by change). The second prejudice is linking causes and origins of change to ideas. Then, assuming that ideas emanate from external pressure and from outside, while

simultaneously arguing that ideas cause change entails that change is a product of that “thing” called external, which is beyond ideas themselves. From this perspective, the view that recognizes ideas as a *cause* of change succumbs to the positivist trap, that is, objects have significance in themselves.

In fact, the external and anarchical international systems are themselves ideas. Similarly, Risse-Kappen (1994: 208-214) argued for an account that considers ideas as intervening causal variables between ideas’ promoters/makers and the leaders. However, he puts two conditions for ideas to be influential: firstly, the promoters of ideas should gain access to the leadership, and secondly promoters must establish “winning coalitions” with local groups. In this case, the individual matters and becomes the focus; if the leader is “open-minded” and local “new thinkers” are ready to pick ideas (from outside) then one could speak of the role of ideas. This perspective is confused, for it is unclear to who change should be attributed. Is it to the idea?, to the promoters of ideas?, to the ability (itself) of building coalitions?, building ideas?, or to the receptor of ideas (the “open-minded” individual)? Moreover, this view freezes ideas and ignores the fact that by the time they get “picked up” and gain ground in public life, they would have undergone considerable mutilation and transformation. It is unclear why and how ideas are “picked up” and how an individual becomes open-minded. Indeed, this is a generic failure in constructivism because it assumes a given agency (attributed to ideas of an individual) while it lacks a theory of agency constitution (Chechel 1998). Most importantly, it does not ask how ideas themselves become possible and how they change.

To understand the role of ideas it is apt to consult Althusser’s (1971) account of ideology (and hence of ideas). Althusser’s account has been criticized because it invokes, first, the Cartesian dichotomy of subject/object, or agent/structure and second, structural determinism. Let us first consider the structure of ideology. Ideology is composed of two things: *ideo*+*logy*. Both (*ideo*+*logy*) are derived from Greek origins. “*Logy*” is derived from *logia* and

logos which means speech, story, narrative. The former means light (*eido*: I see) in Greek. When the two words are combined they compose a metonym, as it refers to a society of “ideas” (not any particular idea). Stories and narratives are constructions; by the same token, ideology (ideas+logos) is the outcome of a discursive formation. Notice that Althusser spoke of ideology as “practice”, i.e., performative (see Hall 1985). Consequentially, ideas, stories, narratives and so on, are the property of discourse and neither ideology nor ideas can be deterministic, fixed, or the product of an individual. Butler’s revision of Althusser’s concept of interpellation rises from discursive understandings consistent with the account of ideology as discourse made above. She argues, that to become a subject-position does not require the subject to be hailed by others, but to derive its own subjectivity “from the structure of the address as both linguistic vulnerability and exercise.” (Butler 1997: 30) This account of interpellation and what Weldes (1999: 98) called “cultural raw materials” are constituted within the domain of discourse.

Ideas should not be attributed to anything mysterious or related to a knowing subject and a thing to be known, as phenomenologists contend. Ideas can only appear in statements, which are composed of relations. Thus, ideas operate within a social discursive matrix. For instance, Debrix’s (2008) interestingly shows how the post-Cold War media and elite discourses of “tabloid realism” and “tabloid geopolitics” invested in imaginative and figurative visualizations of political realities as a truthful description of the world as it is. What distinguishes this discursive “tabloid” is the constitution of relations between the imagery of fear, danger, destruction and the world.

So far, I have considered the positivist and constructivist account of change and disentangled their limitations. The following section explores the discourse mechanisms of change.

Discourse and Change

Mearsheimer asks: “What is the mechanism that governs the rise and fall of discourses?” (1994-5: 42-3) That is to say, how change occurs. To begin with,

it is instructive to call on the dictionary to find the meaning of the word 'change.' The Oxford Dictionary (ed. Pearsall 2001) defines the noun change as, "an act or process through which something becomes different", whereas the verb: "make or become different", "use another instead of" or "move from one to another". Then change is about making difference. We should underline the temporalized and spatialized status of difference embedded in words like: become, an/other, and move. Difference/change is something concerned with the future and something to become. While asking, what has changed? We already presuppose that something has changed and therefore the aim is to trace this difference and change retrospectively (*ex post facto*). Subsequently, the "difference" between the present (or something in the present) and the past is taken-for-granted because "difference" is essential in the relationship between the present and past, otherwise neither can be signified.

Derrida (1982: 1-28) show a curious interest in the concept of difference. He coined the concept "*différance*" to signify both time (temporal, deferral) and space (spacing, separating) as a conceptualization and meaning construction. Firstly, the sense of time is typified in the deferral of meaning by reference to an unending chain of other signifiers (i.e., no possible totality of meaning). The deferral is about linking signifiers with other signifiers to establish new relations. Secondly, the spatial turn separates elements from each other by establishing order, hierarchy, binary, style of and inference, that is, a constitution of "othering."

One could charge the deferral process with linguistic determinism. After all, signifiers to which one may defer and regress to, are limited (words are numerable), entailing that the possible relations are numerable, and also signifiers are already fixed in a relation with other signifiers in the language as Saussure argues (1960 in Jørgensen & Phillips: 10-11). Placing the relationships within space and time renders them as essentially unfixed and contingent on the space and time (spatial-historical). Moreover, considering language as a system of relations is a contingent enterprise. Bearing on

Heidegger (1962), we are always-already thrown in a world of signification. In other words, we are in a world of language and relations, and we are always-already in language. There are three elements to note: (1) by always being already ahead of ourselves the past demonstrates a historical perspective in everything, (2) the fact of our being in time suggests that the present accumulates meaning, which makes (the social) “being” possible. Hence, there is no *priori*, and “being” is conditional on the understanding of being now, which involves understanding of the past in terms of the present being. Finally (3), the future aspect in “being and becoming” implies that meaning is something to be discovered and constituted in time and space, *not* given. Because knowing and being are always situated “within” a particular historical situation, not outside it, knowing is always limited and contingent (Gadamer 2004: 291-306).

Discourse operationalizes language. There are both linguistic and material activities that create representations (not reflection) of reality, which do not exhaust all possible interpretations and links. These links are contestable and deferred (Derrida 1982). Thus meanings, links and relations are indeterminate, unfinished and never ultimately fixed (Laclau and Mouffe 2001). Therefore, there are invariable struggles and dynamism within and between discourses about meanings, concepts and definitions that make difference and change. Moreover, discourse is not a totality of statements; there is always more that could be said, linked, arranged, deduced, substituted and excluded. Discourse draws on, and interacts with, other discourses and therefore interdiscursivity and intertextuality are unavoidable. Text and discourse refer to, and presupposes other texts and discourses; still, referentiality occurs inside the language (Riffaterre 1981). When two texts (or more) of different rules of formation encounter one another, their rules of formation interact and produce a new text that combines, excludes, revises and transforms their original rules of formation. In short, we are talking about discursive “defférance” (temporal and spatial) that includes difference and change relationships.

As mentioned earlier, when we speak of “difference and change” we assume that change has occurred, consequently we acknowledge (implicitly) a certain time and place of change, i.e. when the change took place, and exactly in what part. First, by bearing on the definition of discourse, we locate change within the rules of formations that govern the relationship. Second, to speak of change requires the delineation of a beginning.

Institutions, discourse and beginnings are interconnected. It is impossible to circumscribe the beginnings of discourse because every concept draws on a chain of other concepts (Derrida 1982: 11). Therefore, we should always put the “re-” prefix before every concept we use, for what we do is re-constructing and re-making on the basis of other concepts. This shows how unstable and contingent is the re-making; it is always in suspense, waiting for something else “to come”. More to the point, change is evident in *différance*: by *replacing* signifiers by others, this is not a synonymic *replacement* but a relational one, which leads to *postponement* of the first meaning. *Différance* does not obliterate the initial meaning or relations but *replaces and defers* them. In other words, it removes the relationship and meaning from the menu of alternatives and possibilities by altering relationships and order. As Derrida puts it: “If the displaced presentation remains definitively and implacably postponed, it is not that a certain present remains absent or hidden. Rather, *différance* maintains our relationship with that which we necessarily misconstrue, and which exceeds the alternative of presences and absence.” (Derrida 1982: 20) *Différance* as displacement and referentiality is evident in the Palestinian discourse, as we shall see later in chapter 6.

Institutions prepare discourse “order of laws”; they provide the place for discourse (Foucault 1984: 109). This does not mean that institutions are extra-discursive; to the contrary, a lot of discursive-acts have to be made for institutions to evolve. Hence, institutions disarm discourse, “ ‘and if discourse may sometimes have some power, nevertheless, it is from us [institutions] and us alone that it gets it.” (Ibid.) We can understand Foucault’s fear of beginnings, because in the beginnings, in the laws of formations, power hides

itself behind something else whilst constructing arbitrary infrastructure of exclusion, prohibition, divisions, ranking, valorization, and so forth.

Paul Pierson (2004) dedicates a whole book to theorizing on institutions' development and change, yet without defining the term *institution*. The definition is necessary because it determines the nature of change, and forces the author to tell us exactly where, how and what change he is talking about. The book speaks of institutions as objects or things plus individuals who act intentionally and rationally. Moreover, change is ascribed to something external to institutions such as critical junctions, "losers", "marginal groups tinker with institutions", "institutional entrepreneurs" (Clemens 1997; Clemens & Cook 1999; Thelen 2003; Schickler 2001; Pierson 2004: ch.5). Each of these category is taken as self-evident and unproblematic.

Institutions lay down the codes and relations, and they establish subject-positions that could be occupied by various individuals. Institutions exist materially in the particular type of power, functions, codes, and procedures they exercise. Institutions discipline, educate, socialize, train and change individuals "from within" in order to fit into institutional system in particular, and in the social sphere in general (Foucault 1970; 1977). As a result, looking at individuals as a source of change leads nowhere because individuals are themselves the subject of transformation and constitution.

Laclau and Mouffe criticized Foucault's treatment of institutions as non-discursive (2001: 107, see also ch.3 footnote 14). This is an inaccurate reading of Foucault. If we understand institutions and codes as the web of relations, then "these relations cannot be the very web of the text—they are not by nature foreign to discourse. They can certainly be qualified as 'prediscursive'," and he adds a caveat: "but only if one admits that the perdiscursive is still discursive, that is, they do not specify a thought, or a consciousness, or a group of representations ... they define the rules that are embodied as a particular practice by discourse." (Foucault 1972: 85). The "prediscursive" (rules of formation, relations) are the product of discursive

activity, however, they become partially and temporarily fixed. They function as rules, reference points and guidelines for further discursive formation. Seeing the prediscursive or non-discursive as partially fixed points opens the space for Laclau and Mouffe's concept of articulation.

The practice of articulation constitutes privileged signs called *nodal points*. Other signs are ordered around nodal points, and derive meanings. Discourse involves partial fixation of meaning around certain nodal points. Consequently, the possibilities for something to be constructed as a meaningful object is reduced and delimited, this is because meaning is derived from its relationship with the nodal point it is attached and deferred to. Since discourse does not exhaust all possible signs, there are signs whose meaning is undetermined. These signs are called *elements*. Laclau and Mouffe argue that discourse aims to transform the identity of these elements into objects of discourse and attach meaning to them by (partially) relating them to certain nodal points. At the same time, nodal points themselves are not fully fixed; they are subject to the competing discourses that aim to fix their meaning in different ways. Accordingly, within every discourse, society and identity there is a continuous dynamic struggle over the meaning, which transforms *elements* into *moments* of discourse, and redefines the meaning of nodal points. This is what makes discourse alive, and always in a state of evolving and becoming. Laclau and Mouffe did not see the expulsion ability of discourse to transforms *moments* of discourse into back into *elements* or silences, and disqualifies them as objects of discourse.

Above, I established that ideas, individuals, subjects and objects⁷ are indeed the objects of statements (discourse), and accordingly, change should be attributed to rules that make statements possible in the first place. Discourse constitutes its objects and transforms them constantly (Foucault 1972: 36). Objects and subjects are never stable; change can be minute, impossible to

⁷ I refer to subjects as subject-positions and "objects" as objects of discourse.

see, slow and gradual to the extent that this transformation goes unnoticed immediately because we live “within” the moment of a restricted horizon (Gadamer 2004). Therefore, it unfolds or becomes visible over time. For example, even without any “critical juncture”, it is impossible to find the same discourse after a period of time. A host of rules, protocols, theorization, concepts, etc. are called in and projected on an event so that it could be constructed as “critical” and a “juncture”. Consequently, the sort of “critical junctures” we draw, are *ex-post* projections, which are not determined by the event itself, but imposed on it.

Of course, this implies recognition that events can be discovered and told in many different ways, *not* a denial of their occurrence. According to White argues “eventness” comes out of “emploting” events into particular narrative, that is, how particular happenings were singled out, structured and sequenced in order to produce a meaningful story. This process begins with a “poetic” and linguistic endeavor (White 1975: 30-31). Events “are real not because they occurred but because, first, they were remembered and, second, they are capable of finding a place in a chronologically ordered sequence.” (White 1980: 20)

Along with “critical junctures” (after being constituted as such) emerge new objects (elements) that do not mean anything on their own until the rules of discourse modulate their relationships and links. That is, after such elements have been described, recorded, classified, differentiated, labeled, judged, quantified, and so forth. More to the point, discursive rules mediate to constitute the possibility for objects to appear as new meaningful objects.

To say change occurs when a critical event takes place requires an examination of how discourse engages with the event and how “change” is constituted (i.e., problematize change). Foucault’s (1972: 189) archaeological approach disintegrates the “event” and divides it into four analytical levels: (1) the level of statements (their rules of formations, relations, appearance, disappearance); (2) the level of objects (appearance, articulation, concepts);

(3) the derivation of new rules of formation from the existing ones and (4) the level of substitution of discursive formation with another (“appearance and disappearance of a positivity”). Accordingly, the analysis must show how the relations between different rules of formations and elements are transformed. When we talk of change and transformation, it does not mean that elements of discourse have changed their characteristics, rather a transformation and change in the relations that govern their existence as discursive elements occurred (Ibid: 191).

Laclau and Mouffe elaborated Foucault’s concept of enunciation. They have developed what they call the articulatory practice⁸ that involves antagonism.⁹ Antagonism is unavoidable because meaning cannot be stabilized forever. Political identity, or any form of a quasi-unity, becomes (temporarily) possible, hegemonic or prevailing interpretations produce links and differentiations (Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Laclau 1996). Antagonism constitutes and destabilizes at the same time. Derrida discovered antagonism within the binary relations that consists of both exclusion and dependence. Antagonism is a discursive construction according to the logic of equivalence. For example, through the logic of equivalence the black population in South Africa (during the apartheid regime) constructed links that binds all “blacks” as being unified against “white racism”, “white oppression”, which established the two antagonistic binary, black=friend whilst white=enemy. The signifier “white” functions as constitutive outside of the “black” (see Howarth 1997).

The fixation of meaning entails exclusions (logic of difference) of other possibilities (Mouffe 1996: 10-11). Because stabilization involves making

⁸ Articulation or enunciation involves constituting relations between various discursive entities, as a result of articulation become linked to certain nodal points.

⁹ Antagonism should not be confused with contradiction, and neither entails the other. For example, there can be a relation of logical contradiction but no antagonism follows. Antagonism emerges when “the presence of the ‘Other’ prevents me from being totally myself.” (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 125)

choices, equivalence and differentiation, antagonism and undecidability are not going to be swept away. The two logics (equivalence and difference) work simultaneously and against one another. The logic of difference deconstructs articulations in existing chains of equivalence, and as a result, new relations, possibilities and signifiers emerge, i.e. change and transformation.

To repeat, discourse accepts the fact that there are objects outside discourse. What is not uttered remains outside the realm of the social meaning. What is not yet put into words is, silence. Butler argues that, "One exists not only by virtue of being recognized, but in a prior sense, by being recognizable." (Butler 1997: 5) Following her argument, we could say that silence exists; because it is recognizable by the very fact we acknowledge the gaps and lapses. Yet, silence has no rules of formation, or indeed, these rules are inaccessible and therefore they cannot be analyzed. Silence is a statement that is not yet put into words; it is "differend" according to Lyotard (1983). Differend calls for new rules of formation, relationships and linkages in order to transform itself into the realm of discourse. Silence exists only in the absence of the rules of formations, and new rules of formations or new relationships are formulated, silence enters the discursive field and ceases to be silence.

Lyotard's main cry against political concepts is pivoted on their inability to put differend into language. Therefore, politics and language need to find a new terminology to speak of the unspoken. What Lyotard did not explore is the ability of politics and language to turn the spoken and the speaking subject into a differend, an absence and discontinuity. More precisely, he did not explore the ability of politics and language to eliminate the speaking and speakable. Of course, this is not mere academic jargon; it is a reality that shapes the lives of millions as typified in the case of the Palestinian refugees in the Oslo Peace Process.

Rorty argues that change occurs when vocabulary changes. Vocabulary re/produces other vocabulary. He puts it like this, for example: "revolutionary

achievements ... occur when somebody realizes that two or more of our vocabularies are interfering with each other, and proceeds to invent a new vocabulary to replace both.” (Rorty 1989: 12) Put differently, change in language, or new language may result in concrete change. Rorty’s argument is still on the level of semantics. It is possible that two words or more produce new words that may replace original words altogether, and yet change may not follow. The important thing here is not the arrival of new words *per se*, but the rules of derivation that made new words possible, i.e., the level of semiotics (relations).

Interestingly, Butler (1997) goes beyond semantics and shows the double force of language: it enacts and performs the constitution of subject, and the same language threatens its existence. Discourse has the power to constitute, re-constitute and de-constitute. Transformation occurs when the rules of formulation that govern statements, the relationships between statements, (old and new) are changed and enable the silence to become language and *vice versa*. Therefore, transformation and change is not tantamount to a cut off from the past, or previous concepts, ideas and subjects. Rather, it means that relationships that govern their discursive existence have transformed. As for change, “it is not a change of content ... nor it is a change of theoretical form ... It is a question of what *governs* statements, and the way in which they *govern* each other...” (Foucault 1980: 112, emphasis added)

It is worth summing up the six interdependent mechanisms that induce difference and change thus far. First, linguistic articulation formulates meanings and relations, which are unstable, contingent and contestable which leads to a continuous slippage of meaning. Second, text and discourse are essentially inter-textual and inter-discursive. By the former I mean that any discourse depends on citations and reference to other texts, narratives and authors, whereas the latter is about borrowing from other discourses (of different rules of formations). For example, while discussing drugs or health care a series of notions from medicine, law, psychology, politics, moral values, religion, and so on, come to mind. All of this involves interaction

between diverse rules of formation of these various discourses, which may generate new rules or transform existing ones.

Third, there is a change within the institutions and our selves. Fourth, following Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation, there are elements whose meanings are undetermined and therefore the ongoing struggle transforms element into discursive moments and vice versa. Transforming elements to moments supplies discourse with new meanings that have never been available before. Consider for instance, how vague an idea the Palestinian *statehood* was until developed further in the political debates and became a key moment with specific goals and boundaries, state on 22 percent of Palestine; then it became a nodal point ordering and connecting other concepts and ideas about citizenship, occupation, self-determination, and so forth.

Five, hegemony and antagonism are unavoidable in discourse; they work in different directions. Antagonism contests and destabilizes chains of equivalence, which in turn deconstructs existing meanings and subjects and opens up the possibility of new meanings to evolve. Hence, hegemony is a matter of degree and contingent a situation. Finally, as mentioned elsewhere, discourse and language are not everything and indeed there is a lot outside them. Francois Lyotard called these things a "différend" as they lack governing rules of formation and not yet put into words, they are silence. To transform silence into discourse requires new rules of formation, or an adjustment of existing ones. On the other hand, the discursive endeavor can also de-articulate and turn what elements of discourse into a silence.

Discourse and the Inevitability of Metaphor

The dichotomous division of language into literal and rhetorical is inconclusive. The division is arbitrary and inadequate because of the "impossibility" of objective relations between various elements (Laclau & Mouffe 2010: 110). Understanding is dependent on the words we use and

every word is defined and understood in terms of other words. John Locke was one of the champions of this division. He made the case for the literal language like this: “Eloquence, like the fair sex, has too prevailing beauties in it to suffer itself ever to be spoken against. And it is in vain to find fault with those arts of deceiving wherein men find pleasure to be deceived.” (Lock 1961 cited in De Man 1984: 197) Ironically, this short passage is replete with similar rhetorical and figurative language (“like the fair sex”; eloquence is like a woman, inferior to man and should be removed from serious male affairs) it aims to repudiate. What Locke tried to do was to carry meaning by invoking or drawing on particular links and relations already established in metaphorical expressions (e.g., “fair sex”, “eloquence”). Meaning depends on the power of the metaphor and directions it points to. Besides that, the two words, literal and rhetoric, are themselves metaphors.

Metaphor and metonym are not mere aesthetical elements in the language, but constitutive concepts of thoughts and actions. Although they have the same objective (understanding, referential relations, constituting meaning and practical entailments), they operate in different ways. Metaphor makes it possible to understand one thing in terms of another, whereas metonym makes one thing stand for another (Lakoff & Johnsen 2003: 5, 38, 158).

When Nietzsche asked: “What then is truth? A mobile army of metaphors, metonyms, and anthropomorphisms”, he was concerned with the constitutive nature of the concepts embodied in metaphors, metonyms and anthropomorphisms. By this way of thinking, an acceptance of these concepts is an acknowledgment of the referential relations within the metaphor. In practice, we figure and endorse consistent metaphorical entailments and relations as self-evident and truthful. Metaphor and metonym are common in daily life,¹⁰ they are more significant and far more important in politics, not only because they are able to hide certain features, but also to highlight and

¹⁰ For examples, see Lakoff and Johnsen (2003).

specify with certainty the (supposedly) 'right' way to go and what policy to follow.

Discourse is rich with metaphors. "Synonymy, metonymy, metaphor are not forms of thought that add a second sense to a primary, constitutive literality of social relations; instead, they are part of the primary terrain itself in which the social is constituted." (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 110) It is analytically useful to distinguish between two interdependent levels of metaphoric language. Firstly, the conceptual metaphor establishes abstract links between various conceptual fields (e.g. peace-building). Secondly, the conceptual expression is more specific and derives linkages and relations from the conceptual metaphor in the actual expressions (building, destroy, reinforce, preserve) (Drulak 2008). Metaphorical expressions construct figurative depiction of the relationships, however, this relationship is context specific and not universal. Therefore, analysts should have an adequate understanding of situational terrain and language.

Metaphor and metonym is an arena for power-relations; they are functional, productive (construct links, relations, exclusions) and they exercise power, in the positive sense of power. Carver convincingly shows how metaphors, through a loop of projections (projection and recursive re-projection), create a "metaphorical other" along the lines of dichotomous binary (Carver 2008: 151). Although these projections seem to be coming from outside, they are, in fact, an internal conception of the outside (Davis 1999 in Carver 2008). Approaching metaphor in this way, not only blurs the dividing lines (e.g., between outside/inside, human/non-human, man/machine, us/them) but also reveals latent power at the pseudo-division lines. As such, metaphor is a carrier, a transporter that carries and transports meaning and power. As far as Israel/Palestine is concerned, we should watch for the powerful metaphors that have been strategically inserted to produce difference, and thus power-relations and practical political entailments.

All language is metaphorical (Shapiro 1985-6; De Man 1984) in the sense that it carries, moves, travels and translates meaning (*meta pherein* means to carry, transport in Greek). Therefore, we cannot suspend the power of the figurative language, the meaning it carries within its folds and the “violence which we do to things” by constructing them metaphorically. Most political concepts become metaphorically embedded in speech and writing about politics enables us to see certain directions and courses of action. The method of “echoing”¹¹ is so pervasive in academia, think-tank, political actors, media and religious institutions. Echoing enhances the “rhetorical capital” of particular concepts that makes the entailments loaded within them widely acceptable, if not self-evident truths.

Doing Discourse Analysis

The lack of a specific set of criteria or ready-made recipes for doing discourse analysis is often a source of confusion for analysts. How to implement discourse analysis is tightly dependent on the underlying theoretical framework, research questions and available research material. For the purposes of this research, two conditions must always be satisfied: first the whole research must dovetail with the objective of interpretation. Second, the selection of material and analysis techniques must be consistent with interpretation in a way that helps to answer the research questions.

George and Bennett¹² (2005: 18) describe the case study as, “a well-defined aspect of an historical episode that the investigator selects for analysis, rather

¹¹ Echoing refers to the way in which particular concepts are disseminated by the repetition of the same arguments, justifications and description of the world or a particular case; this is common in academia and media. For example, many authors reproduce certain descriptions mixed with scar quotes or rephrasing of others’ descriptions to support the case they are making. Echoing helps fix the meaning around these concepts and disseminates them (see Bialasiewicz *et al.* 2007: 413).

¹² The methodology of case studies explored by George and Bennett (2005) is exclusively positivist. Despite titling the book “Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social

than a historical event in itself.” This definition concurs with the selected case. The question of Palestine is an historical event extended over a long period of time, and it has variant aspects that could only be studied and problematized. Moreover, the Palestinian struggle is already imagined through different geo-temporal episodes, which are useful analytical divisions.

The case study approach serves the underlying theory of discourse analysis of context specificity and de-universalization. While critics claim that discourse research findings are ungeneralizable, discourse analysts consider that contextuality, specificity, problematized case, commitment to critique of exclusionary practices and de-universalization are what interpretation is all about. Thus, a research based on a focused case study concurs with these objectives (Howarth 2005).

This study is concerned with the Palestinian political discourse after *an-Nakba* whilst focusing on its internal transformations. We chose this period because the whole Palestinian political scene has been deeply altered since then. Furthermore, the selected case and the type of questions we raised give primacy to politics. Indeed, the research problem and case (Palestine) are very politicized subjects. The case is context-based; politically significant and exclusionary politics are rampant. Palestinianism is rife with the politics of identity, dynamic shifts and changes (variation) and therefore it may serve as an exemplar of hyper-politicized case studies.

Questioning transformation and change in the case of Palestine serves as a vehicle to conduct comparative research “within” the case itself. To see how transformation occurred requires comparing the case before and after the transformation, and how different conditions gave rise to different possibilities. The comparison should comply with the meta-theory of interpretation (contra positivist and quantitative analysis).

Sciences”, with plural form of “science”, they exclude non-positivist theory (p. 18-9). Hence, their criteria are unfit for this research.

Selecting Research Material

Because discourse is concerned with details it needs to engage with a wide range of research materials. This is especially useful to address the selection bias and reliability by using different resources and horizons (Milliken 1999). David Howarth (2005) provided a practical typology of possible data for discourse analysis. The data may be divided into two categories: linguistic and non-linguistic.¹³ Each category is divided into two sub-categories: reactive¹⁴ and non-reactive; each category has pros and cons which require attention.

First, linguistic-non-reactive data involves documents and text; most of the academic research is based on this category. Material selection criteria are the same as those for selecting the case study: compatibility with the meta-theory, and that they help to answer the research question. Since this dissertation is concerned with the political discourse, the selected data should come from official authority, politicians' writings and statements, and documents from key institutions that played a role in the Palestine question.

Second, linguistic-reactive data such as interviews help to generate firsthand material. The interviewee must be an official figure or played significant roles in the decision-making process. I benefited from existing interviews, though I did not conduct interviews myself for two reasons. First, the analysis is concerned with the already much known discourse on the subject. In other words, I do not wish to generate new material tailored specifically for this research or studying hidden materials because our goal is to examine available and known material. Second, I already have enough firsthand material.

¹³ The division is an analytical one; the whole data is viewed discursively and within the meaningful system (see Howarth 2005: 335-6).

¹⁴ Reactive entails an inner subjectivity for its immediate production.

Third, the researcher's observation and judgment constitute reactive-non-linguistic data. Undoubtedly, personal judgment is always embedded in research. Finally, the non-reactive-non-linguistic is a very useful source of data for it requires exploring non-conventional material as meaningful objects of discourse. For example, investigating certain images or the institutional set up of PLO, PA, and other Palestinian factions at different stages provides valuable materials that are impossible to find in documents. Here, one should evaluate the embodiment of the discursive articulation in material objects. Furthermore, investigating the operating environment of the PLO at different periods and places (e.g., in Kuwait, Jordan until 1971; Lebanon until 1982; Tunisia until 1993; West Bank and Gaza after 1993) provides additional primary material.

Based within the typology of research sources above and of course research questions, this study is founded on a rich corpus of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include: literature, autobiographies, accounts written by involved political actors, newspapers, school textbooks, documents from the diplomatic record of negotiations including all 'Palestine Papers'. I see discourse as something already in the public domain; therefore secret or hidden sources are outside the focus of this analysis.

Analyzing the Material

There are at least two ways to approach discourse: the poststructuralist way or the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) way; they differ mainly in their techniques. CDA gives primacy to the linguistic analysis and gets closer to the grammar of language. (see Fairclough 1992; Barker and Galasinski 2001; Blommaert 2005). Taylor (2004) argues persuasively that CDA provides detailed examination of relationship between language and policy-making and power-relations. Therefore, CDA suits critical policy analysis well and provides insights about policy shifts. However, the difficulty with CDA is the over-detailed output. Therefore, it is a suitable method for carrying out an intensive analysis of a very limited number of documents, but it is hard to utilize it to

examine a large corpus of research materials because the output of analysis would be beyond the limitations of the research time and size. The CDA approach is therefore inappropriate for this study. Instead of going through a grammatical examination, I benefit from genealogy and metaphor methodology to uncover meanings and entailments. This does not mean that we will not use CDA techniques; to the contrary, these techniques will be used when convenient.

Additionally, the theoretical approach of this study is less concerned with the grammar; rather it seeks to reveal the embedded logics and rules of formation. Therefore, the analysis benefits from poststructuralist techniques. Jennifer Milliken (1999: 242-3) identified four poststructuralist analytical techniques. The first emphasizes relationships between discursive objects; deconstruction (which characterizes Derrida's work) questions the binary power-relations in language between two elements. The second technique is juxtaposition (e.g., Campbell 1998; Debrix 2008) this method destabilizes accepted narratives or the supposedly common-sense knowledge by highlighting erasures and exclusions of orthodox narratives. Juxtaposition shows how accepted interpretations are essentially contingent and political. The third method, "subjugated knowledge" considers how suppressed discourses resist dominant ones (e.g., Doty 1996). This is closely related to Laclau's (2000) concept of the "logic of politics" when hegemony (or meaning fixation) becomes impossible, due to resistance. Finally, the genealogical method examines the rules of formation of a particular historical positivity.

The central analytical concept envisages Palestine and the Palestinians as a system of discourse. The technique of genealogy orients the analysis, but it also benefits from the other methods mentioned above as these techniques are compatible with discourse meta-theory and complement each another. Critical analytical lenses are built-into the genealogical approach. The critical aspect exposes forms of exclusions and constraints, while genealogy denotes the formation of discursive structures that makes the possible, including exclusions and limitations. The genealogical turn will investigate the rules of

formation, performance, subject-positions and regularities of the Palestinian discourse; while simultaneously, the critical turn will investigate forms of exclusions, social ordering, classification and language/power.

I will approach the concept of Palestinianism on two levels: the first, via the grammar of discourse at the theoretical level, which involves explaining relationships between theoretical discourse and constitution and transformation within the Palestinian discourse. The second level delves into the Palestinian discourse itself on the political, historical, institutional, economical and cultural levels since 1948.

Contextuality

According to Schmitt, “[A]ll political concepts, images, and terms have a polemical meaning. They are focused on a specific conflict and are bound to a concrete situation; [...] they turn into empty and ghostlike abstractions when this situation disappears (Schmitt 1996: 31). This is especially true for nationbuilding amid conflict. The empirical case of this dissertation, the Palestinian discourse, has no ontological stability; it is simply an historically contingent, unfixed, and contextual system of discourse. Thus the empirical case becomes meaningful when it is situated in a particular context, and related concepts become politically significant depending on the social function they perform.

For this reason, Gadamer’s (2004: 291-306) idea of “situation” and “fusion of horizons” is very relevant. Gadamer points out that we live “*within*” a particular situation not outside it; hence, our understanding and interpretive endeavour are restricted by the conditions and the limitations of this situation.¹⁵ Because we are historical and live within the limitation of the present our knowledge of ourselves is always incomplete. From this viewpoint follows the idea of horizon. Horizon is the “range of vision that can be seen from a vantage point”

¹⁵ Foucault made a similar remark (see Foucault & Chomsky 2006).

(Ibid. 301). Since we are historical and live *within* a limited situation then our horizon (vision) is necessarily restricted.

Engaging in a task of interpretation always requires a beginning. Delineating a beginning is the first prejudice inasmuch as other possible beginnings and traces are discounted and restricted. The limitations that spring from being within a situation, and from the selection of a beginning seem an inevitable methodological dilemma. The integration of the idea of “fusion of horizons” into the methodology of discourse analysis helps resolve this dilemma. In hermeneutics, “fusion of horizons” is meant to guide us to discovering the correct or truthful and objective meaning. Expanding the horizon by inviting other horizons (e.g., past, present, inter-discursive analysis) into the situation and experience enrich the interpretive vision. It is no secret that the material on such a hyper-political subject (Palestine) is abundant, however, its accessibility can be a real challenge. And here the “fusion of horizons” has a lot to offer. Where material is lacking in one horizon one may find equivalents in other horizons; where one source is enigmatic others often elucidate.

An Analytical Perspective on the Palestinian Discourse

Palestinianism

Samih Farsoun, a renowned Palestinian sociologist, describes Palestinians as the

descendants of an extensive mixing of local and regional peoples, including the Canaanites, Philistines, Hebrews, Samaritans, Hellenic Greeks, Romans, Nabatean Arabs, tribal nomadic Arabs, some Europeans from the Crusades, some Turks, and other minorities; after the Islamic conquests of the seventh century, however, they became overwhelmingly Arabs. Thus, this mixed-stock of people has developed an Arab-Islamic culture for at least fourteen centuries... (Farsoun 2004: 4)

Palestine is a place and concept of continued interpretation and representation. Its subjects and objects have constantly replaced one another, coexisted, merged with one another, or discontinued. Its boundaries existed only in rudimentary, but shifting imaginations. Contradictory and competing claims and narratives have constructed, again and again, their own Palestine for a period of time and disappeared, leaving behind their traces, a new beginning to begin. Then, if the place called Palestine (or anything else) and its subjects (inhabitants: whoever dwell and dwelled in the place) are discontinuities and reproductions, how could a Palestinian discourse possibly be imagined?

Because Palestine is an interpretation (Said 1992), discontinued historical layers, continued emergences and disappearances (of civilizations, traditions, habits, languages, religions, landscape, geographical borders) it must to be understood discursively. This way (ideally) liberates us (the researchers) from the burden of our personal baggage, or at least, may render what we take as self-evident and facile, a problematic and difficult gesture.

This research does not intend to make historical claims or truths, so to speak, rather to cut through the “history proper” (allegedly continued and harmonious) and analyze a singular “positivity.” Here I find Foucault’s understanding of positivity (as an emergence and transformation of a particular discursive system) a very useful point of departure into the empirical case: the historical positivity that began after *al-Nakba* in 1948.

Until the end of the 19th century, the place (with very vague (non-) borderlines) was called Palestine, and the majority of its inhabitants called themselves Palestinians. Despite the deceptive homogenizing term, Palestinianism masks and unmasks historical, cultural, traditional and religious differences. The term ‘Palestinian’ is paradoxical because in a sense it associates things in terms of similarities and differences simultaneously, and it is understood as such by its subjects. Therefore, this research conceives Palestinianism¹⁶ metaphorically as a site for differentiation and similitude. Both, differentiation and similitude are not only dependent on each other but also conform to a discursive system. If we accept Palestinianism as a metaphor, we should admit its entailments and directions.

In the late 19th century, a new discourse (Zionism) emerged to challenge, replace, and disperse the Palestinian discourse of that time. Each discourse constructed and configured the place differently. Hence, a discursive struggle emerged over the construction of Palestine and its very meaning. Even so, neither discourse remained stable; each has its own transformations, disappearance, ignorance, denial, internalization and reciprocation. Apparently, the struggle is both over and within discourse, “discourse is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized.” (Foucault 1984: 110)

¹⁶ Palestinianism and Palestinian discourse are used interchangeably.

Subsequently the Palestinian discourse entered a new phase of politicization to encounter Zionism, which constructed Palestine and the Palestinians in a way diametrically opposed to how the Palestinians conceive themselves, their space (Palestine) and encounter ever since. Fifty years later, Palestinianism emerged as a displaced discourse that lost its physical links with the land, and hence its focus shifted (collecting memories, fighting disappearance by producing appearance, reconstructing their identity, the image of the place they belong to and the other). In short, the Palestinian discourse rules of formation have transformed, as we shall see in Chapter 3.

Palestinianism is a contingent, historical and social construction. I will review, interpret and scrutinize the rules of its construction, the relations and links it has established and the justifications and legitimizations it rests on. Palestinianism is not the outcome of the interaction between a subject called 'Palestinian' *plus* an object called 'Palestine,' rather it speaks of Palestine and Palestinians (difference and similitude) and constitutes the relationships between them. Palestinianism and the Zionist discourse¹⁷ subjected one another and therefore constructed antagonistically. The latter persistently negated the existence of Palestinianism altogether. To be sure, Zionism is the mechanism that de-articulates the *relations* between the land of Palestine and Palestinians. Moreover, it constructed the land and the people differently at various stages. For instance, the land was configured as a, "land without people" at some point. This categorization inspired a host of laws and regulations, ethical (?) justifications, policies and institutions to deal with the "non-people" (e.g., "transfer"), inhabiting the land (e.g., "The Absentees' Property Law", re-labelling, renaming, and linking almost every spot on the land with a biblical narrative).

It was not possible for the Palestinians to negate the Zionist discourse, in contrast they have to acknowledge it, deal with it, resist it, accommodate it,

¹⁷ I recognize the divergent discourses within Zionism; however, I use Zionist as a unifying term for simplicity reasons.

and reproduce themselves. Palestinianism as system of discourse makes it possible to see a resemblance in the Palestinians' reality despite the dispersion of the subject called Palestine temporally and spatially.

This does not aspire to unify the Palestinian discourse in one category. In fact, there are different Palestinian conceptualizations. Nevertheless, they have a similar function. Palestinianism is the interaction between rules of formation that made the emergence of the political object and subject (Palestine) at different periods of time, even when it appears in different shapes and contents, to be a reality. The Palestinian dispersion, division, multiplicity of structures, location, politics, laws, geopolitics, and so on, are the facts of the discourse. Palestinianism is composed and regulated by a variety of heterogeneous elements. The Palestinians have been interacting with a web of rules and concepts around them, for example, the construction of Palestine as nationhood in line with the Eurocentric concept of nation-state, the PLO's recurring appeal to the English School concept of "international society" (*al-mujtama' al-dawli*) as a legitimizer, interaction with the economic of the legal arguments, international law, emergence of politics of financial aid and its transformations, detaching for the Arabs (during Oslo Peace Process) and functioning within the Arab League (since the failure of Camp David II in 1999-2000), politics of negotiations, emergence of politics of solidarity (after 2000), politics of interaction and socializing with UN bodies (recent) and so on.

This research is guided by the following conceptual assumptions:

Firstly, this study considers the Palestinian political discourse as a social phenomenon of complex and multi-layered clusters of different discursive regimes and practices. Positive, visible and invisible, productive forces (internal and external power relations) animated these regimes and produced change, transformation and constitution in Foucauldian terms.

Secondly, the transformation of the Palestinian discourse is not a mere consequence of what has been done to Palestine and the Palestinians in a passive sense. On the contrary, the very existence of the Palestinian

discourse inevitably demonstrates the positive and constitutive nature of discourse: a constituent of Palestine and Palestinians' reality today. Additionally, contrary to most mainstream research on the question of Palestine, this study is founded on the Palestinians' participation in shaping their reality and how they interpreted and acted at different stages since 1948. However, the existing literature has valuable contributions, and hence, I wish to see this research as an opening up of new avenues for similar research and questions. My objectives here are academic. However, it is not possible to separate academia from politics and hence a consequential political interpretation of this study may be establishing the Palestinian discourse as a subject of an independent academic inquiry.

Thirdly, the Palestinian discourse interacts with a wide range of discursive systems (e.g., judicial, UN resolutions, laws of war, liberalism, realism, economy, religions, history); it is interactive and part of a whole, international and local discourse. Accordingly, each of these horizons should be taken into consideration.

Finally, I consider language as the locus and the political space for the constitution of reality, transformation, development and change. Making an account of a first-order question that tells us about the frameworks construction within which reality becomes a 'social reality.' What is the Palestinian discourse? How did it emerge, and how was it sustained and regulated? are among the essential questions to deliberate on. Answering these questions is dependent on determining the discursive framings of these issues and their political effects (i.e., defining the rules of formation).

The Language of Politics vs. The Politics of Language¹⁸

Above I argued for a metaphorical Palestiniansim that is about both the general and particular, and difference and similitude. The Palestinian question

¹⁸ The terms "language of politics" and "politics of language" is borrowed from William Connolly (1984: 139).

is far from being an isolated phenomenon; rather it has been at the center of international and regional politics. Subsequently, it should be located within the overall context and history. The politics of Palestinianism is immersed within the general language of politics. Its very formation, imaginations, purposes, vocabularies, and economics of justification and legitimization are intertwined with political language. Thus, there are two interrelated discourses: one is the discourse/language of politics; the second is about the politics of the former (see Connolly 1983). The language of politics concerns the political concepts we-live-by. Such concepts constitute our imaginative horizons and the articulation of the interpretations of the world around us. This language is found in a wide range of political philosophy and theory, international relations theories, international law, UN resolutions, and so forth. In practice, these concepts enable the thinking about politics in certain ways rather than others. In addition, they establish systems of linguistic articulation and chains of equivalence and difference.

Thus, the politics of language constructs the “empty signifiers” that organize the overall rules of formation in general, and introduce political abstract concepts that guide and govern the expressible: they constitute the “standards and priorities of political life” (Connolly 1984: 151). More to the point, the rules that enable and give directions for establishing a set of enunciations are encoded within the cultural and political environment. Once the discourse of politics is established it acquires rhetorical capital that makes it adoptable. For example, concepts like self-determination, sovereignty, nationhood, democratic peace, among others, are now appealing concepts in their own right (Ish-Shalom, 2006; 2008). And however unsettled, contested and unsatisfactory the meaning of such concepts, people refer to them to make politically binding decisions in practice (Connolly 1984; 1983). This level of political discourse exercises its own systems of exclusion and prohibition.

As far as the Palestinian discourse is concerned, the political concepts we-live-by have tangible sequential effects which cut deep in the Palestinian social life, institutions, economy, education, urban and rural development,

communication, technology. Palestinianism draws on and imagines itself and its 'others' on the basis of the available political language. In other words, the Palestinian language/discourse is located within the already existing political concepts that provide principles and criteria for self-imagination and the possibility of being. Therefore, what Palestinians could speak of is based, to some extent, on the language of politics. As a result, we are essentially talking of the relation between the language of politics and the politics of language. The former refers to what can and cannot be said in a particular context. Yet, we should bear in mind that neither the language of politics nor the politics of language are deterministic; both are in the realm of the discursive constitution.

In Heideggerian terms, the Palestinian struggle finds itself "always-already" in a world disposed with political concepts, meaningful practices and things. This world is already governed by historical and contingent "social logics" which are also dependent on the rule of discursive formation (Laclau 2000: 282). Laclau argues that the "political logic" is the practice that constitutes and disrupts the social logic. It constitutes the type of relations between various discursive elements. Perhaps the only difference between the concept of "logic" and the "rules of formation" is the degree of specificity. Foucault spoke in general terms, whereas Laclau was more specific and concerned with the primacy of politics. Laclau missed out the rule of political logics in the process of socialization and internalization of hegemonic social logics. For example, the Palestinian leadership internalized the logics of politics as much as they resisted them. Indeed, much of what the Palestinians refused to accept at the beginning, they accepted later, in the name of being politically realistic.

Palestinianism is a hyper-politicized case; therefore, it suits discourse analysis. After all, discourse is the site of power-relations and the production of political identities, which are inherently "antagonistic" (Mouffe 1996; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Thus, the Palestinian discourse has been in continuous shifts not only because of what Israel has done unto them (external causes), but also because of how they perceived, constructed, participated in, and internalized the language of politics (which includes force). For example, the

politics of language is clear within styles, figures of speech, modes and mechanisms of communication between the occupied and occupier, between PLO/PA and Israel, and within the internal Palestinian politics. Such style of communication has acquired unprecedented characteristics since the beginning of Oslo Process, as I shall explain later.

How can peace and war be imagined and conceptualized is found in the language and theory of politics. Western thought on peace/unpeace is widespread; and indeed it reshaped the face of the world into nation-state structure. Oliver Richmond (2008) called this paradigm the orthodox peace: a composition of realist and liberalist interpretations. What I mean by the realist-liberalist peace is a mixture of ideas elicited from realist and liberal realms of philosophy to construct an interpretation of what could be called as 'peace' and 'unpeace.' Thus it is a regularity of peace/unpeace signifiers juxtaposed and linked with material (territory, authority, material power balance) and ideational signs elicited from liberal thinking (democracy, rule of law, free-market, human rights, good governance).¹⁹ As result of the operationalization of the realist-liberalist peace paradigm on the Question of Palestine, its key concepts have infiltrated into the Palestinian political discourse, especially since the beginning of Oslo Process.

¹⁹ I have examined the realist-liberalist peace in details in Badarin (2011)

Part II

Since “That Day” and Beyond

Since that Day

The usual translation of the *an-Nakba* as a ‘catastrophe, calamity and disaster’ conceals the metaphorical loaded meaning in the Arabic word. According to the Arabic dictionary, the noun *an-Nakba* is derived from the verb *nakaba* that means ‘incline’ or ‘slant’. The verb is also derived from the noun *mankab*, which signifies the joint between the upper-arm-bone and shoulder of humans and all the joints between the limbs and torso of an animal. The verb *nakaba* conveys a malfunctioning in the *mankab* (joint) or *manakib* (joints), which makes a human or animal lean to one side (see Ateeh 2004: 950). The etymological sense of *an-Nakba* designates an ill-fitting link between the limbs and torso and it is a common curse in Palestinian mundane parlance. However, since 1948 it has been used exclusively to articulate the loss of the Palestine and broken links between the absolute majority of Palestinians²⁰ and their lands, homes and memories in the aftermath of 1948 events. By this way of thinking, *An-Nakba* continues to this day.

The metaphor loaded in *an-Nakba* explains the Palestinian discourse conditions of production since 1948. In general, two themes characterized this discourse: the first signifies the broken joints between the Palestinians and their homeland, while the second considers the ‘struggle’ the way to restore and heal these joints by rediscovering the ‘self,’ the ‘other’ and the ‘homeland.’ *An-Nakba*, as a concept, is not a mere static representation of

²⁰ In 1947-8 between 700.000-800.000 Palestinians were forced to leave their homes while about 100.000 people remained in what is called now “Israel proper”. That means that about 90 per cent of the Palestinians were forced to leave their homes in the territory that became Israel in May 1948.

what happened in 1948, but rather a continued reinterpretation and re/representation of social acts and developments that emerged since then in the light of the discourse that constituted *an-Nakba*, and the discourse *it* has constituted.

All in all, this chapter establishes a genealogical overview of the building blocks of the Palestinian political interpretations of *an-Nakba* to understand how streams of power-relations added to the Palestinians' plight and confusion. We engage here with some 'known' historical facts while reading history genealogically from today's perspective in order to interpret the current discourse of the occupation after 1967 and beyond. And indeed, since 1993, the same representative structure, which was built in exile, migrated altogether to the West Bank and Gaza.

An-Nakba's metaphorical meaning serves as an analytical vehicle for this and the next chapter in particular, and the whole dissertation in general. I begin by analyzing the articulation of the broken joints; the next chapter examines the Palestinian constructed ways and solutions in an attempt to heal the joints.

Broken Joints

The events of 1948 were represented through various murky expressions in the Palestinian discourse. Ghassan Kanafani, one of the most distinguished Palestinian refugee novelists, described that time as "ominous days," "hazy moments" and "merciless nightmare" (1961: 20; 26; 40). These expressions carry the Palestinians' traumatic feelings and their perception of the moments during which the joints between themselves and their land, homes and families had petered out. The time and moments of the *an-Nakba* were pronounced as *exceptionally* ominous and merciless which remains imprinted in the Palestinian physical (e.g., ruined villages, homelessness, broken families, dispersion) and psychological existence. Consequently, "that time" has become a benchmark and reference point for the Palestinian present. It is a threshold that simultaneously separates and connects the social order *in-and-out* Palestine and *before-and-after an-Nakba*. The present, or the 'after', is described and understood in relation to "that day" by saying: "that had

happened after a month from the slaughter,” “that day” has become “a sign of the big time signs”. It is “that time” when the Palestinians bade “farewell” to the oranges and left the “orange trees to the Jews”, and “when we [the fleeing Palestinians] got to Sidon [in Lebanon], we have become refugees.” (Kanafani [1958] 1963: 75-76)

This disconnection between land and people is both temporal and spatial. Firstly, any reference to the past has to be reckoned from “that day” or “that time”, and secondly, their present refugee status is also counted from “that day”, or “the moment”, when the Palestinians “got to Sidon”, that is, exile. Once they had landed on a land that they deemed not to be theirs, they became aware of the fact that their identity had been contested and transformed from that “moment.” Thirdly, those who were forced to leave Palestine recognized immediately their new identity as “Palestinian refugees” because the physical links and immediacy to their land, homes and families had all discontinued. In *“Men in the Sun”* (1963), Kanafani explains neatly how the Palestinian society, that had become a refugee society, was coloured by pain, loss, defeat, shame, cowardice, maltreatment, alienation, and the acute experience of an ambiguous and uncertain future. The refugees’ characterization of the UNRAW’s services as “a shot of morphine” (cited in Bruhns 1955: 133) succinctly articulate their feelings of pain and suffering.

In 1951, the Refugee Convention laid down criteria for a refugee as someone who is “not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence ... is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.” (See article 1, A/2) According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), a refugee is also someone who has “well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (UNHCR 2010). The terms of the Refugee Convention were universalized in 1967 (UNHCR 2011) with the exception of three categories: (1) those who committed war crimes or crimes against humanity, (2) those who receive assistance or protection from agencies of the UN other than UNHCR and (3) those who have a status equivalent to nationals in their country of asylum (see UNHCR 2010, Article

1/C, D, E). The UNHCR's introduction (2010: 4) singles out the Palestinian case and puts it on a par with categories 1 and 3; it states: "the Convention also does not apply ... to refugees from Palestine who fall under the auspices of" UNRWA.²¹ Although these individuals are refugees according to the Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol, their "refugeeness" was de-universalized, which implies that they are unlike other refugees. This de-categorization of the refugees in-and-out the conventions eschewed the possibility of an international intervention to address rights of Palestinian refugees to return and compensation (according to refugee conventions or by enforcing the UN resolution number 194), exclusion from international protection and sustenance, and reducing the amount of financial resources (Nafee Al-Hassan N.D.; Bartholomeusz 2010).²²

The UNRWA laid down the criteria for the registration as a "Palestinian refugee" as

persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict. Palestine Refugees, and descendants of Palestine refugee males, including legally adopted children, are eligible to register for UNRWA services. The Agency accepts new applications from persons who wish to be registered as Palestine Refugees. (Cited in Bartholomeusz 2010: 452)

Be that as it may, since 1948 a weighty portion of the Palestinian population began to inhabit different geo-political sites and as a result they became the subject of regional and international institutions depending where they ended

²¹ UNRWA is the acronym for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East established in accordance to UNGA res. 302 (IV) to deliver assistance to Palestine Refugees on 8 December 1949.

²² The UNRWA is a temporary subsidiary Agency whose mandate is determined from the General Assembly. It is funded by voluntary donations and its budget often falls short of funds. Its services are contingent on the consent and approval of host governments. These services are limited to humanitarian sustenance (e.g., education, health, social services, women and children protection). Unlike the UNHCR, UNRWA has no legal mandate of providing international protection to the refugees or seeking durable solution (see Bartholomeusz 2010).

up living. This phenomenon has *prêt-à-porter* theoretical abstractions within the political language to characterize instances of forced immigration and a guiding legal and relief precepts to deal with the situation. According to this language, the subjects are refugees who are entitled to a set of rights. They interpellated by, and exposed to, a set of refugee and humanitarian institutions, regulations, conventions, programmes, and so on. Therefore, this group of people was given the title of “the Palestine refugees” in the official discourse of the UN and other humanitarian organizations. The first UN resolution 212 (III) on “the Palestine refugees,” and 194 of 11 December 1948 ventured into a series of terminology, international laws and norms in order to “regulate” the social, humanitarian and legal status of these individuals. In this regard, as al-Husseini (2010: 9) noted, the UNRWA developed a “disciplinary-type ‘refugee regime’” composed of norms and regulations to govern the relationship between itself and the refugees.

Most related UN reports and resolutions were entitled “... Palestine Refugees” and called for “relief,” “aid” and “assistance” to assuage the refugees “critical situation.” Initially, for the UN, the exiled Palestinians constituted an humanitarian incident and an urgent “problem of the relief.” In the name of “the Palestine refugees problem” financial speculations, budgetary questions and funds were raised. Resolution 212 (III) elaborated a system of institutions, positions and codes.²³ It also encouraged other organizations (e.g., The Red Cross, The World Health Organization) to get involved, in order regulate the life of the “refugees”. Resolution 194 called for the “rehabilitation”, “return”, “repatriation”, and “resettlement” of “the Palestine refugees”. The “relief” mission was transformed into a permanent mission and new kinds of apparatus were distributed. Among these administrative and technical apparatus were the Director of the UN Relief for Palestine Refugees and the

²³ For example, an “ad hoc advisory committee”, “Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions” were established and a “Director of United Nation Relief for Palestine Refugees” was appointed. A “relief plan”, “regulations for administration and supervision” were drafted.

UNRWA with its army of sub-institutions, personnel, experts, monitoring groups, data collection and registration, social researchers, philanthropists, symbols, schools, medical and social services which were established and marked by the UNRWA flag and blue color. As a result, the Palestinians who became implicated in this institutional network became “refugees” whose fate and daily life have since then been governed by a congregation of non-Palestinian institutions.

In other words, this web of institutions, regulations and resolutions constituted the infrastructure of the refugee subject-position; and since these individuals have been the subject of this infrastructure, they were (and still) constructed as refugees, which materialized in the social reality through diverse regulations, symbols, deeds, terminology, spatial environment, identity and so forth. Although UNRWA was meant to be an apolitical organization, the Palestinian refugees regarded it as a “legal justification for their right to return” and the ration card became a symbol of a, “physical link with Palestine” (al-Husseini 2000: 52).

Palestinians in exile identified themselves with the “refugee” category (*laji*), which became their principal social identity and a reality they resented the most. Deep feelings of loss, alienation, helplessness, need, cowardice, the memories of the past and homeland, the return to the homeland, and the fear of being “melted in” were the currency of the Palestinian everyday discourse. This shared language and feelings fostered and underpinned a sense of a distinctive Palestinian character. And in the meantime, the differences (however subtle and minute) between Palestinian refugees and the people of the hosting Arab countries became perfectly recognizable for them. As the years went by, the refugees carved for themselves a place in the new environment while opposing assimilation and resettlement.

Consider, for example Kanafani’s metaphorical characterization of the situation back then: “they have tried to melt me like a piece of sugar in a cup, however, I still exist notwithstanding everything.” (Kanafani [1962] 1963: 17) And, indeed, Palestinians in exile melted in a different way: they assimilated

into one (albeit heterogeneous) group called the Palestinian refugees. Such new conditions and environment have reflexively added a particularist nationalistic layer on the Palestinians, in contrast with their previous identification with the broader Arab and Islamic entity, yet without erasure of the Arab and Islamic traces. However, this particular character, “Palestinian personality” (Al-Hassan 1977: 164) was always felt to be a constant under a constant threat. For instance, education, which is a key source that shapes identity and worldviews, of the Palestinians (everywhere) has become a non-Palestinian enterprise that produced systematic ambiguities and omissions, and “the most serious and yet natural omission concerns identity [of the Palestinian] itself” (Abu-Lughod 1973: 96).²⁴

Since “that day”, what used to be referred to as ‘Palestine’, has been divided or replaced with phrases like “occupied land” and the “remaining land”,²⁵

²⁴ The “burden” of educating the Palestinian young generation after an-Nakba was assumed by non-Palestinian institutions — namely by the Arab regimes and UNRWA. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (1973: 96) analysis of the Palestinian education systems in exile demonstrates systematic ambiguities and omissions in the curriculums. As he puts it: the Palestinian student “was in no position to identify the major outlines of Palestinian history prior to or during the Mandate period; he would not be able to identify the specific importance of Palestine to Palestinians or the Arab people in general; he would remain ignorant of the social and economic life of the Palestinians prior to 1948; and he would remain unaware of the type and nature of the struggle which the Palestinian people waged to prevent the usurpation of Palestine ... their attempts to preserve themselves as a community, and the outbreak of the Palestine revolution with specific objectives would remain a mystery if the Palestinians were to rely on the orientation and values of the educational system which prepared their offspring for the future ... Perhaps the most serious and yet natural omission concerns identity itself. For the curriculum viewed Palestine as an Arab country, and therefore its liberation as an Arab problem ... the Palestinian, Arab though he may be, became *ipso facto* a Jordanian, Syrian or Lebanese, etc. He was to learn the facts of his social, cultural and political history and environment in terms of this ‘country’.”

²⁵ Before 1967 the occupied land used to refer to what is now called Israel proper that constitutes about 78% of the area of the historical Palestine. After the June 1967, Israel occupied the rest of Palestine (the 22%) what is called since then the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip or the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

where the “Mandelbaum gate creates a stone barrier between the occupied and remaining land” (Kanafani [1958] 1963: 23-24). Additional social classifications were inspired by and derived from such spatial categorization. The Palestinians who remained in the “occupied land” (so-called Israel proper) have become, without prior consent, Arab-Israeli “citizens”²⁶ in theory. They were governed by military laws and until this day they are not equal citizens of any sort (see Pappé 2011). Meanwhile, the residents of the “remained land” were officially annexed to either Jordan or Egypt (at least administratively in the case of Gaza).

Before *an-Nakba*’s dust settled, a struggle ensued over the political status of the “remained land.” That space was labeled the West Bank²⁷ of the Jordan River and Gaza Strip in order to represent the annexation of the West to East Bank as natural and logical. In addition to the annexation, the Royal decree omitted the word “Palestine” from the official documents and replaced it with the “West Bank” (Sahliyah 1988: 10). The competition between the Hashemite Monarch, Egypt and All-Palestine Government (APG) paralyzed the first Palestinian government (Shlaim 1990; 2009) at a very critical time and, perhaps, delayed the establishment of a “Palestinian Entity” (Shemesh 1984). The story of the APG and the “Palestinian Entity” is telling, therefore it is worth examining them, respectively.

Palestine and the Palestinians’ experience evolved from within three circles: internal, regional (Arab regimes and Zionism) and international (cf. Sayigh

²⁶ See Endorsement of the Israeli Citizenship Law 1952.

²⁷ The PLO internalized the Israeli-made “1967 line” which coincided with earlier imperialist British plans. In 1940, the British High Commissioner adopted the *Land Transfer Regulations*, which divided Palestine into three Zones: Zone A where land transfer is limited to Palestinian Arabs (about 16.680 km²), Zone B (8.348 km²) where land transferred from Palestinians to Jews; and the Zone outside A and B (1.292 km²) which could be freely transferred. The West Bank and Gaza fell entirely in Zone A according to this division and annexed map (Doc. 3369).

1997: 9; Al-Hout 2011: 182). But here, too, and for various reasons, the conditions of each circle had transformed radically after *an-Nakba*. At first, the Palestinian social, political and geographical reality acquired new and unfamiliar forms. The majority of the Palestinians became refugees and far from home, their historical, social and familial fabric was interrupted and their leadership disappeared. On the regional level, the Zionist entity became in charge of its own state (Israel), the Arab regimes were unable to fight successfully on the side of the Palestinians (while some regimes had already their secret understanding with the Zionist leaders), and the maltreatment of exiled Palestinians became indubitable.

Finally, the international stage had also transformed: the British mandate had terminated, there was a rise in American power and its appetite for overseas intervention, the Cold War politics, the emergence of the UN and set of international regulations and norms about refugees, human rights, occupation, and specific UN resolutions aimed at determining the status of Palestine and the Palestinians. No doubt that the three circles overlapped even before 1948, however, since then almost every Palestinian individual had to deal directly with these circles, without being filtered through the Palestinian leadership. For example, most of the Palestinian refugees had to deal with the UNRWA, with the apparatus of the host governments or Israel.

No wonder, then, *An-Nakba* de-articulated Palestine and the Palestinians, and enforced new discursive reconstructions and new concepts in a relatively short period of time. This included the reconstruction of the people's identity ("refugees," "Arab Israeli citizens," "the Arabs of...," "West Bankers," "Jordanians") and geographical re-representation ("West Bank," "Gaza," "Israel," "occupied land," "remaining land"). Indeed, Palestine had ceased to be geographically seen as an "imagined totality" as I will elaborate later in Chapter 9. A number of institutions (UN resolution, UNRWA, relief agencies) appeared in order to "govern" and draw the relationship between these new discursive variables. Out of this spatial and demographic transformation, de-articulation, re-articulation and representation of Palestine and its citizens became a pressing need for the Palestinians.

Order of Fragmentation

For quite a long time the Palestinian leadership have failed to build a proto-state political institutions during the British “Mandate” (or occupation?) period, and when they managed to create political parties and forums, the elitist-familial leadership style was incompetent and exhausted with personal rivalries (Khalidi 2001; 2006; Sayigh 1997). In 1922, the League of Nations delegated the “Administration of Palestine” according to the (in)famous Mandate Resolution. The Resolution mentioned “Palestine” 45 times, “Jewish” 11 times, Jewish “national homeland” 4 times, “Jewish People” twice; yet it utterly omitted any direct mention of the Palestinians, Muslims and Christians, who at that time represented about 90 percent of the population of Palestine (Abu-Lughod, J. 1987). The 90 percent were categorized not only in a secondary and negative sense as “non-Jewish communities in Palestine” or “other sections of the population”, but also as non-people who may enjoy “civil and religious rights” merely —exclusion of the political rights (see also Khalidi 1997: 22-3, 2006). To the League of Nations and Britain, “Palestine” had no “people” but an abstract “other communities” represented negatively as “non”-X. This imagination meant that Palestine was *the* place to be filled with X: People. From this perspective, one could say that the Mandate Resolution is the most realistic and performative interpretation of the dubious early Zionist claim: People without a land people to the land without a people. Small wonder, then, to find terms like, “co-operation,” “advising,” “interest of,” “facilitate,” “arrange with,” and so on, were used selectively to regulate the style of the relationship between the Jewish Agency and the Mandate government in Palestine.

The United Nations continued to operate by the same or a similar language of the League of Nations with regard to the Palestinian national identity. The adjective, Palestinian, was rarely used as a descriptive modality of the native inhabitants. Instead, they were represented by other modalities (e.g., Arabs, communities) juxtaposed with the noun “Palestine” (e.g., “Arab people”, “people of Palestine”, “communities *in* Palestine”, “Palestine refugees”). On

very rare occasions the UN documents used the adjective “Palestinian”²⁸ until late 1974. Since 1948, the UN resolutions were concerned with the Armistice Agreement of 1949 and the relations between the Arab states and Israel. Issues related to the Palestinians were addressed indirectly through the Arab states, in doing so, the UN avoided to deal with the reality of the conflict as being on *Palestine and directly with the Palestinians* and to get away with a more serious fact: the negation of the Palestinian agency and “peopleness.” It is worth noting with that regard, that what later became an “international legitimacy” in the Palestinian political dictionary emerged out of a total indifference to the very existence of the Palestinian people as we shall see in Chapter 6.

After *an-Nakba* the geography and demography of Palestine were re-managed anew. Firstly, geographically Palestine was reinterpreted into: occupied land that became Israel and the remaining land now called the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza. Similarly, the population of Palestine (whether classified as people or not) was divided into four categories: Jewish citizens of Israel were labeled the Zionists, the enemy, or the occupier; Palestinians in the “occupied land” or Israel were: refugees and the residents of the “remained land”.²⁹ The sovereignty was also divided along the lines of these categories. Sovereignty over the first three groups was resolved quickly (the Israeli government sovereign over the Jewish and Palestinians residents of Israel, and the hosting (Arab) governments have become sovereign over the refugees). The Palestinians who become Israeli citizens meant different things to their new state and to their own people (Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza and exile). For those who see themselves part of the “Israeli-Jewish state” they meant a composition of

²⁸ The term “Palestinian population” was used in UN General Assembly res. 106 (S-1) Special Committee on Palestine, 15 May 1947.

²⁹ In 1948 between 700.000-800.000 Palestinians were forced to leave their homes while about 100.000 people remained in what is now called Israel proper. That means about 90% of the Palestinians where forced to leave their Palestine.

negative entities: Arabs, enemy, a security and demography problem or a fifth column (see Pappé 2011). However, for the Palestinians they meant “the Arabs of Israel,” “the Arabs of 1948,” “Israeli Arabs,” “Palestinians in Israel,” “Palestinians/Arabs of inside.” The image and identity of the Palestinian-Israeli citizens has been an unresolved matter (Pappé 2012). They were classified in exclusionary ways, neither fully Israelis nor fully Palestinians, but “the Arabs of ...” or “the Palestinians of ...”³⁰, though this attitude has changed in the last decade or two (See Pappé 2011; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury 2011).

Sovereignty over the last group of Palestinians (residents of the West Bank and Gaza) was met with abundant external rivalry between different Arab states (especially Jordan) and internal rivalry between the familial-elitist leadership inherited from the *pre-an-Nakba* order, headed by Haj Amin Al-Husseini and the new one headed by Al-Shuqayri. As a result, the Palestinian leadership came to the Arab League in a weak, divided and competitive state, which made it easier for the League to create deep interventions and hegemony over the Palestinian political order after *an-Nakba*.

A representative instance that intervention is Arab Leagues’ patronizing self-claimed right to appoint the Palestinian representative to the League; and then, in June 1948, it rearranged the leadership of the Arab Higher Committee (AHC). In July 1948, the League imposed its Civil Administration on Gaza with a mandate restricted to civil administrative issues without political or military power. The League had overall power over the AHC and Civil Administration because both were politically and financially dependent on it. But for political

³⁰ The designation of the Palestinians who became Israeli citizens did not come from this bearer of these titles rather enforced by others. According to survey conducted by Mada al-Carmel research center in Haifa about 66 per cent of the participants defined themselves as “Palestinians in Israel.” While other groups of Arabs in Israel such as Druze or Bedouin prefer to define themselves as “Arabs in Israel” rather than Palestinians, which resonates with the history of Palestine as an integral part of the Arab world before Skyes-Picot Agreement (see Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury 2011: 10-11).

reasons, the League (via Egypt) needed to emphasize the “visibility” of the Palestinian character in the diplomatic arenas (Heikal 1996; Shemesh 1984), yet *only* a “visibility” short of an independent political leverage outside the frame of the Arab regimes. The upgrade of AHC evolved from within internal Arab regimes rivalries, needs, and antagonism, public appeasement and while keeping the Palestine issue under control (cf. Shlaim 1990: 40; Alazaaer n.d.).

The Civil Administration was upgraded to the All-Palestine Government (APG) with objectives, structure and leadership that did not differ much from the former. Both were dependent on the Arab regimes and with a declared aim to establish an “Arab Palestinian state over entire Palestine” on “democratic bases.” Since *an-Nakba*, the armed struggle mustered a strong resonance throughout the sentiments of the Arab and Palestinian public, then it was clear to the Arab regimes that bestowing a monopoly over armed struggle and finances, would attenuate the APG power to mobilize the Arab public.

The APG’s grand strategy was clear despite its ineffectiveness and lack of representation. It endorsed the common political language of the time: self-determination, independent state over entire Palestine, and establishing a government on democratic bases (Darwazi: 24 cited in Alazaaer n.d.: 41). However, in reality, APG was not functioning democratically, for example, none of its leaders was elected, its leadership was based on familialist support, and its constituent assembly was from the notables. Ironically, APG declared itself as (almost) “a sovereign” government over the entire Palestine though it had no administration, no presence on the ground, it was financially and militarily dependent on the Arab regimes, and above all unpopular. The Arab League did not share the vision of the APG, and in hindsight one could say that the Arab states lacked a vision for the future of Palestine with the exception of King Abdullah of Jordan who was in favour of partitioning Palestine to maximize his territorial sovereignty by annexing the West Bank to his Kingdom (Shlaim 1990: 38-43). The Hashemite Monarch responded by convening the notables of the West Bank in Amman and then in Jericho in order to stifle the APG. After all, he was the actual sovereign on the ground.

Pan-Arabism, al-Qawmiyya and Nationalism

The Arab world experienced two key strands of political ideologies between 1952-70: Pan-Arabism (*al-qawmiyya al-‘arabiyya*) led by Egypt, and regionalism (*i’qlimiyya*) led by Iraq (*Ba’th*). The former advocated an overarching Arab unity and expansive revolutionary and nationalistic spirit, whereas the latter embraced a realist-statist worldview complemented by a federal Arab unity (Shemesh 1984: 95-96). Such an ideological division in the broader Arab political context swept all the way through Palestinian politics. The Palestinian groups (later transformed into political movements) were colored by predominant political ideologies in the Arab world besides Marxism. Pan-Arabism and Marxism were the main themes that divided the worldviews of the Palestinian groups, until the rise of the so-called “Political Islam” in Palestine.³¹ Pan-Arabism embraced a “revolutionary and nationalistic” objectives including Arab unity “from the Ocean to the Gulf” and a confrontation with imperialism and colonialism.

Pan-Arabism was a weighty source that helped crystallize the Palestinian self-representation, therefore the focus on pan-Arabism, Arab Unity, in the early Palestinian political discourse. For instance, until 1968 the Palestinians refrained from using word “national” (*watani*); instead, they used figures of speech to signify their belonging to the wider Arab entity (*qawmi*), which saved them from the charge of separatism.

As the APG proved to be neither satisfactory to the Arab regimes nor to Palestinians the search for “*al-kayan al-falastini*” remained an unfinished matter until the rise of the PLO in 1964. The word “*kayan*” (in Arabic) signifies existence or being. After *an-Nakba* the existence and being of the Palestinians were disturbed and replaced by another one over the same place where once the “Palestinians existence” existed. Drawing on this background, the pursuit of the Palestinian entity was meant to create a “political

³¹ This is a dubious term because Islam has been always political.

representation” of the Palestinians as a people. The *representation* issue was the dominator of the Palestinian Entity (Shemesh 1984). Al-Shuqayri stated in the first Palestinian National Council (PNC) speech in 1964 that the expression “*al-kayan al-falastini*” is a strange expression, but the “special disaster of Palestine” and destruction of the Palestinian entity justifies it. Therefore, establishing this “entity” was “inevitable” in order to resume “the life of the Palestinian people” and to assume a “full responsibility to liberate their homeland and achieve self-determination”.

In 1964, the APG was revitalized anew into the PLO by the same Arab regimes, the same leadership-style and Arab hegemony. In fact, the Palestinian presence in the preparations that preceded the PLO was marginal. For example, Ahmad Al-Shuqayri (the only Palestinian in the meetings) was present as an “expert” at meetings and his proposals were rejected after being met with adamant objections (Ibid. 117). The four-year (1959-63) period of preparation out of which the PLO emerged was a critical period in the internal Arab states relations. First of all, it was a period of ideological rivalry between the revolutionary (pan-Arabism) camp, and the regionalist statist camp. Secondly, amid this rivalry and antagonism, there were enough obstacles for any binding decision regarding the Palestinian question in general and a Palestinian Entity in particular to be taken, for the rule was that only unanimous decisions in the Arab League Council were binding for all states (Arab League Charter, art.7). Thirdly, the Arab states had limited options for the question of Palestine other than diplomacy, or they did not want to go beyond that option.

Fourthly, the political environment in the countries of “confrontation” (Egypt, Syria Jordan and Lebanon where most of the Palestinian refugees live) was unstable, deeply influenced by the previous colonizers, and in state-building phases (between 1950-1960). Finally, the “confrontational” states had their implicit or explicit connections and understanding with the Zionist Agency (Sayigh 1997: 11).

We should not also forget that the Arab world was a site for the proxy Cold War politics and wars. Some Arab regimes were in alliances with the Soviets, especially Egypt in the 1960s. Through mainly Egyptian efforts, the Soviets agreed to support Fateh (Heikal 1996), however, this support was not genuine or off the limits for the question of Palestine itself was an uncontroversial issue between the world superpowers.

According to Al-Shuqayri the Palestinians were excluded from the diplomatic tracks because they “were not embodied in their cause,” but overwhelmingly *represented* by others (Al-Shuqayri, PNC Speech 1964). The Palestine question was therefore *treated* as an Arab-Israeli matter in the international diplomatic arenas (especially in the UN), with the implication that this matter had to be solved between the Arab regimes and Israel without much for the Palestinians to say. The struggle over the right to represent the Palestinians between Arab regimes and the PLO continued and it took 10 years (1964-74) before the latter garnered political recognition as “sole representative of the Palestinian people.”

To reverse this imagery of the conflict (an Arab-Israeli conflict, not a Palestinian-Israeli one), Egypt came up with the idea of establishing a Palestinian Entity in 1959 *to represent* the Palestinians as a people (Shemesh 1984). In other words, such representation would construe a different interpretation of the conflict as a conflict between the Palestinians and Israel. In being so, this entity would be the answer to the “dangerous and dreadful” question asked in international forums for 16 years: Where is this people that international forums talk of its cause?” as Al-Shuqayri put it back in 1964. In hindsight, however, obviously this re-framing had also negative impacts on the question of Palestine in making it possible for Arab states to free themselves from the question of Palestine and pursue separate peace with Israel.

The nascent Palestinian Entity, back then, found itself in conflicting and contradictory relationships with its context. It was designed, managed by and subordinated to the Arab regimes (especially Egypt) and their sensitivities

(especially Jordan). On the other hand, it should satisfy the political calculations that require some sort of observable official Palestinian representation. Subsequently, it was necessary for any Palestinian entity to see the light to internalize two Jordanian conditions: (1) only after *the complete* liberation of Palestine, the Palestinians shall decide their destiny, and (2) liberation can *only* be achieved through Arab states' assistance and participation in the "liberation battle" (Shemesh 1984: 119). The two conditions entailed that this Entity would not enjoy any "territorial sovereignty" over any part of Palestine in the foreseeable future. Al-Shuqayri expressed the PLO's acceptance of these requirements: he declared that "the emergence of the Palestinian entity in Jerusalem *does not* aim to separate the West Bank from the Hashemite Kingdom, but we aim to liberate our usurped homeland in the west of the West Bank; we have *no* goals in the West Bank, our goals lie in the west of the West Bank" (Al-Shuqayri 1964). The first condition was literally inserted in article 4 of the Palestinian Qawmi Charter of 1964,³² which unambiguously discounts the territorial sovereignty over any part of Palestine as pronounced in article number 24.

In the main, the fine details of the PLO design were drafted to concur with the Arab regimes' concerns. Retrospectively this implies that the details of the Palestinian representation and image were subordinated and tailored to the size of the Arab regimes political reckonings at that time. Firstly, the system of appointment was embraced in practice to comprise the PNC at odds with the PLO Basic Law, which endorsed the principle of "direct election of the PNC members" (article 5). Secondly, the PNC members were appointed according to the needs and satisfaction of Jordan. Thirdly, the Jordanian-affiliated members constituted 65 percent of the members (i.e., the majority) (Shemesh 1984: 127-28).

Although, the PLO is meant to answer the question of representation, neither the PLO's Charter nor its Basic Law (of 1964) gave it the right to represent the

³²Art. 4: "The People of Palestine decides its destiny after the liberation of its homeland"

Palestinians. Instead representativeness was conceded to the Executive Committee as stated in article number 16/a of the Basic Law. The Executive Committee was given the highest power (article 15). The composition of the Executive Committee was divided along the political divisions of Arab politics (mainly, Jordan, Egypt and Syria). The Arab League appointed Al-Shuqayri, and he appointed himself the chairman of the Executive Committee, also he appointed the rest of the members (Ibid. 125).

The Executive Committee is the nucleus of the PLO and each Palestinian movement is represented in it in away or another (before the rise of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, which remain outside the PLO). However, the majority of the members were from the independents; the Chairman of the PLO has the mandate to appoint independent members. This structure (almost) guaranteed the predominance of chairman views (Arafat in this case). The problem is not with the person “Arafat,” but rather with the inherited PLO structure and Basic Law that grants Executive Committee the higher power and system of member-selection. While combined together, the two conditions underpin the power of the PLO’s Chairman subject-position, Arafat. For at least two decades since 1968, the structure of the Executive Committee constituted a subject of contention between various Palestinian organizations after the factions took over the PLO, in particular between Fatah and PFLP (Habash 2009). This discussion will be elaborated further towards the end of this chapter.

The Qawmi Charter is the first authoritative document speaking in the name of the Palestinians after *an-Nakba* and a touchstone for subsequent texts. Therefore it deserves adequate examination. First of all, the Qawmi Charter is in the main a reflection of pan-Arabism politics and the hegemonic power-relations between the Arab regimes and the PLO. The Charter’s theme combines *al-qawmiyya*, Arab unity and a revolutionary spirit. The first two articles of the Charter define Palestine geographically on the basis of the borders laid down by the British mandate. The articles define Palestine as “an Arab homeland” bound up with “all Arab countries through *al-qawmiyya al-*

‘*arabiyya*.’ While article eight stresses the idea of nurturing new Palestinian generations on “the Arab revolutionary manner is a *qawmi* duty.”

The Charter states:

We, the Arab Palestinian people, ... who believed in its Arabism and right to extract its homeland and realize its freedom and dignity, it has determined to gather its forces and mobilize all of its efforts and capabilities in order to continue its struggle and move forward on the path of Holy War (*al-jihad al-muqqadas*) until the final and complete victory is realized.

We, the Arab Palestinian people, based on our *right of self-defense and regaining the usurped homeland entirely* —a right is endorsed by international conventions and norms—especially, the UN Charter and implementation of the human rights principles.

Because we recognize the nature of the international political relations, in its various dimensions and goals, ... *and for the sake of the honor of the Palestinian individual and his right to free and dignified life...* We, the Palestinian Arab people, *dictate and declare this Palestinian qawmi Charter and swear to realize it.* (Emphasis added)

The Charter begins with a declarative statement affirming the Palestinian self-image as a “people” through a dual process of similitude and differentiation: they are Arabs, but also a distinctive sort of Arabs. So, pan-Arabism is a general identity whereas Palestinianism is a particular one. The “Palestinian identity” is framed according to spatial and temporal factors (not ethnical or religious): Article six and seven states: “the Palestinians are the Arab citizens who used to live normally in Palestine until 1947, whether they were expelled or remained, and any child of an Arab-Palestinian father before this date, weather out or inside Palestine, is a Palestinian.” Also “the Jews from a Palestinian origin are considered Palestinians ...”³³

Identification with pan-Arabism (the general identity) echoed the predominant political theme of the 1950s and 1960s in the Arab world. The double identity and allegiance were justified as a necessary step for achieving Arab unity as follows: “the Palestinian people must maintain their Palestinian character”

³³ This definition remained to be so until the Charter was amended in 1998.

(article 11) to effectively partake in the achievement of Arab unity. Furthermore, any Palestinian movement aspired or pursued some sort of self-reliance and autonomous action was regarded as an outlier and separatist (Cobban 1984). To avoid the charge of “separatism” the PLO argued that “Arab unity and Palestine liberation are complementary goals, one leads to the other,” and the whole “destiny of the Arab people, and its existence depends on the destiny of Palestine” (article 12). However, the argument continues, the PLO came as an expression of a distinctive Palestinian character is meant to be *temporary* because the *permanent* Palestinian political order would be determined “[once] liberation is completed” (article 10). I underlined the two words in the last sentence to make an early subtext to an argument that will be made in Chapter 6 with regard to the provisional thinking that guided much of the Palestinian politics since 1948.

The Charter is rich with modalities to express affinity and attachment to the designated objectives. Tropes such as “we the Palestinian Arab people, believe, swear, declare” are perfect representative examples. Yet this high modality is not without structural ironies and contradictions: the PLO spoke declaratively in the name of the entire Palestinian people, never mind the hegemony of the Arab regimes. The Charter identified the losses of the Palestinians (or the broken links with): homeland, freedom dignity and honor. The broken links and structure of the Palestinian society were reconstituted through three slogans: “national unity,” “*al-qawmiyya* mobilization” and “liberation” (article 10).

The Charter laid down the first stone in the long process of the linguistic construction of Palestinian rights, which evolved around three main principles (statehood in the West Bank and Gaza, self-determination and right of return), as I shall explain later in details. So “regaining” the connection between the “Arab-Palestinian people” and their “homeland,” “honour and dignity” is a “right” and a “national and sacred goal” (article 13). First, the PLO drew on

mobilizing concepts of “honour and dignity”³⁴ (*al-sharaf wa al-karama*) in the Palestinian society. While bearing on the same ideas the Palestinian factions (not yet members of the PLO) echoed the relationship between recovering “the homeland” and the “dignity” (*al-‘asifa* Communiqué no. 1, 1965).

Land has a special status in Palestinian culture. Owning and holding on land is a source of dignity, homage and privilege for the individual, family and the social group one belongs to. Losing it is dishonorable to the individual and his/her family. In fact, the loss of land comes next to the socially unacceptable sexual practices (e.g., premarital intercourse, rape) typified in the common proverb before *an-Nakba*: “*al-‘ard walaa al-‘ard*” (losing land but not being raped) (Khalaf 1981). All of this shows how deep and intimate the Palestinian attachment to their land and therefore the powerful feelings of shame among the refugees who were forced to leave their land behind.

Secondly, the Charter drew on common international norms (e.g., self-defense, human rights, the UN Charter, self-determination) in order to justify its “right” to regain the “usurped homeland entirely,” and establish legitimacy for itself. Yet, it ignored the fact that the UN and the League of Nations before it, have been full-heartedly behind the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine in accordance with the Mandate resolution and UN resolution 181, which were indifferent to their exorbitant effects on the entire Palestinian society.

One of the curious ironies of the Charter is the clarity in which it represents the “right” to retrieve the Palestinian losses and the same time the perfect ambiguity with regard to the means to realize this right. Namely, how would the struggle be waged? What is the nature of the struggle? What is the sort of *al-jihad al-muqqadas*? This is to ask but a few questions. In fact, the Charter codifies the Palestinian reliance on the Arab regimes and represents Palestine liberations as an Arab national (*qawmi*) duty as stated in article 13.

³⁴ On the power of “honor and dignity” see Hobbes 1661, *Leviathan*, Ch. X and Bowman 2006, *Honor: A History*.

The PLO expressed a high degree of affinity to the declared rights (“who believe in its right to...”); however, such modality entails ambivalence and uncertainty about the possibility to attain the declared objectives.

It is therefore right to conclude this section in arguing that the PLO’s setup answered the needs of the Arab states more than the Palestinian questions. From the beginning the constructed “Palestinian right” was tailored according to the Arab political conditions rather than Palestinian needs or aspirations. This explains the dramatic shifts in the Palestinian “rights” definition and the methods to achieve them every now and then, without going back the beholders of these rights, the Palestinian people. The PLO preferred top-down “legitimacy” from the Arab regimes and later from international resolutions. The PLO Charter (of 1964 and 1968) avowed respect for key liberal concepts such as freedom, liberation, equality, no discrimination, human rights, respect of religious freedom, etc., which were (and still are) alien to the Arab League Charter.

The Organization of Organizations

Although it appears as Khalidi (1997: 186) argues that the period that followed *an-Nakba* until the mid-1960s represents a “hiatus in [the political] manifestation” of the Palestinian identity. Yet, it is not a period of disappearance or disorder, but rather an informative and preparatory, and perhaps a necessary hiatus,³⁵ which produced the nucleus of the Palestinian core political movements such as the Arab National Movement (ANM, later PFLP) and Fatah. The dynamic ideological differences, which often took an antagonist form, between various Palestinian movements over and within key discursive concepts (e.g., the meaning of Palestine, liberation, state, Palestinian rights, armed struggle, peace, refugees, relations with other regimes and so forth) contested and opened new possibilities for questioning

³⁵ Given the hegemony of Arab unity slogans and limitations put against any possible Palestinians political independence, it was maybe necessary to re-organize and construct the Palestinian movements in secrecy.

the existing internal order of each concept and its relationships with other concepts and statements (i.e. the discursive associative field). The analysis of these possibilities will be available systematically in the body of this and the next chapter. However, now, the discussion will analyze the interpretative framework of the Palestinian organizations. To make such an interpretation possible one needs to adopt a three-level scrutiny: (1) how each organization represented the context and environment of emergence and operation, (2) how it represented itself (3) and its Other/s.

Firstly, how each Palestinian organization understood the context and environment in which it found itself in is informed by *situational* orientations and precepts. For many decades, the two key nodal points, *wataniyya* (local or territorial nationalism) and *al-wihda al-'arabiyya* (pan-Arabism), were in circulation through the Arab discourse as a source of resistance to the Ottoman "other" and an orientation for the Arab awakening (*al-sahwa al-'arabiyya*). Palestine has been pan-Arabism's touchstone. It was located at the heart of the putative Arab unity as typified in the slogan of the time: "Arab unity is the road to the liberation of Palestine." The entire question of Palestine was deemed to be integral to the overall Arab-Israeli conflict and an Arab nationalist concern (Heikal 1996). At the time, the process of decolonization was fresh to most countries of the region (countries of exile for the Palestinians) therefore each Arab country was pursuing a "separate" statebuilding in contradiction to pan-Arab sentiments. Generally and summarily speaking, the Arab states' political mood could be characterized by ambivalence, internal rivalry and looking inwardly, subsequently the question of Palestine was secondary to these regimes unless it served their political purposes and internal rhetoric. Unlike the pre-*an-Nakba* leadership, the new leadership was very much disillusioned by the Arab regimes. Al-Qaddumi perfectly underlines this point: "In the past, the Palestinian cause was robbed by Arab claims and counterclaims, in the middle of the which Palestinian opinion was lost." (1988: 6)

In parallel to the PLO development, two other Palestinian organizations, the Arab National Movement (ANM) and Fatah, were in the making. They shared

and diverged on various aspects. The ANM and Fatah emerged out of a similar experience of *an-Nakba* and exile. The former was founded in a relatively short period after *an-Nakba* in 1951. However, the latter's formation began almost a decade after 1948. Pan-Arabism remained a key reference point for the PLO and ANM; they also concocted a new dependency relationship between pan-Arabism, Arab unity and Palestine liberation. The PLO articulated Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine "two complementary goals, each prepares for the attainment of the other." (PLO Charter 1964: article 12) Order was not an issue; it did not matter whether Arab unity or liberation would happen first. On the other hand, the ANM "believed that there is a *dialectic* relationship between the liberation of Palestine and Arab unity ... the Zionist project was an imperialist one that targets the whole Arab nation including Palestine. Therefore, we need to develop a comprehensive project for Arab unity that takes the liberation of Palestine as priority..." (Habash 2009: 38, emphasis added). This interpretation of the Arabism-liberation relationship placates the Arab regimes, Arab people and Palestinians, and leaves a vast space for every group to make its pragmatic interpretation. Furthermore, the position of the PLO remained ambiguous on both (liberation and Arab unity), which indeed reflects the position of the Arab regimes and the PLO situation while being caught up "in-between" Arab and Palestinian issues. Therefore, everything remained in the state of non-action, neither unity nor liberation.

A decade after *an-Nakba*, Fatah was burgeoning in Kuwait. The young founders, then the leaders, of Fatah were very cautious and skeptical of the Arab regimes and PLO. Fatah had reversed the slogan and argued that, "the Arab unity can be realized after liberating Palestine, not the opposite" (Khalaf 1981: 34). This was a novelty in the Palestinian thinking that changed the direction and focus of the action. With this mode of thinking, the reality of the Palestinians and Arab states was interpreted opposite to the traditional Palestinian viewpoint, which considered Palestine part of "an Arab Alliance"

(Haj Amin al-Husseini 1999: 334).³⁶ According to Salah Khalaf (one of key founders of Fatah and best known as Abu-Iyad) Fatah's founders, "at least knew what was harmful for the Palestinian cause; our estimate was that our people could expect nothing from the existing Arab regimes ... and we believed that the Palestinians should essentially depend on themselves." (1981: 19, 20) Fatah portrayed the Arab regimes to be on the side of Israel and "facilitating and helping enforcing the status quo, that is the establishment of the state of Israel" (Ibid. 31). To cut the story short, it took the ANM about two decades to come to the same conclusion and re-configure itself into a particularist Palestinian movement (Habash 2009).

The ANM distrusted the Arab regimes as well, however, the general style of President Gamal Abdel Nassir, the most charismatic President of Egypt, politics concurred with the movement's worldview. As Sayigh argues, the ANM "commitment to Nas[s]ir, his philosophy on political, social, and economic issues, and his regional agenda was to be the determining influence on the ideology and behavior of the ANM for over a decade." (Sayigh 1997: 75) Fatah also found itself increasingly in closer relations with Nassir's regime soon after June 1967 War. So the latter's friendly reception of Fatah granted it further legitimacy, visibility and primacy over other organizations (Heikal 1996: 19). President Nassir represented for the Palestinians (and Arabs in general) "the man of liberation", though this image was dashed after the 1967 War (Habash 2009: 72). At this stage, the particularist thinking prevailed.

Despite the convergence between the "revolutionary" Palestinian leadership (which steered the PLO) and the Arab regimes since 1968, tension and suspicions lingered. One of the acute dilemmas was over who has the right to represent and speak in the name of the Palestinians, each side claimed that right to itself. Since 1968, the PLO has been adamant on its right to represent the Palestinians and protect the *ability* to represent. A couple of instances

³⁶ The ANM shared Haj Amin al-Husseini's interpretation of the region's reality.

would make the point quicker. Habash argued that, “The independence of the Palestinian decision-making ... is indispensable for our struggle and a *condition for the existence* of our revolution which *we must protect against all odds*.” He continues and defines “The forces that threaten the Palestinian decision at this stage are primarily the Arab reactionary regimes... The independence of Palestinian decision-making means the independence of the PLO from these regimes.” (Habash 1979: 134, emphasis added) Similarly, al-Qaddumi explained that “[s]ome regimes do not like the fact that the PLO is the sole, legitimate representative, but *no Arab state has the right to speak for the Palestinians*.” He also represented the “independent representation” as “a right, there must be an independent delegation on an equal basis” (Al-Qaddumi 1985: 5; 11).

Secondly, interpretation of a particular social context is tightly related to self-image. How the Palestinians perceived themselves is informed by the kind of image and judgment they made about a particular situation and about the “others,” be it the Arab regimes or Zionism, and what representations the other made about them. Interpretation is co-constitutive and always *situational* (see Gadamer 2004).

In the main, Marxism and pan-Arabism shaped the ANM ideological bases. Since its formation in 1951-52, the movement adopted a three-word slogan: “unity, liberation, and revenge;” the word “revenge” was substituted later by “recovering Palestine” (*istirja’ falastin*). It devised a strict discipline, hierarchy and secrecy which also accepted both Palestinian and non-Palestinian members into its ranks. Several branches operating in different Arab countries constitute the movement’s structure, however, there was no Palestinian branch. This systematic negligence sprang from the movement’s philosophical orientation, which envisages the liberation of Palestine as a consequence of Arab unity and termination of imperialism. When Arab unity seemed unforthcoming, especially after the collapse of what could be considered as a laboratory test of Egyptian-Syrian unity in 1961 and the

“disappointment” after 1967 war, the ANM re-thought the location of struggle for Palestine within the broader regional formula (Habash 2009: 25-50).

All in all, in December 1967 a particular Palestinian branch was composed when other left-wing movements merged together and formed a new entity called the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).³⁷ Because rivalry and ideological differences between these sub-groups were not worked out, in a short time (in 1969) some these groups withdrew from PFLP and formed the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) led by Nayef Hawatmeh. Furthermore, the “hardline” left broke up with PFLP and DFLP and formed their new organizations: PLFP-General Command, Palestine (PLFP-GA) Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) and Fida. The last three groups were adamantly “rejectionist” of the PLO policies. In short, the ANM hatched several Palestinian organizations in a very short period of time.

Fatah had a different experience than the ANM. Almost all Fatah’s organizers were young, enthusiastic and eager to act; they came from the “refugees” community and understood early the necessity to create an organization to facilitate their collective action and lead the struggle for liberation. The activists represented two styles for the putative organization. The first took cues from the APG and pushed for declaring a Palestinian government in exile. The second view, however, had a different and a very popular interpretation of the Arab conditions, that is, “existing Arab reality would never allow even the establishment of a Palestinian organization, and so there was no alternative for the Palestinians but to go underground and adopt absolute secrecy in their organization, until it could impose itself on that reality and force recognition.” (al-Wazir cited in Sayigh 1997: 83-84) Unlike the ANM, Fatah made no distinction between “conservative and progressive” regimes, rather it was very “wary of all [Arab] regimes, conservative and progressive alike” and believed that “the armed struggle worth this name, it should be

³⁷ Heroes of Return and Ahmad Jibril- Palestine Liberation Front

prepared, organized and waged by the Palestinians to the end.” (Khalaf 1981: 23)

The rationale of Fatah was political and revenge was off the agenda. From the beginning, it represented itself as the “movement” of the Palestinians and therefore a particularist one. Though the ANM and Fatah shared the same goal of liberating Palestine, their focus differed greatly. The latter looked from a narrower, but focused, angle into Palestine whereas the former approached the struggle for liberation through a regional and grand design prism, therefore Palestine was one among other objectives (supposedly) sought by the ANM. With the benefit of hindsight it is clear that the ANM project was far too ambitious. It tried at the beginning to reconcile the irreconcilable: a committed to the liberation of Palestine, armed struggle, Nassir’s regime and Arab unity without working out the contradictions between these aims. After all, the Egyptian regime curbed armed attacks, Egypt was tied up with the Armistice Agreement and it had no solution to the Palestinian question. Dreams of Arab unity were at odds with existing political context then, a context entrenched with ideological competition and foreign interventions. Such conclusion became inescapable, especially after the collapse of the Egyptian-Syrian unity, which spurred the ANM to rethink its focus and re-orientate its lens towards Palestine (Habash 2009: 71).

At this stage, the inherited thinking from the pre-*an-Nakba* order that ties the Palestine liberation with Arab unity and grand design calculations waned and opened up for the particularist view, which became hegemonic in Palestinian politics.

Fatah emphasized the particular character of the Palestinian struggle over the general Arab character. This perspective was grounded on the idea that the Palestinians should not wait for the Arab regimes to liberate Palestine; instead they should take the initiative and responsibility themselves to reverse their ill-fated conditions. Such logic was attentive to the refugees’ sentiments. The refugees, and Fatah’s founders in particular, perceived themselves in an absolutely negative way as a group of people *without* what other peoples

have (they were without homeland, passport, weapons, direction, support, association, respect, existence) and persecuted one: “Our people have lived, driven out in every country, humiliated in the lands of exile,” therefore only “revolution” would reverse such peculiar reality (Fatah cited in Sayigh 1997: 88).

It seemed obvious to the ANM’s and Fatah’s founders that the PLO is neither a representative nor an independent entity, and therefore a truly “independent” and “popular organization” is needed. The gap between the new leadership and the old one was wide enough to be bridged: each had different worldviews, suspicions and sometimes confrontations. Therefore, cooperation was not something to reckon with. As Fatah sought a new start, it implied disconnection from the old and defeated “sons of [upper class] families and traditional figures”. (Abbas cited in Ibid. 100). The PLO’s composition, old leadership and an Arab-making, helped to construct it as, “an Arab instrument and [its military wing is] part of the Arab armies. In view of our experiences with the Arabs and especially in 1936, and our deep lack of trust towards them . . . we feared that the PLO would kill or divert the awakening of our people” (Khalid al-Hasan cited in Ibid. 101). Hence, for Fatah, the PLO represented an Arab tool to control and restrict a potential Palestinian revolution and independent action. George Habash argued in the same vein: “the ANM did not join the PLO because it did not show revolutionary orientation due to its ties with the Arab regimes” (2009: 72).

Nonetheless, all Palestinian movements declared in 24 May 1964 that they would not oppose the establishment of the PLO (Hamid 1975: 94). Despite being critical of the PLO, the ANM and Fatah appreciated the fact that the PLO already had what they had been striving for: certain legitimacy, real entity, conferences, declarations, manifestations, charter and a military wing. The question for Fatah became how to drag the PLO into the agenda of the revolution. Seeing it from this angle justified the engagement with the PLO in order to “transform it from inside.” On the other hand, the ANM “believed that the establishment of the PLO was a necessity in order to constitute a legitimate framework to unite the Palestinian forces.” (Habash 2009: 72)

Coupling the Palestinian revolution with the Arab regimes would inevitably lead it to an end from Fatah's standpoint. This belief was voiced in a popular saying: "all revolutions born in Palestine are aborted in the Arab capitals". (Khalaf 1981: 31). This spurred independent Palestinian efforts, finance, membership and the design of their organization/s was guided by three principles: Palestine liberation, armed struggle, self-organization and co-operation with friendly Arab and international forces (Cobban 1984).

In what remains of this section, I will first focus on the new avenues that became available to the Palestinian political institutions after the June War 1967, or *al-naksa* (relapse) as the Palestinian and Arabs refer to it, and then move to third point on representation of the "other."

In spite of its disastrous effects, the War was an opening for the Palestinian organizations to make free choices which made the PLO transformation possible because the Arab regimes' intervention in the Palestinian decision-making was cut short for the first time, albeit for a short period. Be that as it may, the ANM, Fatah and PLO were the three primary Palestinian institutions that constituted the order of the Palestinian discourse after *an-Nakba* (until Political Islam became influential in Palestine). Although each had its own distinctive path of development, rationale and worldview, they had a similar *raison d'état*: the liberation of Palestine.

In 1968, the Palestinian-made institutions were merged into the PLO. Since then Fatah had become the "backbone" and the leader of the PLO (Shemesh 2004). The diverse Palestinian movements took over the PLO and amended its Charter to suit their worldviews. First, the *al-qawmiyya* as the guiding theme of the Charter was substituted by *al-wataniyya/watani* (nationalism/national) and explicitly nuanced in the title of the Charter: "The Palestinian National Charter". Second, the nationalist and revolutionary logic became the source of legitimacy and justification (instead of *al-qawmiyya al-'arabiyya*). Article seven and fifteen of the new Charter considered "The

Liberation of Palestine” an expression of “a national duty” for all Palestinians and a “*qawmi* duty” for the. This formulation drew the boundaries between what is a Palestinian (national) and what is an Arab concern (*qawmi*). Despite the “consensus on the primacy of national issues” (Shemesh 2004: 93) among the movements inside the PLO to cancel out difference (social class, religious, territorial differences) and produce a more unified national Palestinian front, internal antagonisms over the meaning and the content of the “national issues” constituted additional material for discourse that led to certain performativities such as, the withdrawal from the Executive Committee, forming the Rejection Front, internecine, and so on.

Palestinian organizations merge with the PLO is an historic moment that led to a reconstruction of the latter into an organization of organizations. This fixed the internal (Palestinian organizations) and external ambiguity about the identity of the PLO as an institution by bringing in the “revolutionary” spirit and the Palestinian self-representation. Since then the PLO has been an available space for the production of the Palestinian political discourse. Yet, this discourse reproduced the PLO in a circular way.

Thirdly, how the Palestinians represented the “other” (Zionism) is closely related to their understanding of the global and regional political atmosphere at the time. But indeed Zionist was (and still is) seen as a contradiction of what is Palestinian.

The word Zionism is derived from “Zion”, the Biblical name of “the city of David” or Jerusalem. Zionism is a movement of “return” to, and “redemption” (*geolat a-karka*) of the land of “Zion” and “Eretz Yisrael”. For the Zionists, Zionism is a modern, “pluralistic” and “open utopia” which combines both ancient and modern dispositions (Gorny 1998: 245; 249). The Zionists see the ideology and political movement they are attached to as:

drew its sustenance both from traditional roots and from the sources of rational and optimistic modernism in its conception of the development of society ... Zionism, relatively to other ideologies, has succeeded in realizing most of its objectives, ... For all these reasons, it can serve as an example of the success of modernism. (Ibid. 241-42)

Zionism juxtaposes itself with the West, modernity and rationalism, and represents itself as an example of a successful and triumphant movement. On the other hand, “everything positive from the Zionist standpoint looked *absolutely* negative from the perspective of the native Arab Palestinians.” (Said 1992: 84, emphasis added) For the Palestinians, Zionism is a “colonialist”, “imperialist”, “aggressive and expansionist” movement to which the Palestinians are victim (*dahiyya*). Victimhood entailed sacrifice and struggle (*al-tadhiya wa al-nidal*) on the part of the Palestinians to confront and restrain the advance of “global Zionism and imperialism” as pronounced at the outset of the Palestinian Charter of 1964. “From the standpoint of its victims”, to use Edward Said words, Zionism, “is at bottom an *unchanging* idea” for creating a Jewish homeland in Palestine (Ibid. 56, emphasis added).

Zionism was born out of a context of imperialism and a Jewish problem in Europe. At the outset of the 20th century, it managed to garner the backing and support of the imperialist powers at the time. The Western appetite for grand design schemes (in the Middle East in particular) gave a practical meaning and shape to the imaginative idea of putting Zionism on the world map. The link between Zionism and the West spurred the Palestinians to associate the former with, “international colonialism” (*al-isti‘mar al-‘alami*). In 1919, the First Palestinian Conference argued for “resisting Zionism and colonialism”. And in 1922, about three decades before the foundation of Israel in 1948, the Palestinian expressed in the High Arab Committee Charter their ultimate goal to “liberate Palestine from Zionism and colonialism.”

An-Nakba was bound up with a paradoxical phenomenon that required conceptualization and construction in order to make sense of it, and the self retrospectively. The *yishuv* (settlement) leader, David Ben-Gurion, declared the birth of “the State of Israel” in May 1948. The Palestinians, however, resisted this name and instead called it “the Zionist entity,” “the entity” and “the Israeli entity” interchangeably (*al-Kayan al-suhywni*, *al-Kayan*, *al-Kayan al-‘isra’ili* respectively in Arabic). Nevertheless, a certain qualitative difference between Zionism and Israel was maintained in the Palestinian discourse. The

former was considered a tool for global imperialism, while Israel was constructed as “the vanguard of this destructive [Zionist] movement, a pillar of colonialism, and a constant source of anxiety and turmoil in the Middle East in particular and the international community in general.” (Al-Qawmi Charter 1964: Article 19; See also PNC 5th session 1969)

The Palestinian perspective on Zionism, Israel, and the relation between Zionism/Israel and the West have never been stabilized; rather they continued to be in a process of making. Other concepts (e.g., imperialism, racism, colonialism, *etc.*) were brought into the discourse to stabilize (albeit temporarily) these meanings and relationships. For example, Arafat argued that Zionism is “an imperialist, colonialist, racist, discriminatory and reactionary ideology” whose “logic concurs with anti-Semitism” (Arafat, UN Speech 1974). Because Zionism claimed to represent the Jews and drew on biblical concepts to justify its *raison d’être*, an essentialist connection was constructed between the movement and Judaism, and therefore, from a Palestinian standpoint, “every Jewish person was perceived a Zionist and thus an enemy.” However, the “essential” link between Zionism and Judaism diminished at an early stage in 1959 (Habash 2009: 49).

At the outset, Zionism was regarded as a “colonialist movement” (*haraka isti‘mariyya*) and part of the global colonialism, whereas in 1968 it was considered to be a “political movement organically connected with the global imperialism,” and therefore it is “the enemy of all liberation and progress movement in the world.” This description represents Zionism as an instrument of Western imperialism. Seeing Zionism from an imperialism lens reduced the possibility of a thorough scrutiny of the movement (e.g., its operational system, ideas and objectives) because Zionism was made to signify an “identical” manifestation of rather a general phenomenon. This obscured the visibility of the differences between Zionist and Western imperialism. Such construction of Zionism governed the type of possible relations between Palestinians and Zionists, and the mode of resistance by taking cues from other instances of resistance to imperialist and colonialist projects elsewhere. The Palestinian leadership alignment with the people movements and

regimes with similar experience of colonialist and imperialist projects saved them the effort of justifying their acts. After all, their aims and goals are in a par with other liberation movements in the world fighting colonialism and imperialism.

On the other hand, Israel was constructed as a:

tool for the Zionist movement and a human and geographical base for global imperialism ... 'Israel' is a strategic location [for global imperialism] in the heart of the Arab world in order to hit and dreams of the Arab people of liberation, unity and progress. 'Israel' is a permanent source of threat for peace in the Middle East and world. (Palestine National Charter of 1968: article 22)

The “conquest of Palestine is only a bridge to other Arab land beyond the boundaries of Palestine”. The Palestinian leadership used the 1967 War to fix this belief: “the June war is only the first wave to leap to the head of the bridge leading to another Arab Land ...” (PNC 4th session). The first construction (Zionism is a manifestation of global imperialism) inspired the latter construction of Israel as a “tool for Zionism”, and thus a tool for Western imperialism in general. In other words, Israel was perceived in a hierarchical dependency relationship with Zionism and then with the West. Arafat, for example, featured the instrumental-hierarchal image of Israel: “I regard Israel as a mere watch-dog doing its job in this area on the orders of its American master” (1981: 147).

In early stage of the struggle, the Palestinians perspective on Zionism as “an enemy” was generally based on indirect inferences from the juxtapositions between Zionism with imperialism and colonialism, not out of the critical examination of its structures and tenets. For example, the PNC 4th (1968) session defined “the enemy” in “three interconnected powers: Israel, global Zionism and global imperialism led by the US.” Accordingly, “the focus” of “the Palestinian struggle” should transcend the geographical boundaries of Palestine to resist the trilateral enemy (Ibid.)

The gradual transformations in other parts of the Palestinian discourse, and its rules of formation (discussed elsewhere), have spurred the PLO to rework its perception of Israel. The new perception of Israel as an adversary (not an

enemy) with whom the Palestinians have “compatible goals”; as Khalaf puts it: “Israel and the Palestinian people have similar and *compatible goals* ... Israel wants to be master of its own fate —an independent state, secure, and at peace with neighbors.” (1990: 96, emphasis added)

Liberation (*al-tahrir*)

Concepts of liberty and (recently) democracy are central nodal points in the contemporary language of politics. They have broad social significance as “primary goods” which human beings should enjoy (Rawls 1993: 181) and they are the touchstone of the Universal Declaration of Human Right (UDHR). Self-determination constitutes the practice and substance of a liberty that allows us to act according to our self-understanding (Ibid.). Individualist liberty and self-determination (the essence of liberalism) were extended to collectivities that have been constructed into discrete units such as the nation, people and community in contemporary political theory. Liberalism’s focus on individualism and the disregard of community gave rise to the communitarian school of thought as an advocate of the normative value of the community (see Sandel 1998). The principle of “self-determination of peoples” gained normative political ground both in theory and practice at the onset of the twentieth century, which marked the rise of nationalism, liberation movements and later decolonization.

Self-determination of nations, or peoples, became an essential principle in the nation-state international order. With the advance of nationalism in the West and elsewhere, national self-determination was regarded as one of the key governing rules of world order. President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, the UN Charter (see UN Charter 1945: article 1/II) and international law endorsed self-determination. Of course, what constitutes a “people” and the contents of self-determination were still evolving, and contested matters.

What is now called the Middle East (or “Near East” in the American political jargon) has been the site for great powers’ competition leading to the demise of the Ottoman Empire and colonization of “its” territory. Britain colonized Palestine after WWI and granted the Zionist movement a foothold there,

which gradually culminated in the Balfour Declaration in 1917. In 1922 the League of Nations (which was predominantly controlled by Western states) formalized the British rule over Palestine and the Zionist project. The Mandate Resolution made it unequivocal to the Palestinians that Britain would not cut back on its support and commitment to the Zionist project. In response, the Palestinians revolted in 1936 against, “the British colonialism and the Zionist invasion” (Palestine Encyclopedia 1984: vol. I: 623-41).

Political language about the situation provided the vocabulary through which Palestinian leaders conceptualized what was happening in Palestine as colonialism which captures two entities: colonized (the Palestinians) and colonizer (Britain) connected through an antagonist relationship. The logic of equivalence made it possible for the Palestinians to see themselves in a struggle for “liberation” and “self-determination” similar to other liberation movements at the time, i.e., a “liberationist cause similar to other liberation causes in the world” (al-Shuqayri 1964). The PNC echoed this understanding: “The Palestinian revolution is indivisible part of global liberation movements in the struggle against global colonialism and imperialism. Simultaneously, the Palestinian revolution is fighting another enemy, global Zionism, which is a segment of global imperialism.” (PNC 6th session 1969, Appendix 1)

The logic of equivalence is more hegemonic as it helps drawing certain units and abstraction out of a rather complex social reality (cf. Laclau & Mouffe 2000; Glynos & Howarth 2007). On this view, chains of equivalent associations were produced to insinuate relationships between Britain, the West and Zionism, and submerged them into one unit or subject-position: colonizers. At the same time “every Palestinian” was articulated as a “revolutionary.” This description accentuates aspects of commonalities and connections between Palestinians as a singular unified group and a revolutionary subject-position. The outcome is therefore the existence of two antagonistic groups: the revolutionary against the colonizer, and *vice versa*. Such construction was echoed before and after *an-Nakba* now and again. For example, the PNC sketched out the relation like this: “at this state the PNC considers the *main contradiction* to be with the Zionist enemy and colonialism,

and all other *internal contradictions are secondary* and must stop.” (PNC 5th session, 1st annex 1969, emphasis added)

As the Palestinian re/action was constituted into a struggle (*nidal*) and then a “liberationist” (*tahriri*) or “revolutionary” (*thawri*) struggle, subsequently a network of categories, subject-positions, institutions, objects and subjects emerged as a practical incarnation of the struggle. The “*fida'i*”³⁸ subject-position embodied the actual performance of the struggle, i.e. *al-'amal al-fida'i*. It denotes the readiness to immolate and sacrifice him/herself for sake of Palestine liberation. Occupying the *fida'i* subject-position is by far the most honorable position in the Palestinian revolution. Virtually, all Palestinian institutions after *an-Nakba* were branded as liberationist, “strugglist” (*munadil*), *fida'i* and confrontational as epitomized in their titles.³⁹ Such branding granted these institutions, subject and activities a moral capital and attraction, and thus a powerful interpellation force.

Until the late 1980s, the concept of liberation was a touchstone or nodal point in the Palestinian discourse with certain discursive functions. The PNC declared that, “the liberation of Palestine *the biggest goal* of the Arab liberation activities, and the Palestinian people are the *vanguards of the*

³⁸ The *fida'i* and *fida'iyyun* is the secular replacement of the religious subject position *al-mujahid* and *al-moujahidyn* used to describe the Palestinian fighters before *an-Nakba*.

³⁹ For example, “liberation”, “struggle” and “front” were the central to the identity of any Palestinian entity after. The APG revitalized the Holy War Army (*jaysh al-jihad al-muqqadas*), the very title of the PLO denotes “*Liberation*”, Palestine *Liberation* Front (*jabhat al-tahrir al-falastini*), The Popular Front for the *Liberation* of Palestine (al-jabha al-sha'biyya li-tahrir falastin), Palestine *Liberation* Army (*Jaish tahrir falastin*) “the vanguard of Palestine liberation battle” (PLO Basic Law, article 22). The nodal points liberation (*tahrir*) and confrontation/struggle (Jihad, Front, *Jaish*) are inserted in the titles of every organization, sometimes newspapers, magazines, civil institutions, etc., this reflects the locus of the predominant public mood and the imagined political directions of these organizations when they were founded in spite of the lack of the means to achieve “liberation”. The PLO Basic Law is rife with expressions like “liberationist mobilization”, “Palestine liberation battle”, “liberation stamp” (see article 3; 22; 25).

liberation battle.” Moreover, “liberating Palestine is considered *essential and fateful*” (PNC 2nd session 1965). Its function was to regulate, organize and stabilize the meaning of other moments in the discourse. First, it stabilized (temporarily) the meaning of Israel from the standpoint of the Palestinians as a “continuous imperialist aggression at odds with the right of self-determination.” Hence, from a liberationist viewpoint, resistance and “struggle to liberate the homeland by all means” is warrantable (PNC, 1st session 1964).

The concept of liberation provided the raw material from which the Palestinians constructed the guidelines for possible practices towards liberation and self-determination. Namely, it warranted the struggle for liberation (*al-nidal min ajl al-tahrir*). In general, the struggle for liberation transpired through two types of struggle: armed or guerrilla warfare in the form Algerian and Vietnamese struggle against the French and Americans, or by non-violent means inspired by Gandhi. After *an-Nakba* the Palestinians considered the guerrilla warfare in Algeria and Vietnam as an example to emulate (Khalaf 1981: 32). That choice could be explained by looking at the demographic changes: number of the Palestinians in Palestine had been reduced significantly as a result of 1947-8 events. Alternatively, it could also be motivated by the desire to resolve the identity dissonance and stamp out the image of “the weak and inferior” Palestinian, especially in the Arab world, and restore a sense of “pride” (Khalaf cited in Shemesh 2004: 97). Indeed, Arafat explained how the PLO had transformed the Palestinians, “from a *refugee people* waiting in queues for charity and alms from UNRWA into a *people fighting for freedom*,” (Arafat 1982: 6, emphasis added).

Apparently, the discourse put Palestine liberation and armed struggle in direct relationship, or more accurately, liberation stipulated the armed struggle. This linkage flowed unchecked at the early stages of the PLO and PNC statements. As the PLO “matured” and became embroiled in the mechanics of socialization, reference to the armed struggle has been gradually reduced until it disappeared from the common discourse. However, it regained its momentum with the emerging Islamic movements in the mid-1980s,

especially the Islamic Jihad and later Hamas (al-Nawaati 2002). Linking liberation with the armed struggle was rationalized in the light of two general ideological concepts: *al-qawmiyya* (e.g., “Palestine liberation battle” is a *qawmi* goal (PLO Basic Law)) and the religious concept of Jihad. The first PNC session stated that explicitly: “*al-Jihad* is the holy duty of every Palestinian.” Ironically, neither concept is particularly specific to Palestine, though they have certain resonance in Palestinian society. The PLO re-articulated the liberation-armed struggle relationship as a nationalist one and the religious linkages resurfaced in the discourse of the Palestinian movements that have Islamic characteristics.

The concept of liberation drew the boundaries and the limits of the Palestinian discourse. It also governed and regulated the flow of relationships and linkages between statements in the discourse field. Therefore, transformation in the construction process of the concept of liberation and its internal rules of formations entailed systematic revisions and re-articulations of other concepts. The meaning of liberation has changed during the past six decades or so. Examination of the development in the concept of liberation will be adjourned to the next chapter and now the discussion will turn to the armed struggle.

The Armed Struggle

It is worth noting at the outset that this section is not about armed struggle *per se*, which is covered extensively in Yazid Sayigh book, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*. However, I try in this brief analysis to focus on the function and locus of the “armed struggle” as a concept and practice in the discourse.

The armed struggle is often articulated in conjunction with liberation which garnered abundant, “universal” moral capital, and therefore liberation appeared as a self-evident historical inevitability in the Palestinian discourse. Coupling armed struggle with liberation overshadowed the possibility of ruminating over the armed struggle’s meaning and content. Initially, armed struggle was represented as the “only way” (*al-tariq al-wahid*) towards

Palestine salvation, which in effect diminished prospects of a “political solution” in the discourse. Instead “the solution” to the Palestine question was imagined “through arms and struggle” (Al-Shuqayri 1964). Plenty of statements such as “the armed struggle is the only way to the liberation” and “there is no alternative to the armed struggle to solve the Palestinian issue” echoed and perpetuated one another (Habash 2009: 59). Apparently the articulation emphasized a *missing* alternative, and the declaration of the armed struggle to be the “only option,” other possibilities were discounted from the menu of possible actions and limited the probability of mediation in the discourse. Furthermore, this way of articulation is in itself an implicit justification for choosing the armed struggle. It also mutes the debate over the details of the armed struggle-liberation relationship, which has been an ambiguous and undetermined matter.

Until 1967 most Palestinian movements (with the exception of Fatah) and the PLO conceptualized the armed struggle as a component of an overall Arab-Israeli war, not a separate one. After all, the Arab regimes made compelling statements about the liberation of Palestine in every possible inflammatory expression (especially in the official media), and also we should not forget that the Palestinians had already seen themselves as “part of an Arab alliance” (Haj Amin Al-Husseini 1999: 334). For example, from the viewpoint of the West Bankers the idea of splitting the West Bank from the east bank (i.e., Jordan) of the Jordan River contravened the Arab unity dreams; also liberation of Palestine was considered to be an Arab responsibility at the time (Sahliyah 1988).

While drawing on its conception of the “people’s war”, Fatah embarked on a policy of “conscious entanglement” warfare against Israel from Syria⁴⁰ in order to *drag* the “Arab masses” into a confrontation with Israel. In essence the argument goes like this:

⁴⁰ At that time, the Syrian regime led by Amin Hafiz argued for a declaration of war in order to liquidate Israel (see Heikal 1996: 17).

our military action provokes an Israeli reaction against our people, who then *become involved* [in the struggle] and are supported by the Arab masses. This *extends* the circle of conflict and *compels* the Arab governments either to join us or stand against us. (Al-Hassan 1987: 128-9 cited in Sayigh 1997: 120, emphasis added)

To be sure, words like “become involved,” “extends” and “compels” in the above argument (among others, for example, Habash, Arafat, Khalaf argued for a similar logic) illustrate how interpellation or *dragging in* the Arab regimes and public as a *fait accompli* oriented Fatah’s strategic thinking. However ironic it may sound, there were hardly any analyses of the “masses” to inform the movement’s conception of them; but rather rudimentary and general notions informed the conception of the “masses.”

Since Fatah carried out the first military attack on the first of January 1965,⁴¹ the PLO and the PNC began to deliberate a practical and narrower understanding of armed struggle. The attack accumulated significant political and symbolic meanings and served as a lens to make a significant judgment in a specific moment of the struggle history: it concluded that the circumstance back in 1965 were “ripe to move from preparation to actual and final preparation phase” in order to wage the “liberation battle” (PNC 3rd session, 1965). The narrower and practical configurative description of the struggle decreed “armed clash with Israel” and an immediate action (clash) on the ground that would culminate in waging “the liberation battle”. However, other movements, like the ANM/PFLP, understood the armed struggle in accordance with “the conception of war of the people” and an “escalation of Palestinian popular struggle” (Habash 1985: 9).

The PNC emphasized that “the battle must *inevitably* be fought”. It was portrayed as “a decisive battle that determines the destiny of the whole Arab world” (PNC 3rd session, 1965, emphasis added). The “battle” was

⁴¹ In fact, it was not the first armed activity against Israel by the Palestinian movements, however it was the first one to attract attention and significant symbolic meaning. The ANM carried out the first military attack on Israeli targets in Galilee in 1963 (Habash 2009: 71).

constructed as inevitable, fateful and a “refrain from waging the battle” is “synonymous to its loss, division instead of Arab unity, permanent threat, more territorial losses and giving up the Arab liberationist goal” (Ibid.). Such construction was made possible by drawing on the (supposedly) shared Arab dreams of unity. Waging “the decisive battle” would incarnate the Arab dream. Moreover, it shows how the PLO saw the struggle for liberation as indivisible from the broader Arab-Israeli conflict. This way of thinking is not without presuppositions: an implicit assumption that there nexus between the particular (armed struggle to liberate Palestine), Arab regimes and wider Arab public. No doubt that the nexus does exist, but there was no careful analysis of its potentials and limitations.

Fatah continued to operate within the grand framework of the PLO, which is the liberation of Palestine. While rebuffing (at the beginning) the PLO’s political style (elite leadership and dependency), Fatah made a strong commitment to the armed struggle as the “only” mean towards liberation. From an early stage in 1956, Fatah’s founders organized a commando battalion to prove, or satisfy, their enthusiasm for action, not talk. The founders hastened to declare the armed struggle with little deliberation or formulation of a grand strategy of their own. Fatah avoided ideological and theoretical debates because such debates would motivate factionalism, a “negative phenomenon that divides”, as Khalaf explained (1981: 34).

The primacy of armed struggle swept from mainly the Palestinian (negative) self-understanding, while manifestation and visibility of arms in the hands of the youngsters had stark psychological and symbolical effects that mitigated the weak Palestinian self-image. But it also proved to be a superb interpellative device for mustering attention to nascent Palestinian movements and enlisting new members into their ranks. For example, hijacking airplanes (one of the most controversial tactics) was thought of as a means to “remove the Palestinian cause from amnesia and present it to international public opinion” and “a main factor for attracting new members to PFLP.” (Habash 2009: 108; 111) Fatah used the armed struggle in the same vein to put the cause of Palestine to global public opinion and recruit more people to Fatah.

Moreover, armed struggle was considered to be a mechanism to “transcend ideological discrepancies [between various Palestinian social classes] and a stimulator and intermediary factor for unity” (Khalaf 1981: 33-34).

The Palestinian Qawmi Charter was amended mainly because of it lacks emphasis on the armed struggle, so the 1968 new version of the charter came about to account for this omission. According to Khalaf, the Palestinian movements merge into the PLO structure was contingent upon the latter’s commitment to “the armed struggle as the only road to liberate Palestine” (Khalaf 1981: 63; 65). The movements succeeded in adding this condition to the charter because: firstly, the Arab regimes were defeated in the 1967 war therefore were not in a position to resist such a demand, and secondly, the *fida’iyyun* activities especially after the al-Karama battle in 1968 became very popular amongst the Arab populace. As a result, the “armed struggle” appeared in article 9 of the new Charter as a “strategy not a tactic.” And every the Palestinian individual was put in a specific frame of a disciplined “Arab revolutionary” agent who would readily partake in the “armed struggle and sacrifice” (See article 7; 8; 9; 10; 21).

The generous discursive capital spent on the constitution of armed struggle was a potent vehicle used to distract way from a serious deliberation of a grand strategy with clear goals. Armed struggle language became a routine litany. According to article of the PLO Basic Law of 1968 “relations inside the PLO are based on commitment to ... to sustain the armed revolution and working towards its continuity and escalation.” The concept of the armed struggle and related terminology swept unchallenged through mundane discourse especially 1968 to the extent that the catchphrase, “all authority for resistance” became a rule (Allush 1972). The hidden meanings of the catchphrase contain a deleterious psychology of superiority among the *fida’iyyun*: internal violence and pointing the gun of the armed struggle to the opposition were its key concrete translations. Ironically, all of that was justified in the name of protecting the armed struggle. And perhaps it was the biggest backlash of this routinization.

The armed struggle issue was not so straightforward. The PLO, ANM and Fatah perspective on the matter were any thing but consistent. Fatah established “the armed struggle” as a policy for “liberation” when its key founders were unconvinced of their abilities to liberate Palestine, anyway. The following instances make the point perfectly and quickly. Khalaf pointed out that their “goals [in the Fatah] were humble” they included: (1) “charge the spirit of people,” (2) “keep Israel alert,” and (3) “confuse the Israeli economy,” and “we [Fatah’s leaders] never believed at any moment that our actions would put the security of the Zionist state at risk.” Just two months after the 1967 war, Faruq al-Qaddumi, a member of Fatah’s Central Committee “submitted a policy paper to Fatah’s Central Committee ... proposing that we declare our support for the establishment of a mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza in event Israel would return this land [to the Palestinians].” (Khalaf 1981: 54; 134) In such ambivalence and discrepancy between internal and made public views on the armed struggle (and on most political matters) situated the possibility for opening up, elaboration and a place for something more to be said.

Exploring the representation of the 1967 war in the Palestinian public discourse helps us to further understand how the armed struggle acquired a primary locus in the Palestinian discourse and retrospectively it explains how the war became an important event in the Palestinian history, that is, a critical juncture. I approach this matter by looking at the representations of the 1967 events from different angles resources such as literature, poetry, historical writings, political statements and so on.

In 1967, a new genre of literature called, “The Palestinian Resistance Literature” came out to reflect on the organic interdiscursivity between the immediate and distant public (in the Arab and “Third World” (e.g., African countries, Cuba) who were resisting colonialism) and the interplay between public and political perceptions. Resistance literature unlike most Arabic literature appeared after 1967, abstained from the reflexive lamentation of the defeat. Rather, it was more concerned with the future (Kanafani 1968). Fadwa Touqan, a distinguished poet from Nablus, described Palestinian feelings

before and during the war as being “charged with hope, confidence and an assured victory;” this feeling continued during actual events of the war because the “reality of battles was absented for five days,” and finally in the sixth day a “new ominous reality” and “shock” manifested itself. Shock and awe did not last for long and opened up a “new phase of rejection, challenge and resistance began” (Touqan 1993: 11; 12; 16; 85). And indeed, the discourse on June 1967 war in the Arab world usually uses the term *al-naksa* to refer that war, which is loaded with the meanings to express a state of relapse and setback, but not a total lost of war.

To most Palestinian intellectuals the 1967 defeat was not the end of war but a mere lost battle. Toufiq Zayyad and Mahmoud Darwish, two prominent Palestinian poets, put it like this when the war came to an end:

O my country, we did not float on handful of water
Therefore, we will not now get drowned in handful of water
You [Israelis] build for the now
And for tomorrow we [Palestinians] high up the building
I am deeper than the sea
And higher than the sky lamps
Inside us there is a breath
Longer than this expanded horizon in the heart of the doom

Mahmoud Darwish said:

I lost a nice dream
I lost the sting of the lilies
And may be the night was too long
On the gardens fence
However, I did not lose the way

Cited in Kanafani 1968: 61-62

The representation of the 1967 war in politics coincided with the aesthetical representation. According to Habash “the 1967 defeat constituted a great disappointment for our hopes and dreams ... we lost a battle but not the war.” Fatah echoed the same terminology as well, “the end of hope” (2009: 50). The Palestinian organizations understood the war as a possibility that “opened new horizons” (Khalaf 1981: 59) for Palestinian resistance movements to grow and develop (e.g., possibility to operate along the Jordan River, acquiring new passports, amassing weapon, etc.). Or as Arafat explained:

“Yes, the military defeat in 1967 was devastating, a disaster, *but* we had already *firmly* resolved to liberate our homeland. Our young men hastened to collect the arms that had been abandoned on the field battle in order to resist *again*.” (Arafat 1982: 7-8, emphasis added)

Furthermore, the war “opened a new horizon” for a reinterpretation of the Arab world’s reality, and thus re-orienting the focus and strategy of the Palestinian movements. This was clear in the case of the AMN:

We understood well the need to focus on the Palestinian issue if we wish to reach specific outcomes ... The armed struggle must be pivoted on the Palestinians themselves; they must organize their battle on the basis of a long-term popular liberation war, following the token of Algerian, South Yemeni and Vietnamese experience (Habash 2009: 73-74).

Additionally, it reduced the gap between Fatah and the Arab regimes, which encouraged Fatah to sacrifice its independence and ask for financial and military support from these regimes, especially Egypt (Heikal 1996: 19). The struggle in general and armed struggle in particular were very appealing notions for their resonance with the public mood after 1967. Armed struggle was the best slogan to rally the Palestinians around, to placate public opinion and recruit more people to *fida’i* activities.

After 1967, the pre-made image of the (supposedly) upcoming confrontation style was transformed. The singular form of “decisive and fateful battle” was given up both in aesthetical (e.g., poetry, literature, art) and political discourse, and instead the struggle was constituted as “a *long, persistent* and determined battle ... will *drain* the resources ... and *gradually* uncover its [Israel’s] fake image,” “waves of armed struggle,” “the struggle will *continue, escalate and expand* until the final victory is achieved,” and “the strategy of the Palestinian revolution adopts the *long-term war*,” the armed struggle to be “reinforced by *other forms* of struggle.” (PNC 4th session, emphasis added) “*The battle*” and “*decisive battle*” disappeared from the Palestinian lexicon.

A new style of ranking and temporizing had surfaced. The linkage between liberation and armed struggle continued, however, the latter began to be qualified, ordered and bound up with other political principles. The “armed

struggle for the purpose of liberating our usurped homeland will *not* be accomplished unless it *completely concurs and dovetails* with the *political actions that would complete it.*" (Ibid., emphasis added)

The previous statement expresses a particular order in which the armed struggle no longer appears as the "only means" or first on the agenda. To the contrary, it needs to be assessed according to the *political* rationale and calculation. Or indeed, it began to be seen as *only one* component of the overall struggle. For example, it was argued in the PNC 6th session that "the method of revolution is a struggle in all forms and *at the face of it* the armed struggle." As the orienting system had been put in place, the location and typology of every component became a variable that might occupy any place in the system. Therefore, the system of ordering constituted the possibility to reposition the discursive variable within statements. Articulating the armed struggle as a priority (ranks high, *etc.*) placed it in a comparative relationship with other forms of struggle and therefore excluded the opportunity of uttering it as "the only means for the liberation" or "a strategy" any more. Furthermore, subjecting the armed struggle to a comparative mechanism contradicts article 9 of the Palestinian National Charter, which considers it a "strategy, not a tactic." It is hard to imagine a subordination of "strategy" to other components.

Such comparative relationships were governed by political calculations. Consequently, the PLO's Executive Committee took over the leadership of the "military administrative department" from Liberation Army (PNC 4th session 1968, General Decisions no. 1).⁴² And in effect, more power was concentrated at the Executive Committee, which entails that means of liberation have become a subject of political reckonings. As the political rationale moved on, the position of armed struggle in the system moved with it

⁴² Before 1967 war, the Palestinian Liberation Army led the "Army Department" (PNC 3rd session 1966, Military Decisions no. 10).

until it was finally dropped to pave the way for “realism” and “peaceful settlements.”

As a result, reference to the “practice” of armed struggle was omitted. Instead, the armed struggle was articulated as a residual “right” that may (or may not) be “taken into consideration.” And finally, when the PLO had finally endorsed the “political solution” as a formal policy in late 1980s, the position of armed struggle in the political discourse changed. Statements such as confrontation of “the Israeli threats” or “the Zionist occupation” replaced the liberation-armed struggle nexus. In 1983, the PNC issued a resolution to make this point: “*taking into consideration* the importance of military preparation [i.e. not number one] to confront the Israeli *threats* [i.e., not liberation];” “*the right* of our people to practice the armed struggle to confront the *Zionist occupation*.” (PNC 17th; 18th sessions, emphasis added)

Temporizing has two effects: it defers to the final intended goal and prioritizes certain goals or steps over others. Under the title “The Scientific Orientation for Guiding the Struggle,” a new “practical and comprehensive plan for the Palestinian liberation activity” divided the struggle into “long term” and a “series of interim short plans,” and “to put an interim strategy” (PNC 4th session 1970). First of all, this entails that “the ultimate extermination of the enemy” and the liberation of Palestine are deferred and second it is something contingent upon progress in the interim and short-term plans. The title that Khalaf chose for his article, “Lowering the Sword” in 1990 is especially telling. It announces the official end of the armed struggle and signals a beginning of a new era of “peace negotiations.”

In the light of the above historical analysis of the genealogy of the basic conditions of the Palestinian discourse, it is useful at this stage to situate two more important things: one is the subject-position of Arafat which obtained very essential space in the Palestinian politics after 1948. While the second has to do with the context of the politics in and over the West Bank and Gaza, which is now, for good or bad, the spatial center of the Palestinian representative politics.

Arafat's Subject-Position and Consensus

The quota system was laid down to regulate power relations between the different organizations that joined the PLO. Also it was considered to be a vehicle to ensure the continuation of the armed struggle, the nucleus of the PLO structural reformation in 1968. The quest for “national unity,” “rule by consensus” and a “truly democratic organization” suggested such a quota system (Khalaf 1981). However, the quota structure functioned in the opposite direction. First, it was a system of appointment where the Fatah movement acquired the lion's share. Second, the “independents” category was also given a large quota —similar to Fatah's (Hamid 1975: 99-100) and they were appointed through direct and indirect intervention of the Executive Committee Chief, Arafat. Arafat managed to encumber opposition groups and continued to accumulate additional power into his position through arbitrary “expansion” of the independents' category in various PLO apparatus (e.g., PNC, the Central Council) by recruiting additional members (Ghanem 2010).

In practice, the so-called “independents” were chosen on the basis of their allegiance to Arafat's line, while the independents in the executive committee “were chosen by Arafat alone.” In so doing, the system perpetuated the hegemony of Fatah's line in the PLO's apparatus and served as a methodical mechanism for power concentration in certain positions. Fatah (among other movements) met attempts to reform the quota system with adamant resistance by arguing that such attempts would put the “national unity” and “consensus rule” in jeopardy. Furthermore, certain Arab regimes such as Syria favored this structure and intervened forcefully to thwart endeavors of reformation (Ghanem 2010: 73; Habash 2009: 157).

Consensus on political issues is at odds with the “antagonistic dimensions” of pluralist politics. It is quite unlikely to reach consensus without exclusion, even a consensus on the democratic rules means an exclusion of non-democratic ones (Mouffe 1996: 9). On the one hand, consensus encouraged autocratic

mechanisms in order to constitute such consensus by muting opposition through different means (e.g., control of central institutions, buying loyalty⁴³) and increasing the supporters' pool. On the other, extensive outnumbering of opponents inflicted a reflexive self-suspicion and intimidation because opposition would appear to contradict the general well being and national unity.

In addition to the quota system, the roots of structural power distribution go back to the initial setup of the PLO. For example, the PLO Basic Law stimulates "direct election of the PNC by the Palestinian people" (article 5), which has never been fulfilled, and at the same time it concentrates power inside the Executive Committee. The gist of the Basic Law gives prominence to Executive Committee and diminishes other institutions. This is especially evident in articles 16, 17 and 18, which distribute layers of power and authority inside the Executive Committee. Article 16, for instance, grants the Executive Committee the power to "represent the Palestinian people," "supervising the formations of the PLO," "initiation of guidelines and special decisions relevant to the PLO's activities," "implement the PLO's financial policy and preparing its budget." Meanwhile, article 18 tasks it to "form new apparatus which includes: military department, National Funds Affairs, Political and Media Affairs, Research Centers, Public Relations Department, ... the domain of every department will be governed by a special structure put by the Executive Committee." And Article 19 authorizes the Committee to "liaise and coordinate with all organizations, unions and Arab and international institutions."

Politics in/over the West Bank and Gaza

The Palestinians' chances to articulate their political interests in the West Bank and Gaza were restricted from the beginning. Since 1967, if not

⁴³ For a thorough analysis see Chapter 3 in Ghanem 2010.

before,⁴⁴ Jordan and Israel were vying for the control of that part of Palestine: Jordan, and then Israel, imposed new structural changes to serve their interests.

In the main, three central ideological strands, nationalism, Marxism and Islam, were crystallizing in addition to the rising star of the PLO in the West Bank and Gaza, especially after 1968 (Sahliyah 1988). Each of these entities had different interests and different rules and power techniques. At the same time, the rooted contradictions and competitions among these entities and ideologies found their way into the internal relations of the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza. In consequence of this complex mixture of competing entities, ideologies and interests increased tension and dynamism in the society, which opened it up for socio-politico-economic changes and furthered political fragmentation and sense of vulnerability. This encouraged the Palestinians to look outside for guidance and assurance;⁴⁵ some looked to Jordan, PLO, Israel, Islam, pan-Arabism and Marxism.

In practice, however, this translated into various amateurish choices, usually taken and abandoned abruptly, from within the West Bank. For example, some envisaged a “transitional” alliance with Jordan while others sought a Palestinian state or autonomy in the in the West Bank and Gaza in exchange for peace with Israel. The PLO denounced these choices and declared them to be “deviant,” “defeatist” and “treason” endeavors. Ironically as the time went by, the PLO re-articulated the same choices at different stages and with almost the same criteria.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Based on archival research, Pappé argues that Israel was preparing to take over the West Bank and Gaza before 1967 (see Pappé 2012).

⁴⁵ For a thorough analysis see Chapter 3 in Ghanem 2010.

⁴⁶ The independent state choice proposed a 5-year transitional period and after that Israel would withdraw from WBG, during that time the Palestinians in WBG would prove their commitment to security arrangements (Sahliyah 1988: ch.3). These criteria were inscribed in Oslo Accords. Moreover, the PLO signed an agreement with Jordan in 1985 with aim of establishing a confederation between the WBG and Jordan.

The internal politics and social life in Palestine were not a priority for the PLO because it was more concerned with building a proto-state structure in Lebanon. Early on Said underlined the misgivings of the such policy: “the connection between those achievements [in South Lebanon] and freeing the occupied territories from Israeli military occupation was not reflected upon enough, was not therefore a central project.” (Said 1983: 7)

While in mid-1980s, this policy was reversed 180 degrees: the West Bank and Gaza became the touchstone of the PLO attention and politics as idea of a Palestinian state on a small part of Palestinian matured enough. Headings like “the Occupied Homeland Affairs,” the “Occupied Homeland” began to appear on the agenda of the PNC discussions. And when the *intifada* broke out in December 1987, the PLO adopted the motto: “no voice loader then the voice of the *intifada*.”⁴⁷ This signifies how the PLO focus has been channeled to the West Bank and Gaza since then.

Before proceeding to discuss the Palestinian-made scenarios for solving the question of Palestine it may be useful to recap the main points made in this chapter. The general aim of chapter is to highlight the situation and conditions of the Palestinian political discourse after *an-Nakba*. The first section shows how *an-Nakba* became a touchstone in the Palestinian spatial and temporal awareness. Then I focus on the metaphor in the word *an-Nakba*: broken physical links between Palestine and the Palestinians. In the third section, the discussion moves to investigate the organizing system of the Palestinian discourse that includes: ‘self,’ ‘other,’ and context interpretative conditions. The main argument is that Palestine has ceased to be imagined as a geographic and demographic ‘totality,’ rather a mixture of contingent

⁴⁷ “No Voice Loader than then Voice of the Intifada” was the slogan and the opening header of every flyer disseminated during the first *Intifada* in 1987.

components and divisions. I argued that *an-Nakba* de-articulated Palestine and thereafter a new discursive reconstruction emerged.

Several orienting political concepts developed out of the new situation. In this regard, I examined the concept of liberation (*al-tahrir*) and the armed struggle and the nexus between them in the Palestinian discourse after 1948. I concluded that both concepts started to recede as the PLO began to consider diplomatic options until they disappeared completely and gave way to the notion of “political settlement” through negotiations. The analysis ended with a contextualization of two recurrent notions: Arafat subject-position and the politics in–and-over the West Bank and Gaza.

A Solution: Remaking the Joints

Provisional Horizons

The Palestinians have perceived their present (which now belongs to the past) as a provisional phase. A wide range of everyday patterns such as economy, infrastructure, political decisions, organizations, laws and institutions were considered temporary arrangements. For example, the APG, first Palestinian institution after 1948, called its Basic Law “temporary” (*mu’aqqat*). And even ordinary people shared this rationale, for instance, the refugees and the “internally displaced” considered (and perhaps still see) their exile a temporary condition and anticipated a return to their original villages (Sabbagh-Khoury 2011). The set of rules that have organized the Palestinian political vision is an accumulation of an unstable, indeterminate and narrow political horizon. While a rationale of long-term planning was lacking and therefore the Palestinian re/actions were often incoherent, conflicting and short-lived.

Living within an interpretation of the present as a provisional state spurred a chain of orientations and inferences that helped the construction of the ‘self,’ ‘other/s,’ relationships, context and choices according to this allegorical image of reality. From this vantage point, the loss of Palestine was construed as provisional loss and thus to regain it, was inevitable at some point in the future. Moreover, self-other representation and the relationships between

them (i.e., identity⁴⁸) were constructed with temporal nuances that inferred possibilities of change and reformation.

No doubt that such a basic interpretation has significant concrete entailments. Firstly, the Palestinian dispersion (*al-shatat al-falastini*) and living-style had been regularized by the idea that *an-Nakba* would come to an end when the exiled Palestinians returned to their homes. Nevertheless, to undo the contingent present (dispersion and exile in this case) the refugees must return (*al-'awda*) to Palestine, this “necessitates an armed struggle.” The title of Kanafani’s novel, *Return to Haifa*, (1970) captures this conceptual thread. At the end of the novel, Abu Khalid (the novel’s key character and a Palestinian refugee from Haifa) conceded to the Jewish family that occupies his house to continue to live in it “temporarily”, because “that thing [return] would require a war to be realized.”

Palestinian politics have been caught up in a thinking mechanism that produces temporary, interim and provisional outcomes. It is a self-fulfilling mechanism that proved useful in justifying why a certain path was or was not taken. The capricious political oscillations and dramatic shifts between liberation, democratic state, Ten-Point Programme, confederation with Jordan and two-state solution were all represented as “provisional” moves. The provisional mode of thinking is deeply present in Palestinian life, especially since the Oslo Project was put into motion.⁴⁹ Palestinian calculations have been contingent upon the hope that the future might be better, but still highly uncertain and unpredictable —not because it is impossible to predict, but rather because self-determination and sovereignty are unfulfilled in the prediction equation. Undoubtedly, the future remains uncertain, however, the inability to exercise prediction exacerbates the feeling of uncertainty and

⁴⁸ The representation of the ‘self’, ‘other’ and relationship between ‘self/other’ informs identity building. Meaning and identity are the outcome of contingent construction of links (not pre-existing) between ‘self’ and the ‘other’ (cf. Campbell 1998: 23).

⁴⁹ Provisional thinking is also evident in daily projects like infrastructure projects, NGOs services, etc.

everything therefore becomes, to use the literal expressions that the Palestinian leadership has been echoing, “temporary”, “provisional” and “interim”.

Two things are inferred when we refer to a subject (e.g., policy or a situation) as a temporary: first, there is dissatisfaction with the current status of the subject, and second, it implies a certain timeframe, a beginning and an end to the designated temporary phase. In any case, the timeframe was virtually never articulated in the Palestinian discourse. Leaving the timeframe of what was pronounced “temporary” undetermined, blurs the boundaries between the provisional and permanent and facilitates the transition from one policy to another without discernible contradictions. Indeed, it provided self-comfort, expedient justification and a weapon against opponents. And on the other hand, leadership “mistakes” or “concessions” were constructed temporary ones and followed by the usual litany: “*atamassuk bi al-thawabt al-wataniyya*” (adhering to the national consonants in English). The aim of this formulation is indeed rhetorical and serves the internal consumption to help the leadership argue that the “ultimate” goals were not given up. I will be discussing this further in another place later.

From the Palestinian perspective, Zionism and the birth of Israel represented an existential problem and never a completed reality. Israel, as matter of fact, situates on the Palestinian existence (*kayan*) therefore the struggle has been on the same space of existence. The “same space” is an essential component of the Palestinian and Zionist identities and neither Palestinianism nor Zionism would have been possible without the geographic space called, Palestine.⁵⁰ How to manage that space (the lost home for Palestinians and the gained home for Zionists) in conjunction with its new facts (demography, power

⁵⁰ Palestinianism in the contemporary sense would not have been possible because identity making unfolds through space and time. Undoubtedly, had Zionism not colonized Palestine and the Arab world not been dissected by Sykes-Picot Agreement, a different identification might have been adopted.

relations, difference and competing narratives) has been the concern of Palestinian politics. Managing the space, which is intimately related to the Palestinian identity (see Khalidi 1997), is what sustains the link between the space (Palestine) and the people (the Palestinians).

Political and “referential” logics provided vocabulary for possible modes of management. The first mode suggests administering Mandatory Palestine after liberation. This entailed the expulsion of the Zionists, and in this case only the “native” Palestinians (inclusive of Palestinian Jews) would achieve self-determination Palestine. However, referral to democracy and other liberal political concept inspired the construction of the democratic state over entire Palestine for all, Arab-Palestinians and Jews, as a possible solution. The second mode suggests a partial management of Palestine by establishing a Palestinian state on any “liberated” part; this has been developed into what is known now as the two-state solution in the late 1980s. In either mode, liberation continued to be a key nodal point and a driving force in the Palestinian discourse. Liberation of course meant different things at different stages. The relations between liberation and the vocabulary that constitutes its contents were replaced, changed or dropped.

Before turning the discussion to the concept of liberation in the Palestinian discourse, a brief reminder about discourse, political representation and language is apt here. Language is an important space for the constitution of power-relations and meaningful political acts, and therefore examining statements of certain politicians is a key method of finding the discursive “rules of formation.” However, it does not matter who these politicians are, the analysis focus goes beyond individualities and intentions to the subject-position from which they speak. As such, while looking at statements associated with particular individual names I concerned with the kind of authority and representativeness with which they speak.

Liberation as Restoration of the Past

Defining the context of events before the *an-Nakba* as colonialism while maintaining no distinction between Zionism and colonialism (Zionism is perceived as an “organic part of colonialism”) enabled the Palestinians to extrapolate analogies between themselves and other national movements. The fine disparities between them, Zionism and colonialism, were obscured by this representation and continued to be under-studied. The same analogy informed the imagined solution as: liberating Palestine and resisting the colonialists (Zionists) until they recoil.

Fatah’s founders (among other Palestinian movements’ leaders) represented themselves as embracing democratic principles and being the voice of the public. When they joined the PLO in 1968, the democratic elements migrated into the Palestinian collective organizations (e.g., PLO, PNC) and later they were transformed into moments in the linguistic game articulating liberation. Introducing democratic terminology into the definition of liberation suggested a re-evaluation and re-imagination of the liberationist means, that is, the armed struggle.

Democracy is sensitive to the nuances and details of any group; therefore a new space was opened up to signify the difference between Judaism and Zionism. Initially, the Palestinian representatives considered only “the Jews from a Palestinian origin” to be Palestinians (PLO Qawmi Charter 1964), however, in 1968 this perspective was replaced by another which considered Jews who were living in Palestine “since the beginning of the Zionist invasion of Palestine” as Palestinians (PLO National Charter 1968). This distinction is compatible with Palestinianism as it is an inclusive pluralist dominator, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The democratic moments and the distinction made between Judaism and Zionism, discussed in Chapter 3, contributed to the reconstruction of liberation as a rejection of Zionism, not the Jews, in Palestine. And at the same time, it provided a framework to reconfigure the concept of liberation in the form of an inclusive state: a democratic state for all, over entire Palestine. Accordingly,

the contents of “liberation” were equivalent to: (1) “termination of the [Zionist] entity in Palestine”, (2) “return of the Palestinian people to their homeland” and (3) establishing a Palestinian democratic state over the entire Palestinian soil sans all forms of racist discrimination and religious bigotry” (PNC 6th session 1969, appendix 1). As “the Palestinian democratic state” filtered through the common language, a more complex liberal and statist political language ran through the representation of the struggle.

New discursive elements were integrated into the content of liberation and soon previous terminology that used to define “struggle” as being against colonialism and imperialism (including Zionism) were gradually abandoned. The regularity of juxtaposing “liberation,” “struggle,” “democratic state for all,” “equality of rights and obligations,” “coexistence,” “no discrimination” increased significantly. Indeed, these terminologies and their metaphorical entailments — that is, what is beyond what they are saying, guided decision-makers’ imaginative (or “strategic”) thinking. The meaning of the “armed struggle” (which was articulated as a means of liberation) has transformed into a means to achieve the assumed liberal principles. The PNC declared that, “the Palestinian struggle aims to liberate the entire Palestine [and to establish] a society where all citizens coexist with equal rights and obligations (PNC 7th session 1970, Appendix 1).

Since September 1969, the chain of equivalence that juxtaposes old conceptions (liberationist struggle, state over entire Palestine and armed struggle) with new ones imported from the liberal political language (democratic state, democratic and liberal concepts) regulated the way of thinking about the solution. Establishing an inclusive and democratic state over entire Palestine evolved as “the strategic goal” (Khalaf 1981: 67-68). In 1971, “the Democratic Palestinian State” had become a topic and headline for the PNC discussions (PNC 8th session 1971). Absorbing liberal political language into the Palestinian discourse destabilized previous meanings of liberation, statehood and armed struggle. Instead, liberation, state and armed struggle were reconstructed to accord with the embedded package of new relationships between them and democracy/liberalism. As such, the

interdiscursive (between old and migrating discourses) match and mismatch reproduced the meaning of struggle and liberation afresh. For example, the wording of the “armed struggle was re-formed in order to take out certain elements incoherent with the tenants of democracy: “the armed struggle is not an ethnic or a sectarian struggle against the Jews,” but to liberate Palestine from of “the Zionist colonialism” (Ibid.).

Yet, discourse is not contradiction free. The overall conflicting relationship between the means (armed struggle) and the ends (democratic/liberal values) remained unexamined, the Palestinian political representative bodies hardly pondered the contradiction.

Along with this transformation and the appearance of a different chain of equivalence, new concepts appeared while others were de-articulated or disappeared altogether. What was remarkable in 1970 was the introduction of the concept of “conflict” and “Israel” in place of colonialism and Zionism to the discourse. The word “Israel” was never (or rarely) used before without qualifications and euphemisms such as “the entity” or “Zionist entity” (*al-kayan al-suhywni*) to signify Israel and convey a rejection, negation and minimization of the *de-facto* reality of Israel. Describing the situation as a conflict enacted the possibilities for different solutions, which were ruled out when the situation was configured as a colonialist conquest. Firstly, with the latter representation, the armed struggle was considered to be “the only road to liberate Palestine”. Whereas in representing the situation as a “conflict with Israel”, armed struggle became “the only solution for the current conflict between us [Palestinians] and Israel” (Ibid.). Secondly, the twofold relation within the “armed struggle” itself (armed plus struggle) was broken and de-articulated⁵¹ into other combinations like “popular struggle”, “people revolutionary war is the main road to liberate Palestine”, “popular

⁵¹ Reference to the armed struggle decreased significantly after 1968 (1973 4 times, 1981 1 time) until it disappeared in official discourse.

revolutionary war” (PNC 7th session 1970) and “long-term popular war” (PNC 8th, exceptional session 1970).

Liberation as Establishing a Palestinian State over any “Liberated” Part

The six years between 1967 and 1973 was a period of reflection, reform and redistribution of Palestinian institutions, apparatus, policies, justifications and conceptions of reality. The precipitous transition to “liberation as a democratic state over the entire Palestine” left little time to mediate on the moves (e.g., policies, decisions, regulations and reforms) that followed this transition. Hence deeming these moves “temporary” and “interim” was the primary justification (PNC 8th session 1971), even a new committee called the “interim plan committee” was established to handle “interim” arrangements even a new committee called the “interim plan committee” was established to handle “interim” arrangements that paved the way for the (supposedly) temporary phase (PNC 11th session 1973). In June 1974, the “Interim Political Plan”, Ten-point Programme, or the Temporary Political Programme (*al-barnamij al-siyyasi al-marhali, barnamij al-nuqat al-‘ashr*) became the official policy of the PLO.

The idea of a Palestinian self-governing body on a small area of Palestine⁵² was already available in the general political discourse about Israel-Palestine, and it was on the menu of what could be said about the conflict. To be sure, two UN resolutions (res. 181 and 242) underscored the establishment of that “self-governing body” over specific geographical boundaries as an international law requirement. This idea enjoyed (in theory⁵³) the support of

⁵² The UNSC resolution 181, the Partition Plan, allocated about 43 percent of the total area of Mandatory Palestine to a Palestinian self-governing body. Whereas, resolution 242 allocated the land that Israel occupied in the course of 1967 War, which constitutes about 22 percent of Palestine.

⁵³ The US support for the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza is theoretical and was not followed in practice. In fact, the US blocked the establishment of a Palestinian state in 2011 by raising its veto power in the Security Council 2011 and voted

the superpowers and international institutions, and most Arab regimes (mainly Egypt) entertained it as well. For example, President Nassir quipped Fatah's "unrealistic" position on Rogers Plan; he said: "a mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza is better than nothing". (Khalaf 1981: 78). The PLO factions rejected the Rogers' proposal categorically, while the PNC declared such an effort to be a "suspicious call to initiate a fake Palestinian entity". The PNC represented the proposed self-government in West Bank and Gaza like this:

The truth of such [proposed] *fake* [Palestinian] entity would resemble in its reality an Israeli colony, which would liquidate the Palestinian cause completely in favor of Israel's interest. Simultaneously, it would be only a *temporary period to enable the Zionists to evacuate the Palestinian land occupied after 5 June [1967] from its Arab residents. It is the beginning to annex [the occupied land in 1967] to the Israeli entity and establish a collaborating Arab administration ... the PNC untimely denounces the idea of a fake Palestinian entity ... and any form of international protection. The PNC declares that any Arab-Palestinian or non-Palestinian individual or group calling for, or supporting this collaborating entity and international protection is an enemy of the Arab-Palestinians and the Arab nation. (PNC 4th session 1968, emphasis added)*

The PNC also urged the PLO to

firmly resist all peaceful and surrender solutions, and rejection of all agreements, resolutions and plans that contradict the right of the Palestinian people to the entirety of its homeland. [Rejection of] the UN resolutions, Security Council Resolution on 22 November 1967, the Soviet Plan and other similar plans. (PNC 5th session 1969, emphasis added)

The terminology received from political theory, international relations, UN resolutions and diplomatic initiatives swept through the Palestinian discourse. Consequently, a significant discursive effort was dedicated to deliberate these terminologies: their meanings, entailments, whether to accept it or not and so forth, until they melted into each other. It is hard today to imagine what a Palestinian discourse would be like without these inputs. The above citations illustrate the point. What is more important than PLO's rejection (and later acceptance) of resolution 242 was the interpretative process that ensued, which involved reference to various intertwined relations, laws, rules, technical

against the recognition of the Palestine as an observing member of the UN General Assembly in 2012.

terms and international political institutions to construct a stance on the examined subject, be it the UN resolutions or diplomatic initiatives. I will discuss this referential device in more details in Chapter 6.

The terminological matrix that constituted the framework of a “settlement” (*al-taswiya*), a Palestinian state rather than parts of Palestine, introduced a novel and competing possibility (whether it was rejected or accepted) in parallel to the democratic state over entire Palestine or Palestine liberation. One of the conclusions drawn out of this competition was the “distinction [made] between [accepting] a settlement and giving up” (Khalaf 1981: 132). Key figures in Fatah’s Central Committee contemplated a “settlement” that would lead to a “mini-state [*duwayla*] in the West Bank and Gaza in event Israel returns this land”. It is worth mentioning that this point was made in a policy report “explaining the strategy and the tactic Fatah should adopt ... the report was met by stark objection and it was therefore maintained in archive awaiting better day” (Ibid. 134). Then, the idea of a “mini-state” was out there pending an “event” which could be interpreted as a suitable time that opens up the possibility to interpellate⁵⁴ people to it, or where people derive their own subjectivity and attachment to the idea of a “mini-state”.

The interactions and deliberations on the imagined and proposed solutions, and political initiatives for resolving the conflict helped to construct new divisions, groups and framings according to the political position of the subject on these solutions at different periods —i.e. manufacturing subjectivities. First, anyone who did not support an all-out “revolution” to liberate the entire Palestine was represented as a “deviant and defeatist” (PNC 5th session, 1969) and put into the “reactionary” camp (*al-raj'iyyun*) (PNC 6th, 1969). In a few years, gradual linguistic shifts helped erasing the word “entire” (Palestine) and substituted it by the phrase: “any liberated part of ...”

⁵⁴ On the concept of interpellation see Althussur (1971: 174-82), also see Weldes (1999: 103-07) and Butler (1997).

Although the interim programme was approved unanimously, differences over its interpretation soon appeared. Given the transitional and provisional interpretative horizons of the Palestinian leadership, the “partitioning of Palestine” was perceived as, “a necessary transitional phase which will usher the establishment of a unified democratic state one day.” (Al-Hout 1977: 11, emphasis added) On this account, some interpreted the interim programme to be only a ladder to continue the struggle from within a liberated land, but never an end in itself. According to Habash (2009: 130) the “PFLP accepted the establishment of national Palestinian authority over every liberated part of the Palestinian land and continuation of the liberation battle from there.” Certain interpretations of the regional and international context put the whole idea of *stage-by-stage* policy in doubt. Habash explained, “We are still living in a stage characterized by a clear imbalance of power to the advantage of the enemy. This means, a priori, that it is impossible to wrest even a minimum legitimate Palestinian national right, let alone achieve the implementation of the a stage-by-stage strategic program for Palestinian national struggle.” (Habash 1985: 9, emphasis added) However, for other groups the interim programme was an end in itself and they welcomed it as, “a great achievement”, “national programme, the programme of return, the right to self-determination and the independent state.” (Hawatmeh 1979b: 136; see also Khalaf 1979: 138).

The period between 1967 and 1973 witnessed two contradictory events. On the one hand, the popularity of Palestinian movements increased significantly after the *al-Karama* battle, and on the other hand, an “existential threat” was looming in 1970. King Hussein of Jordan was about to “put an end to the existence of the Palestinian resistance” (Habash 2009: 102) and “erase Palestine from the map and language”. (Khalaf 1981: 71-72). The competition between King Hussein and the PLO over the representation of the Palestinians and the fate of the West Bank consumed much of the PLO’s energy. Jordan was declared a United Kingdom and assumed the right to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians. Verbal attacks on the Jordanian regime augmented the tension between the PLO and the Jordanian regime and its army. Besides that, a special organization called “the Black

September” and a policy called “the Ghost War” were put in motion to carry out revenge activities against the Hashemite regime and destabilize it. Many groups in the PLO admitted that spurring a “*coup d’état* in Jordan was the goal”. (Habash 2009: 102). Nonetheless, the phase that would follow when the *imagined* coup remained amorphous and under-articulated. The Ajloun battle between the *Fida’iyyun* and Jordan’s Army in 1971 represented “the end of the Palestinian movement expansion era” (Khalaf 1981: 71-72). “There was no refuge for the resistance ... it is necessary to establish a state *even on one inch*” (Ibid. 136, emphasis added). The phrase, “even on one inch”, reveals the depth of internal tension between grand hopes and immediate ones.

What made the PLO embrace the interim programme? The facile, and perhaps an axiomatic answer to this question appears, by espousing the interim programme with immediate past events. Drawing a causal relationship between the Egyptian-Israeli war in October 1973 and the Ten-Point Programme may appear self-evident. Before going any further, it is worthwhile examining how the war was constructed as a critical event. The theme of the PNC 12th session in 1974 represented the “October War” as an “historical event in the life of the Arab nation and Palestinian people”, it “moved the Middle East issue ... from no-war-no-peace status”, UNSC resolution 338 that “confirms resolution 242”, and made it possible to ask for an international conference in Geneva. Habash depicted the war as “a psychological victory” (Habash 2009: 133). The construction of the “October War”⁵⁵ as a significant watershed coincided with the already well-founded and elaborated infrastructure of the provisional mode of thinking, and with a period of internally undecided political platforms and objectives. Accordingly, the war was seen to “put an end to the politics of everything or nothing”, “taking partial decisions” and “adjust the goals according to reality” (Khalaf 1981: 130). In

⁵⁵ In the Arab world, including Palestinians, the war that broke out between Egypt and Israel in October 1973 is designate as “October War”, whereas Israel calls it “Yom Kippur War”; and Western academia adopted the Israeli version.

practice this was the first building block leading to the Oslo Process, which transformed the “end of everything or nothing” into a strategy entitled, “getting rid of occupation gradually”. (Abu-Alaa 2006: 26).

Shortly after the declaration of the Ten-point Programme concerted Arab and international venues were opened up for the Palestinian movement. The Arab regimes (via the Arab League) recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people; the UN did the same and went even further to recognize the Palestinians as a “people”. In November 1974, Arafat was given the chance to speak from the UN General Assembly’s podium before the largest international conglomeration. Indeed, he was transformed from being a “terrorist” to being a symbol of the Palestinian people and its cause. This accumulation and elevation of the PLO, recognition of the Palestinian people self-determination and the invitation to speak in international forums was considered to be a significant achievement by the Palestinians: “we have reached our goals ... we are no longer outlawed terrorist gangs and killers.” (Khalaf 1981: 134) In effect, a long and detailed process of socialization and assimilation commenced inside the Palestinian movement. The PLO embarked on revising and reconsidering its position within the framework of the 1974 “achievements” as follows:

Neither the traditional ‘No’ ... is revolutionary and an answer, nor ‘Yes’ is a form of betrayal. To the contrary, rejection could be a method for escape [taking decisive decisions] ... our ancestors’ rejection of the offers [for solving the Israel-Palestine conflict] ... helped the Zionist project ... Why did not the Palestinians accept a *temporary* solution as the Zionists did? (Khalaf 1981: 133, emphasis added)

The year 1974 could be described as the year that opened up the PLO’s socialization process in line with the precepts of international politics, relations and foreign policies. For the first time, the PLO was recognized by the UN as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, a UN recognition of the Palestinians as a people, affirmation of the Palestinian right to self-determination, and previous UNSC resolution with regard to Palestine, among them the resolution number 194 (the right of return). Arafat made a speech on the UN podium. The process of socialization was put in motion and began to bear fruit since then. It ushered gradual internalization, learning and

incorporation of the UN, political and legal discourse into the PLO's worldviews, which filtered all the way through into the Palestinian political discourse until the UN resolutions became the rules of the game and the framework of the PLO's politics, often referred to as "*al-shar'iyya al-dawliyya*" (international legitimacy in English).

The transition from one-state to, "a state on any liberated part" was justified as being a temporary and interim "phase", yet without any imaginable timeline. This gloss-over falsely entails forthcoming phases albeit implicit and un-deliberated. Although the Ten-point Programme was deemed to be provisional, it was actually the accumulation of a fragmented and contradictory discursive formulation that had stretched over half a decade. It produced new grounding rules and regulations that still influence the Palestinian discursive flow.

The Ten-point Programme invalidated and replaced the rule of "everything or nothing" and the rejection of a "political settlement" born out of political pragmatism logic. Liberation, which used to be considered as an indivisible objective, was divided according to the imperatives of the acclaimed "political realism". As such, a whole set of new political concepts and terminology were incorporated into the Palestinian discourse.

Politics is said to be the art of the possible, however, certain framing of a particular matter is what construes it as possible or impossible, let alone political or apolitical. What the PLO once constructed as a possible (e.g., liberating the entire Palestine, terminating Zionism, rejection of UN resolutions, *etc.*) was reconstructed as impossible and unrealistic. For example, the PLO vindicated the rejection of resolution 242 as the following: resolution 242 means: (1) "a de-facto recognition of Israel", (2) "relinquishes the fundamental right of the Arab-Palestinian people to its entire homeland", (3) "commitment to Israel's security from the Arab states", (4) "an introduction to curb the *fi da'iyyun* activities", (5) "terminates the Palestinian revolution", (6) "establishing a demographic and geographical barrier that divides the east

and west Arab world”, (7) “increases the power of imperialism” and (8) “stabs the armed Palestinian struggle” (cf. PNC 4th 1968; 5th 1969).

However, when the interim logic became the rule, the PLO “reject[ed] to deal with” resolution 242. Namely, it did not reject the resolution itself. Moreover, the “ultimate rejection and resistance of ... negotiation with the imperialist-occupier and the Zionist enemy” (PNC 8th special session 1970) was also replaced by an implicit endorsement of negotiation with Israel. The PNC declared that, “no Arab state or leader is allowed to *negotiate* on behalf of the Palestinian people and its sole and true representative, the PLO”. Hence, the issue concerned who was “allowed [and not allowed] to negotiate” (PNC 12th session Ten-point Programme 1974). Remarkably, 1974 led to a proliferation of ambiguity in the Palestinian discourse. Expressions used to articulate the PLO’s stance since 1974 were undecided, amenable and more flexible compared with the vocabulary of the 1950s and 1960s.

The Egyptian-Israeli bilateral “peace” gestures (e.g., Sadat visit) in the late 1970s, which culminated in the signing of the Camp David Accords, were an important interpretative period for the Palestinians and occupied ample space in the Palestinian discourse at the time. The overwhelming majority of Palestinians categorically denounced that Egyptian-Israeli agreement. Camp David was constructed as an existential threat that aimed “to liquidate the Palestinian cause and end the role of the PLO”, (Khalaf 1979: 140) and “a new enslavement of the Palestinian people. It requires us to renounce the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause” (Arafat 1979: 198), “conspiracy” (Habash 1979: 134), “defeatist move” (Hawatemh 1979a: 193), “the most dangerous of these conspiracies” (Fatah Central Committee 1978), “the most dangerous link in the chain of the hostile conspiracy that has been unfolding since 1948”, “Camp David agreement constitutes a total surrender by Sadat”, “self-government sanctions the Zionist enemy’s aim of turning the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into a colony subject to perpetual occupation.” (PLO Executive Committee 1979: 177-78) and so forth. Therefore, such a threat compelled, “a cohesive Palestinian stand in confronting the Camp David conspiracy” (Habash 1979: 134) and to wage a “struggle against Camp David

Agreements”, “thwarting the Egyptian-Israeli treaty and self-government plan is the most immediate task on the agenda ...” (DFLP 1979: 200, emphasis added).

The Rise of the Two-States Solution

Examining the construction of the “Camp David’s threat” from the Palestinian perspective shows two things: firstly, the logic of negotiation and rapprochement was not denounced *per se*. In fact, the PLO was very keen on negotiation under the cover of an international conference. Secondly, what was a concern for the Palestinians is the fact that Camp David excluded them (the PLO) and offered only “a deformed autonomous rule, and nothing more” (Khalaf 1979: 145). The “shock” of Anwar al-Sadat’s visit to Jerusalem in 1977 re-united the PLO again (i.e. The Rejection Front was dissolved) and the “Steadfastness Front for restraining and boycotting Egypt” was formed. Ironically, this shock offered no incentive to rethink the politics of phases mentioned earlier; on the contrary, it revalidated this political vision. The Steadfastness Front called for a “clear policy” which includes: a Palestinian state, right to return and Israeli withdrawal from the land occupied in 1967 (Habash 2009: 152-59).

A “Palestinian National Authority” (which is less than a state) was proposed as the governing body during the interim and transitional phase. Accordingly, the National Authority intercepted the content of liberation and armed struggle. The Ten-point Programme argued that, “the PLO struggles by all means and at the top of it, the armed struggle to liberate the Palestinian land and establish the fighting and independent National Authority of the people on every liberated part of the Palestinian land.” (Ten-point Programme 1974, emphasis added) Words like “liquidating”, “exterminating”, “the Zionist entity”, “liberating the entire Palestine” were discontinued. The National Authority, “after being established”, would be responsible “for unifying confrontation countries” (*tawhid duwal al-muwajaha*) to pursue the struggle towards the entire liberation of Palestine (Ibid. article 8). The introduction of the Palestinian National Authority entailed that the struggle, firstly, should wait

until that Authority was instituted. Hence, this authority and the “liberated part” (on which the authority would be founded) would be gained through negotiation, or at least not through the armed struggle. In other words, the armed struggle was neutralizing. Secondly, liberation was no longer the (direct) objective of the struggle; the “complete liberation” and the “democratic Palestinian state” would wait for another phase. Instead, the struggle had to be directed towards “unifying confrontation countries.”

In a step towards performing the “temporary” measures and putting the National Authority into reality, three remarkable things took place. Firstly, the PLO began to classify Palestine temporally into “occupied land of 1948” vis-à-vis “occupied land of 1967”. Secondly, it naturalized itself with international law language, which provided a reservoir of referential concepts (e.g., “the Palestinian inviolable national rights”, “realization of our firm rights endorsed by the UN since 1974, especially resolution 3236” (PNC 13th session 1977)). Finally, it reconsidered the representation of “Israelis” (not Zionism or the Jews). Before 1977 almost every Israeli was condemned as “an enemy regardless of his/her ideological beliefs”. (Khalaf 1981: 22). In 1977, Mahmoud Abbas, a member of PLO Executive Committee and current President of the PLO and PA, motivated by the maxim “know your enemy” conducted a research on Israel’s demographic character. He concluded that at least 50 percent of Israel’s citizens are oriental Jews (i.e., those who used to live in Arab countries and moved to Israel later). He therefore imagined a possibility of building a “dialogue” with this category in order “to reach peace” (Abbas 1994: 25-26).

In the PNC’s 13th session (1977), “contacting and coordinating with the democratic, progressive Jewish forces” was admitted in principle and performed in reality. The inability of the Palestinian leadership before *an-Nakba* to attract (at least) some of the Jewish individuals into the Palestinian movement was considered to be a “failure” (Khalaf 1981: 29). In 1984 “contacts with Jewish forces” became a key subject for discussion on the agenda (PNC 17th session). Since then, the taboo of contacting Israelis was

fully repudiated. The development in the representation of Zionism, Jews and Israel, explained in Chapter 4, also played a significant role.

The Liberation Decline and Rise of the Two-state Solution

We may be more understandable if we say: *a safe haven, no matter how small* it might be, or *an embassy*, where any Palestinian could resort to if s/he is hurt or threatened. This is the *primary aspiration for every Palestinian* ... On the second day, after celebrating the *establishment of a state in the liberated territories of the West Bank and Gaza we will begin distributing Identity Cards*. It is possible that *many* Palestinians would decide not live in the new state for practical reasons. However, they could live in another Arab country without stress and complexities! ... And if they feel threatened for some reason or another they could return to Palestine [or more precisely the Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza], there would be no discrimination against them.

... there would not be any *Palestinian sabotage activities (nashatat takhribiyya falastiniyya)* when we have a state to lead and protect, and *extremism would disappear from our ranks* and even from the ranks of the 'Rejection Front' ... (Khalaf 1981: 213-14, emphasis added)

So wrote Salah Khalaf more than a decade before the official inauguration peace process in the Madrid Conference in 1991. The ostensible circulation of psychological vulnerability coupled with the fervent pursuit of a state or statist institutions (embassy, ID cards, passport, etc.) as an assertion and performance of a Palestinian identity in the form of hard documents (that can be shown to others) are not a novelty in the Palestinian everyday life. Indeed, these facts have been unfolding since *an-Nakab*, if not before. However, what is new in Khalaf's argument is: firstly, the loaded proposition that construes the Palestinian state the ultimate answer to Palestinian vulnerabilities and needs. Secondly, he espouses these needs with a defined territorial dimension that accedes with resolution 242, which the PLO continued to resist (publically?) until 1988. Thirdly, the argument implies a shift from, or a reinterpretation of, the Ten-point Programme into what has been called later a two-state solution. Fourthly, his argument implicitly considers the two-state solution without fulfilling the return of the refugees. Fifthly, he literally internalizes and adopts the Israeli narrative of Palestinian activities (often signified as a "struggle," *nidal*) and refers to these acts as a "Palestinian sabotage activities." The exact terminology has been in use in the Israeli Arabic radio and Hebrew media: "*Pe'ulat Khabala Festetina'it*" in Hebrew.

What is far more important in these arguments is *the* time. These statements appeared before the Israeli war on Lebanon in 1982; therefore, any claim that considers the Israeli war on Lebanon in 1982 as the *cause* for a PLO policy transformation is dubious.

Once the principle of establishing mini-state on parts of Palestine approved, the discursive field was infiltrated by series of “statist” terminology, concepts and phrases such as: “independent and national Palestinian state”, “national rights”, “national interest”, “to establish just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East”, “human rights”, “Geneva conventions with regard to occupied population” (PNC 17th session 1984), “international legitimacy” (PNC 20th session 1991). All of these phrases modulated the Palestinian self-understanding of their rights. In 1988 the Palestinian rights (*al-huqwq al-falastiniyya*) were articulated as “self-determination”, “right to return”, “independent state” over the “occupied Palestinian territories”, “Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian occupied land in 1967 including the Arab Jerusalem”, “establishing temporary government” (PNC 19th session 1988). In the Palestinian common political language these rights are now called: “the unchanged national rights”, the “consonants” as a shorthand (*al-thawabt al-wataniyya*). However, the means to achieve this list of right was left unconstructed and unarticulated, therefore everything remained flexible, open-ended and contingent upon what political realism may offer.

At least since the late 1980s, co-option of the PLO by the “triumphant” realist-liberalist conception of the world (after the collapse of Soviet Union) became increasingly visible (see PNC 20th 1991). For the Palestinian leadership, the collapse of the Soviet Union signified a severance with the past; it believed that everything has to start anew. While the war on Iraq in 1991 was construed as something that ushered “a new reality”, which, to their mind, compels the PLO “to give [an] absolute priority to peace in the Middle” and reckon with “international legality [which] the issue has become of central importance.” (al-Hassan 1992: 31; 36; 39) This wishful perspective of “a new vision” imposed itself on the political schema. It tried to distance itself from past frameworks of the struggle (i.e., armed struggle) and to replace them

with a political settlement. Khaled al-Hassan, a senior Palestinian leader, captures this point in arguing that:

If these events [*détente*, ‘end of Iraq-Iran war’ and ‘global economy’] marked the *end of an era and open the way to a new vision* of the *new* world, it is because they have necessitated a *new* form of thinking, a *new* way of dealing with a *new* chapter in our lives. (Ibid. 15-16, emphasis added)

By the same train of thoughts, Khalaf contended that due to the “change in the world order”, “unpredictable global balance”, “Communism, as an ideology appears to be in wane”, “the rise of Islamic fundamentalism even among the Palestinians” issues of “self-determination, freedom, and basic human rights” are among the important issues on the global political agenda. All of this propelled a “pragmatic” position because, after all, “Palestinians are part of this change”. The new “world order” was constructed into an opportunity to restore the Palestinian rights, self-determination and statehood only *if* they become pragmatic and realistic. Pragmatism was juxtaposed with, and formulated as an equivalent to a “negotiated settlement”, “offering a two-state solution” and flexibility/ambiguity on the right of return (Khalaf 1990: 92-93).

If the whole world began to appear differently back in the days, then we could imagine the degree of transformation in the self-perception, and the perception of the Palestinian cause and the other. Israel was reinterpreted afresh. The depiction of Israel as “enemy” was given up; instead it was identified as an “adversary” with which the Palestinians have “compatible goals”. Phrases like “pragmatism”, “realistic”, “derive from an assessment of objective-reality”, “sense of responsibility”, “reaching maturity” (al-Hout 1977: 11; Khalaf 1979: 141; al-Qaddumi 1988: 5) have been constantly invoked in order to secure an insecure and a contested belief (i.e. an orthodoxy), and hence restrain critical examination (Said 1975: 92, reflecting on Chomsky 1973: 302-03). After testing out the realist-liberalist recipe for peace over the past twenty years, the “peace process” *itself* is a stark testimony to the fact that it is impractical and unrealistic to be practical and realistic, if realism can only usher a perpetual peace “process”, yet without peace. The Western-led peace process between Israel and the PLO/PA has been ongoing for more

than two decades now, yet the reality on the ground is witnessing a continued Israeli domination over most aspects of Palestinian life, with some aspects delegated to the PA apparatus to run. The Israeli policies of settlement expansion, violence and discrimination against the Palestinians have been intensifying in a sheer contravention of what peace is supposed to be.

The concept of liberation has transformed gradually from “liberation of the entire Palestine” to “liberation of any part.” Its decline continued until it was totally dropped from the Palestinian discourse in the mid-1980s. Liberation was replaced with “resistance” (resistance vs. termination, liberation, liquidation) to the “Zionist occupation” (occupation vs. colonialism), “resolve the Palestinian issue”, “to find a just solution for the Palestinian issue”, and “the right to confront the Zionist occupation” (PNC 17th, 1984 & 18th session 1988 respectively). And recently, liberation infers an attenuated statehood in the West Bank and Gaza, special arrangement for Jerusalem, with land swaps and without the authentic return of the refugees.

Particularly after the 1980s, the so-called “political realism” governed much of the PLO imaginative horizon, which became a guiding and explanatory schema for decision-making. Nonetheless, it is important to contextualize political realism, to think of it in the same way that political actors have represented it. The PLO unquestionably picked up the realist-liberalist worldviews of the world order, and the PLO policy shift in the late 1980s may appear as a perfect example of bandwagoning (joining the wagon of the stronger, i.e. the US) after the (assumed) rise of a unipolar world system. And one should admit that all of this appears to be true, however, our analysis of the Palestinian discourse so far points to different explanations. The infrastructure of the interim, limited state and national rights was already organized and well distributed before the collapse of the Soviet Union, which even international relation theorists and politicians did not foresee.

Undoubtedly, the PLO peace initiative in 1988 was a new thing in the Palestinian decision-making and a visible point of transition. But, its contents,

mechanisms, apparatus and terminology were already developed, deliberated, and distributed incrementally since *an-Nakba*.

The apparatus of the “politics of phases,” pragmatism and statist framework began to crystallize when the Palestinian movements had taken over the PLO in 1968, however in 1974, it appeared to be a discursive platform. This being said, the year of 1968 was a point that opened up a space for the accumulated ideas, imaginations, concepts and terminologies in the Palestinian lexicon to materialize in concrete acts. Receiving uncritically the realist-liberalist interpretation was contemplated as a vehicle to realize what had already crystallized in the PLO’s institutions and the mind-set of its decision-makers. After a long period of a piecemeal political socialization, the PLO internalized most, if not all, terms of internationally imagined scenarios for the question of Palestine. It matters little whether that was intentional or not; what matters is how language which has been speaking for the PLO evolved in a way beyond its initial *raison d’être*, and secondly the fact of traversing one stage to another with little or no significant moments of reflection and review.

The Crux of the Matter: The UNSC Resolution 242

The UN Security Council resolution number 242 of November 1967 has been a core reference point, and hence its frequent mention in this studies so far. It will be clear throughout the pages that will follow that the acceptance of resolution 242 as a substratum for any possible or imaginable solution is a free subscription to the Israeli (and by far Western) discourse on the way forward. It should be said that the realist-liberalist peace, the Israeli understanding of peace, and market logic are indeed the backbone of this resolution. Therefore, the regular distribution, and then the endorsement, of resolution 242 constitute an opening for a process of internalization of its subtext on several subjects that includes: peace, security, and an introduction of the market rules to modulate land and humans in the case of the refugees and prisoners. All of these subjects will be thoroughly examined in Part III. But for now, let us cast light on the function which resolution 242 played in the Palestinian discourse.

By and large, resolution 242 was heavily circulated within the Palestinian discourse, but in a negative and dismissive way until the mid-1980s. Negation of resolution 242 did not exclude the possibility of considering, or be inspired by, at least some of its tenets. In fact, the passages I cited from Khalaf's writings in 1981 and Fatah's Executive Committee policy report after the 1967 War illustrates how influential the resolution was.

However, as negotiation was accepted in principle and the socialization process developed progressively, old interpretations of resolution 242⁵⁶ were discontinued and new ones were produced. Here few examples of what we mean by old interpretations: "UNSC Resolution 242 which means accepting the negotiation over the right of refugees." (Khalaf 1981: 127) and "242 deals with refugees. We are not refugees. We are a people, the core of the whole problem." (Arafat 1978: 172)

In mid-1980s, the same resolution text was reinterpreted again as follows:

Our stand was that we want 242 and 338 to be accompanied by another UN resolution on our people's right to self-determination within a confederation with Jordan. [169-70] ... The price Arafat was asked to pay was exorbitant. It was the relinquishment of the last of his negotiating cards and the open recognition of Resolution 242. (Khalaf 1986: 169-70, 173, emphasis added)

Therefore, we wanted mention made of all UN resolutions because international legality cannot be divided. [27] ... the PLO recognizes the international resolutions as a whole, a not separately. (Arafat 1986a: 27, 33, emphasis added)

We do not agree on this resolution unconditionally because of what it does not contain, not because of what it contains. Resolution 242 means Israeli withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967. Who among us is against the

⁵⁶ The Israeli interpretation of resolution 242 focused on the vague wording of the clause of "withdrawal" and mainly the missing definite article (the) before the word "territories". For example, Maj. Dayan argued that "Resolution 242 of November 1967, which did not call on the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to withdraw fully to that line. Instead, it concluded that Israel would need 'secure and recognized boundaries". (Dayan 2010: 22, emphasis added). For more on this issue, see also Finkelstein 2003: 144-49.

withdrawal? We all support the withdrawal. ... There is the cause of the Palestinian people —national, legitimate right not included in Resolution 242 and included in the other UN resolutions. Therefore, we say *resolution 242, 338, and the other UN resolutions*. (Abu Sharif Autumn 1988: 238, emphasis added)

The above citations are a misleading re-interpretation of previous ones. Juxtaposing the statements of the 1960s or the 1970s with those of the 1980s illustrates the sheer contradiction. By claiming that “Our stand was that we want 242 and 338 to be accompanied by another UN resolution”, “we wanted mention made of all UN resolutions”, “including all relevant UN resolutions” and so forth, the essence and focus of the point is moved outside resolution 242 terminology.

To be sure, Khalaf argued while articulating the PLO’s position on the conditions to start negotiations that “The price Arafat was asked pay is exorbitant. It was the relinquishment of the last of his negotiating cards and the open recognition of Resolution 242.” (Khalaf 1986: 173) The last sentence makes it evident that the *recognition* of resolution 242 was considered a mere bargaining chip.

The framework of resolution 242 was stabilized and removed from the list of controversial issues from the Palestinian standpoint. And finally, the PLO did not only recognize Resolution 242 (and 338), but also considered it “the basis for negotiation with Israel” (Arafat 1989: 181). From now on, the territorial and statist dimensions dominated other elements (self-determination and right of return) of what was constructed as an “Inalienable Palestinian Nation Rights” (*al-huqwq al-falastiniyya al-thabita*, or often referred to by the shortcut: “*al-thawabt*”, the constants in English).

The genuine Palestinian contributions (e.g., the first *Intifada* in 1987) were often dwarfed and overtaken by the prevalent Palestinian political refereantialism, which is a power-ridden regime *par excellence*, and hence, the gradual assimilation of the realist-liberalist peace recipe in the Palestinian political discourse through continuous shifts and transformations from one “phase”, UN resolution, initiative, summit and so forth, to another. Arguing for a “peaceful settlement” based on “partition[ing] the land between

two peoples” (Khalaf 1990: 96) in conjunction with a representation of a Palestinian statehood as the future “salvation to the Palestinians and peace to both Palestinians and Israelis” (Arafat 1989: 180) is the precise internalization of realism-liberalism interpretation of peace.

The Refugees’ Question

Earlier in Chapter 3, I examined the construction of the Palestinian refugee subject-position. Now, the analysis turns into the social and political performative impacts of the refugee subject-position. The categorization, “Palestine refugees”, has developed negative connotative images of the subjects of this category. They are often depicted as weak, needy, cowards, victims, escapees, and above all a “problem” by host countries in particular. Almost every individual refugee had to interact with a web of refugees’ institutions and laws; even s/he has learned to speak the terminology and carry the stamps, symbols and ration cards (*kart al-wakala*) of these institutions. Negative images have been projected on the refugees and they were inwardly internalized. By being identified as the “problem of”, “question of” and “issue of” disconnects the refugees from the overall Palestine issues, and hence it needs to be “resolved” independently (see Said 1992: 4). Such articulation carries with it an underlying meaning, that anything that has to do with the refugees is esoteric, long-standing, and intractable. Most important is the implication of the metaphorical meaning of the “refugees problem/question” that makes the life of the persons who inhabit the refugee subject-position uncertain and ambiguous, and indeed it adds to their vulnerability. As such, the refugees have been construed as a problem: an unwelcomed visitor and a burden, and a “threat” to the international community and Arab countries (Sayigh, Rosemary 1977: 21).

From this perspective, the refugees are a problem, and that is all life for them, a problem from within. The inward internalization of the refugee identity (via the constructed negative concept of a refugee at the first place) awakened re-projections manifested in a public rejection of the self-image of the (supposedly) weak, impotent, inferior, and the coward Palestinian refugee. As Khalaf put it: “Our people is not the one that bear[s] the refugee identity, [our

people] carries the fighting *fida'i* identity.” (Khalaf 1971, cited in Shemesh 2004: 97) An early study of the attitudes of the refugees (Bruhns 1955) shows the paradoxical coexistence of both rejection and acceptance: the rejection of UNRWA resettlement (*al-tawtin*) and development plans, while a bitter reception of the UNRWA relief and rations (al-Husseini 2000; 2010). Bruhns captured this attitude very well: “When [the refugee was] requested to reject concrete items, refugee is articulate.” (1955: 135)

Al-tawtin (translated as settlement, resettlement) appeared in the discourse to express a proposed political solution to the “refugees problem.” The English translation of *al-tawtin* (noun/verb) obscures the significant locus of the idea of “homeland” loaded in the Arabic term. *Al-tawtin* refers to the process that aims to settle the refugees in the hosting countries and make them their new homelands, i.e. the refugees will become national of the host countries. The policies of *al-tawtin* were met with overwhelming rejection among the refugees who still scorn these policies despite the passage of time. The plan entails a permanent severance between the individual refugee, and his/her very fine traces of identity accumulated over centuries in Palestine, the homeland (*al-watan, el-blad*).⁵⁷ *Al-tawtin* is a contentious and provocative regional subject, especially for the Palestinians, Jordanians and Lebanese. The total contradiction between *al-tawtin* and *al-wataniyya* (nationalism) explains the disavowal of the former. Common and spontaneous⁵⁸ organic social and spatial memories of Palestine are the main texture of the refugees’ nationalism after *an-Nakba*. From the refugees’ standpoint, “*wataniyya*” is therefore synonymous with a return to their homes, villages and towns (Sayigh 1997). In other words, it is a return to their *watan* (homeland)

⁵⁷ In the Palestinian colloquial Arabic language “*el-blad*” (plural of *el-balad*) signifies the entire Palestine whereas “*el-blad*” (singular) signify the individual town or village to which the speaker belongs.

⁵⁸ Refugee’ identification unfolded spontaneously as result of reflexive and reflective interpretation of “being already in” a situation, not through pre-conceived constitution led by state political intuitions.

therefore nationalism in this case is an interpretation of return and absolute contradiction of *al-tawtin*.

The land, homeland and return constituted the subject-matter for most of the literary works of the refugees in particular, and the Palestinians in general. Such work expressed the refugees' feelings and perceptions of themselves and the world. A sense of deep injustice, bitterness, the rejection of their reality, a determination to return and redeem their homeland and past memories of Palestine were reflected in poetry, art, folklore, novels, cartoons and so forth. Some writers on the subject went a step further by juxtaposing the refugees' experience with that of their victimizer. For example, Tibawi metaphorically labeled such an emotional thrust as a "new Zionism" and the Palestinian refugee became "the new Zionist who never forgets" (Tibawi 1963: 514) as epitomized in the following stanza:

Jaffa! My tears have dried but I still wail,
Will I ever see you again?
My memory of you is ever fresh,
Living within my innermost soul.
How fare your sister cities? I long for them!
They are parts of everlasting paradise.
What ails my heart? Wherever
I turn, it sadly cries
For my own native town

Mahmud Al-Hut cited in Tibawi 1963: 514

In the PNC's first session⁵⁹ the category "refugees" was re-categorized into "returnees" (*al-'a'idun*). Also a special PLO apparatus was created in order to take care of the "returnees issues". The figurative expression *al-'a'idwn* demonstrates the refugees' willingness to return and a political commitment to realize that goal.

In the PNC's second session, "the Returnees Affairs" appeared as a headline and a subject of discussion. To stamp out "the refugee identity" and to restore "the sense of pride" (Khalaf 1981: 68-69 cited in Shemesh 2004: 98) became

⁵⁹ Most, if not all, PNC members were from either the first or second-generation Palestinian refugees.

the goal of the Palestinian struggle. “The new Palestinian personality” was articulated as the opposite of what a “refugee” means: the new Palestinian is a revolutionary (*al-thawri*) and sacrificer (*fida'i*). The two words, “revolutionary” and “sacrificer”, convey the image which a Palestinian would want to constitute for her/himself: a free, powerful, resilient, rebelling against oppression and the one who offers (not waits for assistance) everything s/he has including his/her life to liberate the homeland. The *fida'iyyun* saw themselves as a “generation of suffering, of sacrifice, the generation of pain and hardships ... This long, unusual problem [of Palestine] needs revolutionaries of a certain kind, unusual revolutionaries, revolutionaries capable of taking the long view, revolutionaries prepared for sacrifice and continuous sacrifice.” (Arafat 1973: 167, emphasis added)

Returnee, sacrificer and revolutionary were among the key constitutive elements of the identity of the Palestinians in exile, and an integral part of mundane discourse in media, poetry and the names of institutions (e.g., *al-'awda* Center, *al-'awda* Vanguard, *al-'awda* dreams). However, to gain the “returnee” identity requires revolutionary and sacrifice acts (*al-'amal al-thawri*, *al-'amal al-fida'i*) as a manifestation and an affirmation of the eagerness to return. Liberation was interpreted therefore as “synonymous” of return (see Shemesh 2004). This explains the total absence of any direct reference to the refugees and return in the PLO Charter (1964 or 1968); which instead emphasized the idea of liberation. Any attempt “to absorb and assimilate the diaspora Palestinians in the societies in which they live in” was considered a “conspiracy” that infringes on the “revolutionary” identity (PNC 10th session 1972).

The “revolutionary” and refugee (or returnee) images coexisted with and perpetuated one another. Nonetheless, such character was perceived as being under constant threat and a subject of “the Zionist and imperialist” threat which “aims to *wipe out* the character of the Palestinian people and its entity” (PNC 5th session, 1st annex, Political Manifestation Feb. 1969, emphasis added). The sense of threat to the Palestinian identity lingered, and continued to be articulated as an exceptional threat, which “no other country”

confronted. In Arafat's words: "no other country has been confronted with a plan to liquidate its national identity, as has happened in the case of Palestine, nor confronted a plan to empty a country of its people has happened in the case of the Palestinian people." (Arafat 1982: 4, emphasis added)

The refugees became the main authors of the Palestinian political discourse especially after various Palestinian organizations joined the PLO in 1968. Since then, the armed struggle was injected into the PLO Charter in order to discern and emphasize the *fi da'i* self-perception, also as a negation of the weak-refugee image. In 1969-71, spectacles of power, arms and militarism reached its pinnacle in Jordan and in Lebanon between 1972-82. As a result, the motto of that era was "all authority for the resistance."

According to Derrida, discourse is a dual process of deferral and difference (*différance*). Therefore, a change in the articulation of one subject inspires change in the other subjects that defer themselves to it. From that perspective, since concepts of refugees and return are closely deferred and linked with the discursive construction of land and homeland, change (or internalization) in the conception of land and homeland (occupied land 1967 vs. 1948) would still suggest a revision of concept of refugee and return (even if that was not clearly articulated because the direction is in the logic itself). That is what happened in practice; as the PLO went along the track of interim plans in 1974, rejectionist styles started to recede gradually. Meanwhile, maintaining the "return" as a primary objective appears inconsistent with the "politics of phases" because, firstly, statist objectives (a Palestinian state over any part) gained primacy and organized the framework and typology of priorities. Secondly, provisional and interim thinking constituted a space that helped to defer the question of return. Finally, the ultimate return would be achieved after establishing the democratic state over entire Palestine.

By the Ten-point Programme rationale, the PLO's accepts to negotiate each conflict issue, among them, the refugees. Point two of the Programme states: "the PLO fights against any Palestinian entity that would lead to a recognition

[of Israel], reconciliation, security borders, waiving the national right of our people and depriving their right to return and self-determination over their national soil.” The transition in the Palestinian political position on the refugees issue is clear in the previous citation. First, refugees and their return are no longer exclusive, but on a par with other political and statist concepts (indeed establishing a Palestinian state was put first) such as borders, recognition, reconciliation, self-determination, national rights, national soil and so forth. Second, return was not on the list of “politics of phases;” instead “fight against ... waiving ... and depriving the refugees of the right to return.” There is an important qualitative difference between the “right to” and the actual performance of return. The PLO’s position on the refugees was often articulated in a very convoluted, ambiguous and indirect language that allows different readings. Third, endorsing the negotiation principle prescribes negotiation about the content of the right of return, Khalaf captured the last point: the “right to return ... should be on the agenda of any negotiation” (1990: 100, emphasis added).

The shift in the PLO’s objectives, liberation (1964-1968), one state (1969-1973), temporary state (1974-1987), two-states (1988-current), meant a transformation in the imagined solution of the sub-objectives or the dependent family of issues around the key nodal point. Establishing the two-state solution and a settlement based on “international legitimacy” (*al-shar’iyya al-dawliyya*) had its ramification on the interpretation of the each sub-nodal point like the refugees issue. The UN resolutions guided the imagined way through which the Palestinian state would be realized and how the refugees’ issue/problem would be settled. Accordingly, the refugees issue was articulated as a “*qadiyya*” (a legal case) (*qadiyyat al-laji’yyn*), which should be dealt with as a matter of a legal controversy to be “resolved” through international law and institutions, “especially resolution number 194” (cf. PNC 19th, 1988 & 20th session 1991). Pronouncing the refugees as a problem found its way into the Palestinian political discourse especially when a “Palestinian state [in the OPT]” had become the official framework.

And even worse, the refugees were framed to be not only a problem, but also a “burden” as typified in this statement: “ [the PLO] do[es] not expect any party to carry this *burden* [of the refugees] alone.” (Khalaf 1990: 104, emphasis added) There are corollaries to this construction: first, it meant that the whole refugee question may be postponed (which is the case), and second, the PLO freed itself from the “burden of the refugees question” by classifying it as an international community and international law issue —that is, transferring the refugees issue altogether to other institutions and de-linking it from the PLO responsibility as indicated in PNC 19th session: “resolving the refugee issue according to relevant the UN resolutions.”

Israel and other countries’ interests were given precedence over the rights of the refugees; therefore, others (powerful states and institutions) have been shaping the content of the right of return while coopting the Palestinian leadership. In this regard Khalaf’s argument about solving “the *problem of millions of Palestinian refugee ... in a manner that serves the vital interest of Israel, Palestine and the region*” is a perfect case in point. The PLO has become even more concerned with the symbolic meaning of accepting “the principle of the right of return or compensation” than its actual implementation. The “*details of such a return to be left open for negotiations ... we [PLO] shall for our part remain flexible regarding its implementation.*” “Right to return ... is not insurmountable obstacle to a settlement ... Our position is that the ‘right of return or compensation’ (and the second part of this position is often overlooked) has been legitimized by the successive UN resolutions.” (Khalaf 1990: 100; 103-04, emphasis added) Of course, the PLO’s position on the refugees question in 1990s does not correspond with its position in 2009 which considers the right of return a “bargain chip;” nevertheless, the former position was a point of departure in the piecemeal and painstaking transformation.

While bearing in mind that the whole Palestinian project has been constructed as a provisional moves since *an-Nakba*, which became an official framework for policy-making in 1974, it is not surprising to see the question of the refugees postponed to another (supposedly forthcoming) indeterminate

“phase.” Although, the Palestinian rights were labeled “inalienable” national rights, all of them were negotiable, and thought of as such by the Palestinian decision-makers as the following passage indicates:

The right to *return to the Palestinian state* is not negotiable. It’s a natural right for every Palestinian to return to the Palestinian state, ... Any Palestinian who lives in exile who wants to come to the Palestinian state, ... must be able to do so.

But if there are Palestinians who wish to return to the place they left in 1948, let us leave that to the negotiating table. (Husayni 1989: 11-12)

In fact, the PLO’s leadership re-represented the right of return by dividing it into two elements: return to the putative Palestinian state is considered “not negotiable”, while the return to the actual homeland (called Israel since 1948) can be negotiated. Meanwhile, in the 2000s it was considered altogether as being bargaining chip and the focus is put on a “just solution” *not* return. This point will be further elaborated based on the negotiation record (the Palestine Papers) and with reference to how the PLO/PA handling of the refugee question impacted its legal and human dimension.

A Referential Function

The abundance of terminology and political concepts that have regulated the production of self-image, reality (past and present) and the meaning of *an-Nakba* for its own subjects were assimilated in the Palestinian lexicon since then. Clearly, each of these vocabularies and concepts has certain historical traces beyond any individual or group. The term Palestinian discourse, is neither the subject that the Palestinians produce nor a fixed set of rules, it is rather the discourse that has been re/producing the Palestinians and the question of Palestine. Therefore, it is a continuous process of making and remaking.

With *an-Nakba* two rhetorical devices were constructed: Arab “legitimacy” and the international “legitimacy” (*al-shar‘iyya al-‘arabyya wa al-shar‘iyya al-dawliyya*) to orient the decision-making process and justify the political behavior. The two “legitimacies” were developed and operated simultaneously. They also functioned as grounding touchstones. Despite the Palestinian rejection of the Mandate Resolution and the Partition Resolution number 181, their text informed the territorial claims (Sayigh 1997), and later drawn upon to defend the declaration of the Palestinian State as articulated in the Declaration of Independence in 1988. The APG (All-Palestine Government) purpose was built on the Mandate Resolution —that is, it aspired to establish an “independent state” that corresponds with the map of Palestine defined in the Mandate Resolution (Darwazi: 24 cited in Alzaaer n.d.: 41). Meanwhile, Arafat (1989: 181) considered resolution 181 to be “the basis for Palestinian independence” and resolution 242 and 338 as “the basis for negotiation”. From this perspective, the contents of Palestinian independence (where, when, how, and for whom) remained undecided and flexible. As shown in Chapter 4, negotiation had become the rule to govern and relate to in order to achieve a Palestinian statehood. Taking negotiation

as *the* supreme mechanism for constituting meanings implies a Palestinian endorsement of the “right” of others to participate in constructing the contents of their existence, and accepting the contingency of the national rights upon uncertain future mechanics of negotiation.

A closer attention to context in which negotiation was set out, reveals how its contents were already distributed in the diplomatic discourse (i.e. in the UN resolutions, initiatives, summits, regional agreements) about the question of Palestine before the mediation of the negotiation mechanism. In other words, the PLO came to the negotiation table with predetermined conditions from which the PLO, and the Palestinians in general, were excluded on the official (e.g., Western governments) and unofficial levels (e.g., media, academia) (see Said 1992: 15-45).

The Palestinian intervention in the formation of international “legitimacy” was minimal; however, it was a partial factor in shaping the “Arab legitimacy” especially after 1968. Tying up the Palestinian cause with such dual legitimacy is a mere Palestinian construction that helped to produce a rationale for grounding decisions. It also helped the Palestinian leadership to correspond to the political context wherever they happened to operate. As a result, a referential function was constructed without prior conscious deliberation, but rather through the gradual performance of referentiality that became interweaved into the political imagination of the Palestinians (and others). Nowadays, it is difficult to think of Palestine without this function. Hence, the whole rationale was caught up with, and functioned in, a referential function to either or both legitimacies. The referential function is indeed a contingent Palestinian construction.

By and large, referring to other texts or discourse to back up a certain policy or line of argument is a very sensible and pragmatic tool that builds on whatever rhetorical capital or popularity such texts have already established. Consider, for example, the ample positive connotations and nuances that flow from the reference to international law or human rights today. But here, too, referentiality is not without its embedded internal power mechanisms, for any

international convention, law or initiative has specific discursive rules of formations based on historical power-relations. By infusing bits and pieces from multiple texts involves systematic invitation, and thus internalization, of the different rules of formations, judgments, principles and emphases that regulates them. So, by inviting different rules of formations into the original structures and relationships, the latter is opened up for re-evaluation adjustments against particular reference points, hence new possibilities of becoming.

The political culture of referentiality internalizes the entire structure out of which *an-Nakba* has emerged by anchoring the national project on international and Arab regimes' (direct and indirect) positions before and after 1948. The practice of referentiality itself, is therefore one of the key meanings of *an-Nakba*. The continuous reference to the "dual legitimacy" supplied the Palestinian discourse with the raw materials all the way through, which had always been present to orient and inform the Palestinian political thinking in positive and negative ways (negation, e.g., negating certain resolutions). Referentiality opened up a vast terrain for possible linguistic games, illations and extrapolations which had never been available before. This has penetrated deep into the language of the peace process and public education, as we shall see in pending chapters. Calling UN resolutions or Arab League Summits "legitimacy" served internal purposes. And, it represents the UN or Arab interpretation of the Palestinian question as legally and morally above any other interpretations.

The referential function from which the Palestinian rights were constructed was justified and temporarily stabilized. However, we should remember that neither international nor Arab "legitimacy" are a fixed matter; but always in a process of production and reformation. Considering the diplomatic record, many UN resolutions have been issued on the question of Palestine and several Arab and non-Arab summits, initiatives, conferences and so forth were carried out since 1948. Extrapolating the "Palestinian rights" from international and Arab legitimacies entailed an *ipso facto* systematic change

in the content of these rights in accordance with the changes and shifts in the international and regional interpretation of the Israel-Palestine question.

What was thought of Palestinian rights were loose and under-articulated concepts, and inconsistent with the phrase “*al-huqwq al-thabita*” or “*al-thawabt*” (the unchanging rights). These rights were initially subsumed by the idea of liberation as an incarnation of self-determination over the entire Palestine. In 1974, the Palestinian rights were nationalized and territorialized as a result of the infusion of notions of nationalism, authority on specific territorial boundaries into the imaginative horizon of the Palestinian leadership. That is, they were put under the reign of the (putative) Palestinian authority, territorialized (according to resolution 242) and anchored by Arab and international legitimacy through a concerted litany of referentiality which transformed the rules of the formation of the Palestinian rights.

The “inalienable” Palestinian national rights included three things: “right to return, to self-determination and to establish our [Palestinian] independent state.” (Arafat 1982: 8) Every movement within the PLO shared this interpretation. “These organizations had further agreed upon the principles of the PLO’s interim national programme, the programme of return, the right to self-determination and the independent state.” (Hawatmeh 1979a: 136; 1979b: 192)

How to achieve these national rights has been an ambiguous matter and an area of disagreement in the PLO. Nevertheless, armed (especially on the left) and political struggle were among the options. The immersion in the referential function brought new dominant concepts to the fore. Calling for international conferences, summits, citing UN resolutions, political initiatives have constituted the content of not only the PLO’s discourse, but also the discourse of its sub-organizations. Since the 1980s, notions of “international conference on the basis of the UN resolutions” and “peaceful and just solution”, “cling to peace” (Arafat 1986b: 214-15), “peaceful solution for Palestine questions” (N.A. 1986b), “peace for territories” (Arafat 1986a: 32) were *the* dominant themes of the PLO’s political language, which crystalized

around the mid-1980s as a means that would transform the Palestinian “nation rights” from an abstract form into a concrete reality.

The following statements from the 1980s illustrate the point I am trying to make. The PLO struck a confederal agreement with Jordan on the basis of the following principles:

1. Total withdrawal from the *territories occupied in 1967* for a comprehensive peace ... 2. Right of self-determination for the Palestinian people...3. Resolution of the problem of Palestinian refugees in accordance with United Nations resolutions. 4. Resolution of the Palestine question in all its aspects. 4. And on this basis, *peace negotiations will be conducted under the auspices of an International Conference...* (N.A. Communiqué of the Executive Committee of the PLO, 1985: 206, emphasis added)

Arafat said:

... the conscious and calculated linking of armed struggle and political struggle against the Zionist occupation of Arab territories. The PLO’s political moves are *aimed at creating an international atmosphere conducive to the recognition of our inalienable national rights*, primarily the right of the Palestinian people to *self-determination and establish an independent state*. (Arafat 1985: 152, emphasis added)

Our struggle is in conformity with the UN Charter. (Arafat 1982: 9)

positive international consensus in response to the just cause of our people in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights... It is our sincere hope that, through this Conference, the international will, deeply committed to international agreements, declarations and accords, will finally prove capable of achieving a break-through in the search for practical means to secure the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights. (Arafat 1984: 199-200)

A mechanism of echoing had developed between the PLO and international forms (mainly UN-related ones). For example, the Draft Declaration of the UN International Conference on the Question of Palestine on 6 September 1983

reaffirms and stresses that a just solution of the question of Palestine, the core of the problem, is the crucial element in a *comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement* in the Middle East. This settlement must be based on the *implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions* concerning the question of Palestine and *attainment of the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people*, including the *right to self-determination* and *right to the establishment of its own independent state* in Palestine and should be also be based on the *provision by Security Council of guarantees for peace and security...* (N.A. Winter 1984: 204, emphasis added)

Juxtaposing the Draft Declaration with the internal language of the PLO on the so-called “international legitimacy” demonstrates the degree of infiltration and organic relations between the two discourses.

Today, the usual litany of referential ideas are in circulation more than ever as clearly reflected in the so-called “Prisoners’ Document” (2006) (*wathiqat al-’asra*), which was drafted by the representatives of the Palestinian political movements in Israeli jails, including Hamas and the Islamic Jihad.

The fine enunciation of the three national Palestinian rights draws heavily on the UN framings of the question of Palestine. Two of these rights, self-determination and the independent state, have been articulated at a relative ease unlike the right of return which often transpires in complex and indirect phrases or omitted all together (for example, it was omitted in the last two citations). The refugee question is usually expressed as something subsidiary, to be resolved “in accordance with” or “based on” the United Nations resolutions and (recently) the Arab Peace Initiative. This complex and indirect language relegates the refugees question into a second or third-rate matter in comparison with the right to self-determination and independent state. While the exact nature of the supposed solution and the specific resolution (194) that regulate and govern the imaginative thinking about the refugees have been repeatedly silenced and mystified in being wrapped up within phrases such as “in accordance with ...” or “all relevant UN resolutions”, and recently “a just and agreed upon” solution. I am going to discuss this in some details in later chapters. But for now let us see how the loose language on the refugees intercedes in the constitution of the self-determination.

The ambiguous language on the refugees renders the right to self-determination of the Palestinian *people* obsolete, because at least half of them (the refugees, let alone the Palestinians in Israel) would not be able to exercise that right, or they would be stripped of the return option. Indeed, this scenario was in making, as we will see while analyzing the Palestine Papers in the Third Part of this dissertation. Linking the Palestinian self-determination with the (promised) Palestinian state (on 22 percent of Palestine)

automatically de-links half of the Palestinian people from performing self-determination as *Palestinians*, even if they return to their “homes” in what is now called Israel. In other words, the territorialization of self-determination in the West Bank and Gaza excludes the Palestinians who live outside this area from that right. More to the point, the operating mechanics of the discursive conception of the refugees and their right indicate (perhaps on the long run) the de-Palestinization of the refugees and the Palestinians in Israel. Yet, what is paradoxical and eccentric in this conclusion is the fact that it came from within the refugees themselves, given that most of Palestinian leaders are refugees themselves. The fine outcome of the process of socialization deconstructed the Palestinian initial political conception of their cause as a cause of an uprooted people from their homeland and replaced by another one. At the same time, it helped to reconstruct that cause into a territorial conflict over the details of when, where and how much, which is the subject of next chapters.

Maintaining and living with contradiction is perhaps something that is hard to reconcile in ‘Western’ philosophy. However, social reality itself is a cauldron of contradiction and paradox. The Palestinian discourse is rife with structural and organic contradiction. And among the key contradictions which the Palestinians lived was the irreconcilable tension between the 1974 PLO’s interim political plan and the simultaneous bid for a “comprehensive settlement” while not taking note of the laden contradictory entailments of concepts like *interim* and *comprehensive* on the national struggle. That is, to reconcile the irreconcilable.

The setup of the PLO answered the needs of the Arab states more than the Palestinian questions as mentioned elsewhere. And from the beginning, the constructed “Palestinian rights” were tailored according to the Arab political conditions, not the Palestinian aspirations. This explains the dramatic and chronic shifts in the articulation of the Palestinian rights and how they would be achieved from time to time without going back to the beholders of the rights, the Palestinian people. The PLO preferred top-down legitimacy from

Arab regimes (represented by the Arab League) and later from international resolutions and forums, or a combination of thereof.

It is crucial to pay closer attention to the aspects of invisible power in referentialism. The referential function in the Palestinian cause is power-ridden and works most of the time in one direction: the weaker refers to the norms of the powerful. For example, power deferential played a significant role in the construction and interpretation of the Mandate Resolution, Partition Resolution of 1947, or Resolution 242.⁶⁰

Apparently, the Palestinian political style is caught up within the invisible alliance between socialization, provisional horizon, and referentialism with its power-relations, therefore the Palestinians are likely to remain at the receiving end no matter what kind of balance of power exists in their relationship with Israel. The equation is much deeper than what Edward Said (1993) thought of as a lack of balance of power. The flow in the direction of power is embedded from within and internalized in essence. It is in the means of production of what the *Palestinians* perceive as their rights. Ironically, the referential function is a Palestinian construct that often directs their discourse towards borrowing and receiving. It is therefore not only a matter of the weak versus strong dichotomy, but also a system of power differentials from the beginning.

Al-Marji'iyya (The Terms of Reference)

The substance of referentiality has three patterns. The first involved reference to the PLO Basic Law and Charter as stabilizing and foundational guiding sources. The second pattern continued until the Palestinians reached the peace process in 1991. It included particular anchoring points like the 1974 Ten-Point Programme, UN resolutions, Fez Summit of 1982 and the 1988 Declaration of Independence. The third pattern, however, started after the

⁶⁰ Several scholars have analyzed aspects of power in the UN resolutions, for examples see Pappé 2007: 30-38, also see Finkelstein 2003: 144-49.

Madrid Conference in 1991 until this day. Referentiality served as the basis for the so-called “*marji’iyyat al-‘amaliyya al-silmiyya*” or “*marji’iyyat al‘mufawadat*” (this translates respectively: the peace process terms of reference, negotiation’s terms of references). Since referentiality is unfixed, *al-marji’iyya* has been evolving and changing with it. The last pattern is very broad, multiple and inter-textual. It is an assemblage of principles instantiated from various UN resolutions, summits, agreements, conferences, visions and so forth. These elements are *embedded* in one another, each has a particular context and logic, and hence inconsistency and disruption. The *logic of embedding* explains therefore the construction of *marji’iyyat al‘mufawadat* and the internal developments and contradictions. This led to a further discursive transformation.

Certain diplomatic junctures such as the Madrid Conference in 1991, Resolution 242, 338, Clinton Parameters 2001, the Arab Peace Initiative (API) 2002, the Bush Vision 2002, the Roadmap 2003, agreed agreements, Quartet principles 2006, and Annapolis Summit 2007, offered an ongoing possibility of constituting terms of reference. However, Palestinian and Israeli representatives disagree on the content of virtually all of these junctures. Therefore, each side tried to embed particular parts and ignore others. To be sure, even if the “parties” agree upon certain elements of the terms of reference, each would still hold a different interpretation, and bargains which part to cite and which to leave out.⁶¹ For example, Israel and the PLO/PA declared their acceptance of the UNSC resolution 242 and the two-state solution; however, they maintain two diametrically opposing interpretations.

⁶¹ For example, Tzipi Levin said: “We quoted parts of the RM [Roadmap of 2003], you quoted others. If we keep the RM, we can delete the quotes and make it shorter. Two real problems: one is the ToR [Terms of Reference]. But we need to find a formula. I think we cannot agree to all the ToR that you [Palestinian side] put.” (Doc.1987) “We are now looking at what we have and where are the gaps. Without writing this down you know we are working according to 242 and 338. We are not talking about giving you all of [19]67 [land], but when you look at the facts on the ground and the discussion on swaps, it is based on it.” (Doc.2826, TL)

From the Israeli viewpoint, resolution 242 grants Israel rights in the West Bank, whereas the PLO/PA interpret it as a full withdrawal to the 1967 armistice line. Furthermore, for Israel the two-state solution is closely linked to the character of Israel as a “Jewish State”; it meant that each state is “the homeland for its people and the fulfillment of their national aspiration and self-determination” (Doc.2003, TL).

Two different, incommensurable terms of reference governed the so-called peace negotiations. Palestinians and Israelis contemplated different terms of reference. On the one hand, the Palestinians put out the following reference points: the API of 2002, International law/legitimacy, UNSC resolutions 242, 338, agreed upon resolution of the refugee question based on API and resolution 194, Bush vision, Roadmap, and the two states solution (Doc.2826; Doc.2055; Doc.2003). On the other hand the Israelis listed the following terms of reference: “the Bush vision, the principle of two states for two peoples, language referring to the fact that a future agreement will address all outstanding issues, that the two states will be the homelands of their respective peoples and fulfill their national aspirations, Israel a state for the Jewish people, and Palestine for the Palestinians, 242, 338, RM and previous agreements, 3 quartet principles” (Doc.2002), “*The Roadmap and previous agreements as accepted by the parties*” [9] “US will judge, [and] no timeline for completion of negotiations” (Doc.1987), also adding, “reference to the Jewish refugees” (Doc.3651).

Not only were the issues of the conflict not agreed but also there was (and still is) significant disagreement on the governing principles, which guide the negotiation of each of the final status issues.

Politics of the Intifada

There is much excellent research covering most aspects of the first *Intifada* that broke out in December 1987, however, this chapter adds a discursive perspective to this literature while focusing on the *Intifada's* politics within a wider historical horizon. The flyers-mechanism (*al-manashir*), which involves the distribution of flyers to deliver political messages to the public, was the main communication device between the PLO-related bodies and the public in the West Bank and Gaza.

Mishal and Aharoni (1994) studied a larger sample of flyers in one chapter entitled "Paper War". Their analysis, however, adopts a narrow contextualization within intensive Israeli resources. First of all, the analysis is contextualized from the occupier's perspective of the occupied. Secondly, the substance is concerned with what the flyers' texts mean for Israel and with little or no attention to the Palestinian interest and ambitions. Finally, the authors used uncritically common Israeli lens to represent the Palestinians and their space and acts. The space is signified as "territories" (*shtahim* in Hebrew) or Israel's backyard; meanwhile the Palestinians and their acts were represented as a radical and irrational subject that lacks the ability to conduct a civilized dialogue. This is how the authors put it in the first page of the book: "The Intifada inspired a new kind of Palestinian radicalism, a radicalism borne on young shoulders, a radicalism that conducts its dialogue with Israel and the local population via the stone, the slingshot, the petrol bomb, and the leaflet."

My analysis of about 100 flyers ponders the redistribution of the relationships the politics of the PLO and the public in Palestine. I will demonstrate how the *Intifada's* events and politics have opened up the common discourse in Palestine (mainly in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza) to the PLO's

politics and the transitions in the latter's discourse during that period. Placing flyers' text within the Palestinian politics to see what it tells us about the link between concrete events and their political milieu elucidates the point.

The spark of first *Intifada* coincided temporally with the PLO diplomatic endeavors towards the mid-1980s. The timing was a very important factor because it started when a specific set of "rights" was constructed in the PLO's discourse as an "inviolable Palestinian national legitimate rights." The migration of the discourse on rights to Palestine, gave the *Intifada* a political form and purpose. Meanwhile, the alliance of the underlying conceptual regimes of socialization, provisional horizon and referentiality continued to organize and influence the politics of the *Intifada*.

The record of the main local newspaper, al-Quds,⁶² in the West Bank and Gaza shows how the PLO-related topics used to be mentioned fleetingly and rarely featured in the main headlines of local newspapers before the beginning of the *Intifada*.⁶³ However, political tropes like "the settlement of the Palestinian cause" (*taswiyat al-qadiyya al-falastiniyya*), "international conference" (*mu'tamar dawli*), "endeavors for solving the Middle East crisis" (*masa'i hal azmat al-sharq al-awast*), "activating the peace process" (*tanshit 'amaliyyt al-salam*), "independent state" (*al-dawla al-mustaqilla*) and so on, along with the names and pictures of PLO figures have become prevalent and regularly featured on first pages of the newspaper from 1987-8 on onwards. When the Intifada broke out, an ironic pattern in local newspapers began to juxtapose pictures and texts that depict the "violent events" (*ahdath al-'unf*), and "confrontations" (*sidamat*) with the PLO diplomatic moves. Despite the

⁶² I have reviewed all issues of the Al-Quds newspaper between 1974-1978 and between 1987-1993. Hard copies of newspapers are available in Hebron Municipality Library.

⁶³ This lack of interest in the PLO and national political news could be due to Israeli constraints and surveillance imposed on local media outlets. Indeed, I am concerned with discourse as it appears. Read more on the Israeli censorship on the West Bank's press and Palestinian resistance to censorship in Najjar (1995: 139-149).

increasing intensity and spread of events on the ground, diplomacy-ridden subjects dominated the newspapers' theme and space. Although on the front page, concrete events occupied a minimal space. What is outstanding from this spatial juxtaposition on paper is yet another unuttered spatial juxtaposition between inside (the West Bank and Gaza) and outside (exile), and a relationship between internal concrete events and external diplomatic ones.

In general, the research on the *Intifada* hasten to emphasize its spontaneity (see Schiff & Ya'ari 1990), this does not mean that grassroots leadership and PLO were distant from its actual events. On the contrary, the local leadership of the *Intifada* was in making, and already bethinking to inaugurate the confrontation with the Israeli occupation forces (see Bilal 2013).⁶⁴ On the other hand, the PLO supported and later designed actual events on the ground (Habash 2009: 205). The PLO's engagement was initially embodied in the formation of the Intifada's United National General Command (IUNGC). Later, the IUNGC guided, ordered and above all supplied the events with specific contents and meanings. It also initiated a new apparatus called "strike squads" (*al-majmu'at al-dariba*) to police and discipline those who do not follow the directions of the "struggle programme" (*al-barnamij al-nidali*).

Furthermore, a communicative mechanism known as *al-manashir* (plural of *manshwr*, a flyer in English) re-appeared with further political purpose than before (Mishal & Aharoni 1994). As the leadership of the IUNGC led by Khalil Al-Wazir, best known as Abu-Jihad, was in exile and thus physically far away from the actual events, *al-manashir* constituted a communication platform for the PLO to articulate its plans, instructions, frameworks and give orders to local people. The IUNGC, "striking squads" and *al-manashir* were the key

⁶⁴ According to Dr Adnan Maswady's memoir (one of the key founders of Hamas in Palestine) the local members of the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine began debating and organizing a confrontation strategy against the Israeli occupation force around mid-1980s. On 23 October 1987, the founder of what later became know as Hamas decided to take practical confrontation measures (see Bilal 2013: 96-101).

linking points between peoples of the *Intifada* and those in exile. Seeing it from this angle, the *Intifada* offered an opportunity for the PLO with its political vision to establish tangible links with the potential constituents. What is far more significant at this point of time is a concrete authoritative relationship that was established between the PLO politics and events on a *Palestinian land* for the first time in its history. And it turned out that not only the PLO's guidelines and orders articulated in the *manashir* were performed on the ground, but also they were received with wide popular participation. The link between the PLO and the public found its way, and the West Bank and Gaza became the new geopolitical site for the PLO discourse. Since then the PLO's focus has shifted from outside to inside. At any rate, the *Intifada* provided the necessary nexus between outside/inside Palestinians.

The IUNGC distributed about 100 flyers between 1998-1993. Apparently, the flyers' theme and format did not vary much. It always begins with the refrain "no voice louder than the voice of the intifada" (*la sawt ya'lw fawqa sawt al-intifada*), and then it praises and hails the people (*yaa jamahir...*) into three things: the political programme of the PLO, a brief political analysis, general guidelines and ends with an action-plan for a week or two.

At first, the political programme was clearly stated and re-stated in every flyer in a successive order as follows: right to return, self-determination and an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza "under the leadership of the PLO, *the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people* everywhere". Expressing the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people was especially acute during the 1987 *Intifada* as a response to the American and Arab regimes' efforts to outmaneuver the PLO (see Abu-Sharif 2009: ch.23). Therefore, the phrase "the sole legitimate representative" was underlined in every flyer and statement. To emphasize its leadership further, the PLO staged a "strike under the slogan: 'no alternative to the PLO our sole legitimate representative' " (Flyer no.10), and also stressing the PLO's exclusive entitlement "to manage the conflict and Political solution" (Flyer no.34).

The building block of the political message was as follows: *Intifada* + consonants (or unchanging political rights) + national + rights + return + self-determination + independent state + East (or Arab) Jerusalem. This order is succinctly expressed in the opening paragraph of one of the flyers:

To the masses of our great people ... your victorious *Intifada* is escalating day after another, and attaining one achievement after another. It is going forward in an unyielding courage and stable unity in the struggle while holding on the *consonants* [al-thawabt] of the Palestinian *national* action exemplified in our people's *national* [1] *rights in return*, [2] *self-determination* and [3] the *independent state* over its *national* soil with *Arab Jerusalem* as its capital... (Flyer no. 22, emphasis added)

A correlation was made between the *Intifada* and a Palestinian statehood on parts of Palestine, of course. According to Habash (2009: 205) the Palestinian state has become "a very realistic possibility." From the beginning, the discourse imbued with statist concepts gave the *Intifada* a function and lever to champion the pursuit of state (i.e. to catch this "possibility"). Husayni explains this way of thinking very well: "Now we have strength behind us. We are relying on the *Intifada*. We can now face the Israelis and say what we want. If they ask us to stop the *Intifada* we will say no. Before, when we met with them we had nothing to say, only to beg." (Husayni 1989: 14)

Consolidating the idea of the *Palestinian national rights* was the key message of the thirty-odd flyers circulated during 1988. The flyer-mechanism served as a vehicle to migrate the referential political discourse in the form of repetitive citation of UN resolutions, UN, Security Council and political initiatives in the form of "rejection," "denunciation" or "calling on" certain action, or calling for the convening of an "international conference" into the public discourse in the West Bank and Gaza. The general message of the flyers validates the "political solution," and therefore, increased the legitimacy and political status of the PLO on Palestinian land. But there is something broader to say here: framing the *Intifada* through a matrix of referentiality and PLO politics led to

socialization *en masse* in the West Bank and Gaza, with which we are familiar with in hindsight.⁶⁵

Usually the “action-plan” or “struggle programme” sets a range of activities and request from the public to carry them out in the West Bank and Gaza. Every day was linked with particular schedule. Most of the activities were attuned to resonate with the cultural and historical significance of a certain day or period; and even certain days were given additional names to convey nationalist and struggle sentiments (e.g., the martyr day, the PLO day, the flag day, declaration of independence day). The “struggle programme” decreed the following: throwing stones at the settlers and occupation soldiers, strikes, shop-closure (allowed to open only 2-3 hours daily), abstaining from paying taxes and bails, road-closure (by rocks, burned vehicles’ tires, nails, etc.), dissolving local municipal and council committees, resignation from posts in the Israeli civil administration and police, writing on the walls and signing it with the IUNCC or PLO, raising the Palestinian flag over the minarets, electricity cables and houses, raising the picture of the “brother and the leader” Arafat, defying curfews, boycott *al-Nahar* newspaper, public boycott of Israeli goods, and participating in “loud public demonstration while chanting ‘with our soul and blood we sacrifice ourselves for the martyr ... with our soul and blood we sacrifice ourselves for Palestine’ .” Moreover, the IUNGC approached the middle class with demands in line with their professions (e.g., taxi and buss drivers, pharmacists, doctors, merchants, tradesmen, academics, teachers, peasants, workers in Israel) (see Flyer no.1-30).

As the *Intifada*’s first year came to a close, especially after the Palestinian Declaration of Independence in November 1988 in Algiers, the flyers’ central message began to fuse “statist” and “diplomatic” language together more

⁶⁵ Hamas, the biggest rival of the PLO politics, has gradually endorsed referentiality and statist discourse in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza, especially after 2006 election. The Head of Hamas Political Bureau Khalid Mashal articulated this position unequivocally in an interview with Christine Amanpour on 21 November 2012.

vigorously, and since that date, every flyer was signed by the phrase “Palestine State” (Flyer no.31). The Declaration and “peaceful solution” of the conflict were constructed as “a causal outcome of the *Intifada* and sacrifice and new reality on the political map,” however this “new” reality was managed to augur well for the PLO’s diplomatic framework, which involves a “Palestinian independent state and calling for just peace...” (Flyer no. 45) Therefore, the Declaration was assembled at a critical juncture to rally the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza by “celebrating the declaration of independence” and “a *step on the way* of announcing a real independence.” (Flyer no.29; 30) Notice how provisional thinking employed to justify the gap between a “declaration” of independence (i.e. symbolic) and “real” independence to the public.

The political statements put the *Intifada* in a linear dependency relationship with the struggle, occupation and an independent Palestinian state. For example, in 1989 Palestinian officials sent a memorandum to the US Assistant Secretary of State to explain (their self-imagined) message of the *Intifada* as the, “rejection of, and resistance to, the Israeli occupation of our land and oppression of our people” (G.27 1989: 346). Meanwhile, the end of the occupation was constructed to signify an end of the struggle, and hence a beginning of the state. The following examples illustrate: “continue the struggle until the regress of the occupation” (Flyer no.11), “the popular armed struggle until realizing the independent Palestinian state” (Flyer no.10), “the struggle path is the tested and credible path to drive out the occupation” (Flyer no.11, 10, & 13 respectively).

The occupation-struggle exclusive correlation overshadowed other aspect of the struggle and confines it to limited spatial and demographic entities. I have showed in earlier chapters how the meaning and purpose of “the struggle” evolved in the Palestinian political thinking. This official understanding of the struggle co-opted the *Intifada* and delimited its goals to “regress” or “drive out” the occupation and replace it with a Palestinian state. It is worthwhile to observe what is present and what is omitted in the above statements. The

usage of the word “occupation” draws the spatial boundary of the conflict within 22 percent of historical Palestine; meanwhile phrases that signify the 78 percent are absent. Moreover, this formation excludes the future of the refugees and Palestinians in Israel from self-determination. In other words, it excludes about 70 percent of the Palestinian population. As a result, the discourse of the *Intifada* is territorialized within the West Bank and Gaza.

The litany of the state-laden vocabulary is usually articulated in conjunction with the referential regime and diplomatic peaceful solutions. For example, the PLO argued in one of the flyers for

a serious work to formulate a clear and decisive *political plan* that guarantees our people’s *inviolable national rights* in line with the requirements of the *current phase* and able to deal with the *international community* while *clinging* to realize *peace based on justice* in the region and *solving our cause honorably*. (Flyer no.28, emphasis added).

Another flyer explained the “political plan” as a “Palestinian *peace aggression* ... to *force* Israel to accept *the international will* in convening an international conference.” (Flyer no.31, emphasis added) The curious antagonistic binary like “peace/aggression, force/accept is mainly of a rhetorical purpose.

The terminology of peace, negotiation and dialogue infiltrated the discourse and modulated the articulation of the struggle to be more amenable to negotiation. As a result, the purpose of the struggle was transformed again from “ending the occupation” to a “struggle for peace” (Flyer no.66), “struggle to achieve just and permanent peace” (Flyer no.85). “Peace” began to be a theme in the weekly “struggle programme” in late 1989 as put in Flyer number 46: “21st October is a general strike to protest against Shamir’s [the former Israeli Prime Minister 1986-1992] plan and to underline commitment to the Palestinian peace plan”. And since then, the mission has become “to find the required political solution and reach a just peace” and a “comprehensive and balanced solution” (Flyer no.52).

Liberation, the initial dominator of the struggle as I have explained in Chapters 3 and 4, disappeared altogether from the linguistic equation. Since mind 1980s, expressions like “ending the occupation,” “honorable solution” and “peace and settlement” replaced liberation. With the arrival of “the political battle”, “peace aggression” and similar configurative tropes, the armed and popular struggle manifestations in the *Intifada* were relegated and diminished in seeking to open up the space for diplomatic actions, represented in the guise of confrontation metaphor (e.g., aggression, battle, wage) to regenerate the psychological nuances of the “revolutionary spirit” accumulated since 1960s. Such metaphorical expressions give moral and “revolutionary” capital to the political solutions. According to the IUNGC

The IUNGC knows well that *a just and comprehensive solution* for the Palestinian question will not be achieved through future dialogue and negotiation in isolation to the struggle on the ground, which represents the spearhead of the political activity. *But also the struggle on the ground alone will not achieve this solution without waging the political battle*; these two directions are organically connected. (Flyer no.70, June 1991, emphasis added)

The PLO constituted the *Intifada*'s political purpose in a way that accedes with the two-state solution as follows: Israel to withdraw from the Palestinian and Arab occupied land since 1967 including Arab Jerusalem; abolishing all annexations and removing the settlements; put the occupied Palestinian land under the UN supervision; and convening an international conference with the UN supervision (Flyer no.26). And it articulated the two-state solution as “not a free concession, but rather *a realistic, revolutionary and responsible* representation that put an end for the Zionist's lies about the goals of our successful revolution, and *it put an end to the suffering of our people inside and outside... our forthcoming state is for all Palestinians*” (Flyer no.29, emphasis added). This implies that, first, any other solution is unrealistic, unrevolutionary and irresponsible; and second, the refugees' “return” is something to be addressed *within* the supposed Palestinian state.

There are important observations that should not be underestimated. First, the constant decrease in the number of flyers distributed each year (1988:31, 1989:19, 1990:15, 1991:10, 1992:12, 1993:10). If flyers were the key medium of communication between the PLO's leadership and the public, cutting back

on flyers could be interpreted, perhaps with hindsight, as a sign of a PLO lack of interest in concrete acts and a further concern with diplomacy. Arafat called on the Palestinians to end the *Intifada* and “to take part in the steps leading to the normalization of life, rejecting violence and terrorism, contributing to peace and stability and participating actively in shaping reconstruction, economic development and cooperation.” (I.1.2: 142) Second, with the transformation from “rights”, to “state” and finally to “peace”, the PLO demands from the Palestinians decreased in general, and requests of violent escalations disappeared in particular. Third, flyers’ language embraced nationalistic and mainly secular phrases; it was free of religious citations (contra Hamas and the Islamic Jihad). Finally, there is a clear assimilation of concepts and expressions loaded with geographic and demographic divisions of Palestine. Expressions like “the Palestinian occupied land”, “our people inside [Israel]”, “our people behind the green line” (Flyer no.4), “inside the 48” (Flyer no.42), and “the IUNGC in *the* occupied territories” are representative examples. Internalizing such concepts indicates acceptance of the status quo, “reality” and being “realistic” about it.

In conclusion, it may be worth restating the broader rules of formations we have encountered thus far in Part II. The first and second rules are drawn from the metaphorical meaning loaded in the word *an-Nakba*. First, *an-Nakba* events put an end to the physical link between Palestine and the Palestinians. These events became a touchstone in the Palestinian discourse that at once disconnects and connects the social orders *in-and-out* Palestine and *before-and-after an-Nakba*. From now on, the new discursive order has constituted Palestine through its parts, Palestine as an “imagined totality” was discontinued. This opened the space for different articulations, concepts, spatial mapping, identities, and new of forms of struggle and politics to appear.

The second rule has to do with the pursuit of a solution. By and large, finding a solution to restore the links between Palestine and the Palestinians

organized the post-1948 discourse. Several scenarios evolved since then, they include the liberation of entire Palestine, democratic state for all and a state of any part of Palestine, which finally transformed into the two-state solution. All of this transpired after deep adjustments and even disappearance of central orienting concepts in the discourse.

The third rule organized the order after 1948 through process of socialization, referentiality and temporary and provisional thinking style. Any arrangement since *an-Nakba* was articulated as a temporary and provisional one until a final solution is reached (liberation and return). However, the provisional horizon became self-fulfilling and the norm. In the meantime, the practice of referentiality, drawing back to a wide range of political, diplomatic and legal statements, invited new styles and concepts into the purview of circulated articulation. Referentiality, best captured by the phrase “Arab and International legitimacy” (*al-shar‘iyya al-‘arabiyya wa al-dawliyya*), became the source for stipulating and deriving discursive material. In short, international and Arab interpretation of the question of Palestine reigned over the understanding of the Palestinian “national rights.” These rights were linked and derived from unstable and changing reference points. The power-relations are embedded in the referential rule itself and they flowed in one direction. The problem is therefore not a strong/weak dichotomy but a system of power differential.

Part III

This part of the dissertation takes key selected documents from the Israel-Palestine peace process record and the 'Palestine Papers' as a text for interpretative analysis. This wide range of textual material shares a common theme that represents the official Palestinian political communication with the Israeli counterpart.

While examining this material I am trying to continue to uncover the internal rules of formations and logics of the Palestinian political discourse. Moreover, I attempt to analyze how this discourse continued to evolve and change since early 1990s. Indeed, since 1991 the Palestinian political discourse became in a direct relationship and exchange with the Israeli occupation discourse. I also examine how the occupied internalizes from the discourse of its occupier. With this question in mind, the analysis explains how discursive transformations and internalization reshape the Palestinian perception of Palestine and the question of Palestine.

Here is a brief overview of the main findings of this part. First, metaphor from different regimes of thought have intersected and produced new discursive material, deferred and discontinued others; second, an embedded motion metaphor in peace-building processes in general, and the Israel-Palestine peace process in particular, has structured the Palestinian discourse for the last two decades; third, logic of division has made it possible to replace Palestine as an imagined totality by several divisions; fourth, the realist-

liberalist understanding of peace has played a significant role in shaping and setting priorities for Palestinian discourse. This realist-liberalist version of peace develops into two main rules: peace as security and the market logic; both logics have played a central role in orienting the ways in which each divided part is modulated. Together, the last three hypotheses have reduced the complexity of the Palestinian question to fairly abstract and logarithmic simulacra.

To mention briefly three methodological points, firstly, while discourse does not consist of ready-made documents, but needs to be analytically constructed based on the visible and invisible relations and linkages that make articulation possible. Once these relations are constructed, they provide an analytical lens for re-reading the textual content afresh. Therefore, the methodological basis of this part involves a double reading of the same text. The primary reading is concerned with the construction of analytical relations, regimes of thought and rules of formations as discussed in the methodology chapter. The discoveries and perspectives of the first reading inform the second reading which is more concerned with the performativity of discourse.

Secondly, key junctures can be used methodologically to organize the analysis. They also help to put discourse within a contextual framework, both spatially and temporally, especially when the case study is stretched over a long period of time where many factors are involved. However, these junctures do not exist in themselves, but they are constructed as such through numerous practices. The signing of the Declaration of Principles in 1993 between the PLO and Israel is constituted as a key juncture. This construction is a product of various discourses: (1) a prior discourse about peace negotiations since 1988 until the Oslo channel came out to the public; (2) during the signing, which includes indirect meanings derived from what the place (in the White House garden) represents, the ceremony, media, live streaming, and direct articulations in speeches of politicians who pronounced the event as a “key junction”, “a new dawn” and “a new history”; (3) the discourse and concrete acts that followed after the event itself. Given this

background, this part of the dissertation is analytically structured on the juncture of the Declaration of Principles and tries to analyze the discursive development around it.

Peace from within the ‘Process’: A Metaphorical Conceptual System

Deferral in Motion

Before going any further, it is worthwhile recalling the emotional status of the Palestinian leadership that became embroiled in the peace process. This leadership regarded the Palestinians’ achievement as deeply ephemeral and volatile. “The accomplishments which the Palestinians achieved as individuals or collectives resemble tall buildings without ceilings, or decoration trees without deep roots, vulnerable to be easily pulled out from their places. This reinforced the dream of return which has been enriched by powerful feelings of dispossession and lack of citizenship in exile.” (Abu-Alaa 2005: 18) This psychological consciousness underlies the transitional and temporary thinking.

The idea of “transitional” agreements and understandings that may “lead to” a Palestinian self-determination is consonant with the Palestinian “interim”⁶⁶ thinking in the pursuit of a solution since *An-Nakba*. It resonates at different levels of Palestinian society. For instance, the leadership of the West Bank and Gaza declared, “Any *phases* in the peace process must be clearly designated as *interim stages* in an overall process, with internal coherence and causality logic, *leading to* the defined objective of independence and statehood, security, and genuine regional stability and development.” (G.37 1991, emphasis added)

⁶⁶ This is not to say that all Palestinians have endorsed the “transitional” thinking, however, it has been dominant among the representative leadership. For example, the PLO went further and proposed a model of a “Palestinian interim self-governing authority” (H25 1992: 59).

Indeed, since the late 1980s, the PLO saw the solution in a negotiated peace deal with Israel, as shown earlier. The general transitional thinking mood was again put into concrete political outcomes. The PLO's situation was articulated as "revolutionary reality" (*al-waqi' al-thawri*), implying an historical link between the PLO's discourse of the 1960s and self-perception, and the concrete diplomatic approach it has followed. The subject-position of revolutionaries is juxtaposed with "the possible" and the "real" to constitute the "realistic revolutionaries" (*al-thawriyyuwn al-waqi'iyyuwn*) subject. The "possible" and "real" is constructed as evolving temporally in phases. From this perspective, the PLO adopted the "burning phases method" (*manhajiyat harq al-marahil*), step-by-step, to break the Israeli "NOs" and "register precedence" (*tasjil sabiqqa*) (Abu-Alaa 2005: 19). Meanwhile, diplomacy and negotiation were represented as "the only possible" way forward and "a compulsory corridor" (Ibid. 29; 44).

The process to reach such a deal has been actualized through diplomatic rituals in multiple series of negotiation meetings, declarations, summits, conferences, exchange of letters, speeches, and so forth. These rituals were named the "peace process". The phrase, "peace process", links two different and contested concepts: peace and a process. Peace belongs to the realm of ideas and therefore it is an interpretation and means different things to different people. Meanwhile, the realist-liberalist perspective on peace dominates peacebuilding imagination and blueprints. The realist-liberalist peace unfolds in a calculative "inner" motion in the automata called *process*. These automata have officially been fuelled with self-perpetuating rituals since the Madrid Conference in 1991, both in secret and in public.⁶⁷ The metaphor in the word *process*, as a calculated and mechanized series of events, bestowed an analytical context and guidance to the practical actions of peace agents.

⁶⁷ The Israeli Government and the PLO negotiated publicly in Washington after Madrid Conference, whereas a secret negotiation channel was initiated in early 1993 in Oslo.

Building on the realist-liberalist 'rational' calculations of peace, the period that followed the Declaration of Principles in September 1993 was constituted and imagined even before it had begun. For the Palestinians, the Declaration of Principles represented "a new journey towards a new future" and a moment where "peace has started" (I.1: 141, 11). Oslo Accords "put our people at the onset of the road towards independence and the establishment of the entity and glory [*al-kayan wa al-majd*]" (Abu-Alaa 2005: 14). Similarly, the Israelis perceived themselves as embarking on "a new journey... [and a] new dawn" (I.1: 141, 11). Peace agents positioned themselves in a "moving process"; however, each side contemplated a completely different direction of the upcoming journey. On the one hand, the Palestinians conceived themselves as part of a process "leading to", and "towards", their statehood and self-determination on the part of mandatory Palestine. On the other hand the Israelis saw a process "leading to" an "arrangement" to the Palestinian issue and an opportunity to maximize security and a continued hegemony (Ben-Ami 2006).⁶⁸

Motion logic directed reason, order and priorities. Essentially, the process was divided into two sequential phases: first, a "transitional period leading to a permanent settlement based on the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338" (I.4: article 1: 145, 12). Everything in this "transitional" phase was unstable and negotiable, and hence transpired a mixture of kinetic and ambiguous terminology to guide behavior. For example, authority, land, military forces were rendered "transferable", this was coded in agreements as follows: "orderly transfer of authority from Israel", "Israeli will withdraw and re-deploy its forces", "dissolve its Civil Administration", "the Palestinian Authority will assume executive authority in the area of responsibilities transferred to it" in a piecemeal style (H.25: 59). The principle of "moving forward" justified a re-categorization of particular central issues as "final status", "complicated"

⁶⁸ The Oslo Accords including Paris Economic Protocol have effectively institutionalized the Israeli hegemony over the Palestinians. For thorough critique of Oslo Accords see Edward Said, *The End of the Peace Process*, 2001.

issues and an impediment to progress and movement. Therefore, they (final status issues and self-determination) needed to be postponed and deferred.

Meanwhile, such a moving process is supposed to usher a subsequent “permanent” and static phase. Motion would end when all “outstanding issues” were settled. The diplomatic record is awash with motion figures of speech. As discussed in the first chapter, these metaphors have functional purposes and orientations to which politicians are not necessarily conscious of. To illustrate the point I am attempting to make here about how the concept of motion guided the peacemaking framework, it is worth citing, at some length, extractions from the peace agents’ statements (notice added emphasis):

I have been filled with faith that the arduous *trek* on the long *path* of pain will end in our home’s yard ... to take the first *steps* in the battle, the battle of peace, (Arafat J.9: 236: 21)

Because peace requires concerted *action*, the parties agreed to explore practical *steps* in the political, economic, security, and human dimension... to *accelerate* negotiations on all tractions” (J.13: 239: 22). The peace process is the only *path* to *security and peace* for Israel, the Palestinians and neighbouring states. (K.5: 275: 24) We have return to the *path of peace* along which they have already *traveled* so far. (K.20: 294: 26) For three years now, the Israelis and the Palestinians have been *moving forward along the path* to a lasting peace. (K.24: 297: 26)

This [Hebron] agreement represents an important *step on the road towards* a just and stable peace (K.44: 321) ... leaders agreed that the Oslo peace process must *move forward* to succeed. (K.46: 322) Hebron agreement is “an important *step towards* ... using the *momentum* created by the Hebron agreement (L:1).

we’ve obviously made remarkable *strides*... *put* the peace process *back on track* (L14: 342)... We will be talking ... about how best to *move forward*. And we will look for the *ways* to do that.” (L.14: 342) ...

put peace negotiations *back on track*... The *next step* in the process (L14: 343)... the peace process was *back on the track* (L.10: 338) to *get the peace process back on track*. We have been *pushing* very much (L.24: 355).

Israelis and Palestinians in Oslo opened the *path* to their peaceful coexistence... It is time to take concerted *steps towards* a lasting peace.” (L28: 357)... we think there should be *positive steps forward* by both the Palestinians and the Israel to *reignite* the peace process and to *reengineer* peace negotiations. (L.14: 343)

to create *thrusting force* in order to achieve a *breakthrough* and *move* the negotiation process ... *pushing* Israel to realize what remains from the short distance on *way* to sit with the PLO ... linking between stages in order not to be frozen phase but a moving and gradual one towards the final situation ... the latent *thrusting power* in the peace process (Abu-Alaa 2005: 114; 169; 332).

The Palestinian national “rights” were transformed into “outstanding issues”, “permanent status issues” (*qadaya al-hal al-da'im*) and “core issues”. The nature of these “issues” has to be processed and determined within the automata of peace, namely, the rituals of peacemaking. These rituals were constituted as the “only way” and the “only option” for resolving the conflict and generating peace.

Once the process is put in motion, a considerable institutional and structural power flows via discourse to keep it going. Moving “forward”, “progress” and “momentum” are hierarchically superior than their implied opposite (backward, reactionary, motionless). Therefore, taking measures to “save”, “protect” and “revive” the process *per se* appear ethically defensible and desirable (Doc.2100; 1451; 1440). The pacemakers “endeavor to save the peace process, to protect it and to put it back on track” (L.10: 339), ensure its “irreversibility” justified various sorts of (violent) actions which were articulated as procedures to “*combat* all acts that aim to *destroy the peace process*, particularly terrorism and violence, and to *stand staunchly* against and *put an end* to all such acts.” (J.13: 239: 22, emphasis added) The effect of this understanding has re-regulated the relationship between the occupied and occupier through a judicial and institutional construct. It has also produced new binary categories in Palestinian society such as, pro/anti-Oslo, with/against the PA, violent/non-violent, resistance/compromise, lawful/fugitive, pragmatic/ideological, realistic/unrealistic, and so forth, which led to a further Palestinian political disintegration.

The other half of the binary is always indicating an anti-peace force and thus an obstacle to progress. Impeding the movement of the peace process by being “un-pragmatic” and “unrealistic” seemed to be worth the blame and punishment. Anything that does not fit this system of peace construed as

“endanger[ing] peace and stability” (I.2: 142, 11). To realize a “future of peace, security and stability” requires that the peacemakers be at once worriers who, “continue to *combat* terror” and peace agents who, “*pave the way* for a Palestinian-Israeli future devoid of *terror and violence*” (K.1: 271: 24, emphasis added). The uncertainty in the internal dynamics of motion has always been overtaken by self-assuring presuppositions elicited from the realist-liberalist peace-building paradigm. For example, when someone states that “the process is put on track”, s/he presupposes the existence of the track and that such a track is (supposedly) leading to peace.

It is important to explicate how and in what ways positive notions of motion produced particular conceptions of peace, and how certain practical measures were justified. Generally speaking, peace appeared in the image of an object undergoing constant motion and transformation. It is something that “grows”, is “entrenched”, is “built”; it requires a “solid basis” and “material conditions”. It has “enemies” and “friends”; it is also precarious and in continued danger and risk from the “enemies of peace”. Subsequently, peace-builders must undertake two opposite acts: to “build and protect” and “combat and eliminate”. There is “no real peace *without* security and stability. The parties declared that they are committed to *combat* all acts that aim to *destroy* the peace process, particularly *terrorism and violence*, and to *stand staunchly* against and *put an end* to all such acts.” (I.13 1995: 239) Peace is therefore constructed as being contingent upon security. Let us now leave the discussion on the peace/security nexus and its impact on the Palestinian discourse at this level since more will be said on this later.

Such perceptions of peace at the cross lines of building/destroying stimulated the construction of a “non-peace” subject-position which functions as a constitutive other. The “enemies of peace” (the other) stand in competition with the “alliance for peace”. It has also informed the action and embedded forces of “destruction” and “violence” on the menu of the “required” elements for peacemaking. Besides “promot[ing] security and stability” peace agents must also “prevent the enemies of peace from achieving their ultimate

objective of destroying the real opportunity for peace” (J.26 1996). The pursuit of peace bifurcated violence into two types: one from within, which is never constituted as violence but a “legitimate” and “required” act. The other type is automatically classified into violence and terrorism. Hence the “alliance for peace” is founded on a premise that does “not allow anti-peace forces to prevail” (Alliance for Peace, L.4 1997: 331). “The enemies of peace are purposefully and relentlessly attacking Israel. So that *war against terror being waged by those who support the path of peace.*” (Albright L.31 1997: 365, emphasis added) The confused and ambiguous notions of “enemy” and “violence” contested the nature of peace. If “violence serves the enemies of peace”, as the European Parliament declared, then how is it possible that violent acts carried out in the name of peace do not serve the enemies? In reality, the peace process gave violence form and validity as a means to “save”, “protect” and “put the peace process on the track” (K.2 1996: 273; L.10 1997: 339). This analytical bifurcation with its prior well-received framework of legitimate/illegitimate and builders/destroyers binary interprets which acts merit the name, ‘violence’ or ‘non-violence’. This intimately corroborates the construction of an internal Palestinian other as I shall argue in later chapters.

Additionally, the representation of peace as motion swept through the discourse of donors and funders of the peace process. For example, EU policymakers circulated the same motion-laden tropes such as: “*rule of the road* for the negotiating process” (EU L.28 1997: 360), “*rowing* together in the *direction* of security”, “put the peace process back on *track*”, “*restore momentum, ... accelerating* permanent status negotiations” (EU L.28 1997: 361-2). While having these motion schemata in mind, certain actions were articulated as “obstacles” to peace. It informed and intercepted the UN legal judgment. For instance, a UN resolution called the Jewish-only settlements in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza “illegal and a major obstacle to peace” (L.6 1997: 333). These enunciations blur the line between international law and the peace process, and put the latter on a par with international law.

The “process” of peace coincided with another “process” to govern motion. The latter process has direct impacts on the spatial sphere of the Palestinian representatives and institutions. The Israeli policy began building the matrix of control, whether in agreements or on the ground, before the PLO’s arrival at the West Bank and Gaza to constrain and dominate the latter’s spatial horizon. It may be useful here to analyze, briefly, this process of control and the degree of Palestinian internalization because this is the area from which the Palestinian representatives operated since 1994.

This matrix of control regulates movement over the two sides of the “Green” or Armistice Line. The West Bank (of the Jordan River) designation has been established in the Palestinian discourse to encounter the ideological designation, “Judea and Samaria”, and “territories” in the official and everyday Israeli discourse (Shenhav 2007). How to regulate movement flow became a conundrum. After all, Israel wants to maintain an uninterrupted ‘Jewish’ movement between what is, and what is not, “Judea and Samaria”, and to simultaneously regulate the Palestinian spatial existence. This conundrum was addressed through policy of spatial ambiguity. The elusive term, *territories* (*shtahim* in Hebrew), became hegemonic in designating the areas inhabited by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Therefore, a new system guided by an ethno-religious binary, Jewish/non-Jewish, has emerged to regulate motion.

The motion control apparatus have been in constant development since 1991. The Israeli authorities devised and enforced the permit system over the Palestinians who hold orange (later green) identification documents in accordance with the Israeli-controlled population registry. The Israeli authorities define the criteria (age, gender, material status, intelligence record, *etc.*) for the individual in order to be entitled to such permit. Israel, thus, sets the conditions for the possibility of moving on two accounts: first, by defining the spatial boundaries for those who were given movement permits, and second, by shrinking the spatial domain of those who do not meet the criteria.

The ratification of the Oslo Accords generated a “new reality” which justified “creating a *mechanism that facilitates the entry and exit of people and goods*, reflecting the *new reality*” (I.13 1994: 157, emphasis added). The term to “facilitate” warranted procedures that have deepened and sophisticated the structure of control. It was already obvious that the control “mechanism” is not intended to “facilitate”, therefore the counting on “modern procedures” for moral validation is as follows: “The two sides are determined to do their utmost to *maintain the dignity of persons* passing through the border crossings. To this end, the mechanism created will *rely heavily on brief and modern procedures.*” (Ibid. emphasis added) This system had been in place before the arrival of the PLO and its related institutions. It has strategically “regulated” the movement of the Palestinian leadership and institutionalized it in the form of “given” (and thus withdrawn) “special arrangements” and VIP entitlements.

Moreover, policies of spatial reorganization were carried out to further movement control and oversight. A new net of roads was designed to achieve a fluid movement for Israelis (mainly Jewish) and the degradation of the Palestinian possibility to move. Or indeed, establishing hierarchical order based on ethno-religious identities. Every Palestinian urban area was generically codified as an “Area”, and summed into “Areas”⁶⁹ in harmony with the Israeli concept of “territories”. At the entrance of every Palestinian city, village or camp there is a red sign (ca. 1.5 square meters) characterizing the area behind it and movement regulations. The sign says: “A Palestinian area A, No entry for Israelis —entry into this area is a violation of the [Israeli] law.” Ironically, there is no equivalent sign on areas designated exclusively for non-Palestinians (i.e., Jewish settlements). Additionally, ethno-religious-based roads and border/checkpoint crossings (e.g., “Palestinian wing” and “Israel wing”) coupled with colonially defined privileges (e.g., “Special arrangements

⁶⁹ According to Paris Protocol the term areas “means the areas under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority” (Paris Protocol 1994: 163). This entails that the Palestinian leadership endorsed the all out codification of the Palestinian urban areas into “Areas”.

will apply VIPs crossing through the Palestinian Wing”⁷⁰ (I.13 1994: 158)) have prevailed since the Oslo Accords in 1993. The Palestinian leadership endorsed, normalized and internalized the Israeli domination and control so long as it remains “in an invisible manner”, behind “tinted glass”, with an “indirect and invisible Israeli checking” (Ibid. 158-9) and in absolute secrecy (Doc.2702).

Discourse is not something coherent and without contradictions; on some occasions, the Palestinians resisted the secretive styles. For example, the Palestinians preferred pure occupation (“In this case we prefer occupation”) as a response to an Israeli insistence on codifying the Israeli oversight, “We insist on some Israeli ‘stuff’ [on borders]; but maybe we can hide it” (Doc.616, UD, SE respectively).

Land, goods and people were re-characterized to fit in the crafted mechanism to control the “state of nature” in the West Bank and Gaza, so to speak. The Palestinians (in the West Bank and Gaza) were given new green-coloured identification documents, permits for movement and magnetic IDs. Land was virtually divided into areas A, B and C, the sea was divided into areas K, L and M, and goods were categorized into A1, A2 and B. The powerful side defined the criteria (e.g., area, quantity and type) and ensured a chronic dependency and underdevelopment (see Roy 2007).⁷¹ Under the guise of

⁷⁰ Another example of “given” privileges is exempting “the Palestinian returnees who will be granted permanent residency in the Areas from import taxes on personal belongings including house appliances and passenger cars as long as they are for personal use.” (Paris Protocol 1994:166)

⁷¹ Paris Protocol links and weighs the price of every product and services in the West Bank and Gaza with the Israeli market. For example, if the quantity of imported goods is classified into category A1 and A2, if the quantity exceeds “the agreed upon” limit the PA must charge no less than the Israeli purchase tax and levies. Israel has automatic veto power on the quantity and type of imported goods (“agreed upon”). Paris Protocol formalized Israel’s economic hegemony over the Palestinian market through different ways: using Israel’s currency, Israeli monopoly over customs, fixing Palestinian VAT (15-16%) at a similar rate to

“free trade economy” and “consolidate a foundation of free-market economy” (J.1 1994), the Palestinian economy was put in an unequal competition with the well-established Israeli economy.

The Palestinian leadership has been a paradoxical “partner” divided between substantive achievements and symbolic gestures. For example, on the one hand, they have been asking for “settlement freeze”, while on the other hand, they have agreed to reap the “full amount of income tax collected from Palestinians” employed in the settlements, mainly in construction (Paris Protocol 1994, article v/b 1994: 168). Moreover, the Palestinians assumed the responsibility of protecting settlements: “the Palestinian side shall take all measures necessary to prevent such hostile acts directed against the settlements” (I.19 art. xviii, 1994: 179). The British military liaison officer took it for granted that NSF “concept of operation” includes the protection of Israeli settlements (Doc.308: article 14, B-3). Obviously, this implies an implicit illation that the Palestinians can tolerate the continuation of the Jewish-only settlements on the very area on which they aim to establish their own state on. Despite the sheer paradox between the unabated Israeli expansions that is at odds with the principle of, “land for peace”, the Palestinians continued to engage with the peace process. The Palestinian inconsistent behavior helped the Americans (among others) to downgrade their pleas, as George Mitchell puts it: “I have a 6 inch folder on my desk containing all your statements on the settlement freeze, and despite that you negotiated.” (Doc.4899)

Old Conceptions Rethought

This flow of metaphorical abstractions and, of course, the entailed actions have effects on key concepts in the Palestinian discourse. We should therefore ask about the meaning and position that particular organizing

Israeli one (17%). Moreover, gasoline price is directly linked to the gasoline price in Israel, the difference in price should not exceed 15%, and of course this affect freight costs (ibid. 1994).

concepts, such as Palestine, liberation, return and resistance, gain in the new discursive flow.

The preeminence of “transition and motion” rule intercepted the possibility of articulating and making interpretations. The *possibility* itself is constrained and negotiated through peace rituals. That is to say, self-imagination is not a reflection of the ‘self’ but rather a complex and an unfinished process of analysis, projections and re-projection founded on referentiality and peace rituals. These rituals became another constitutive substratum. The Palestinians positioned themselves in uncertain temporary settings during the “interim phase” in parts of the West Bank and Gaza (“Gaza-Jericho first”) while looking for opportunities via peace rituals for further spatial and status *extension*.

Motion-ridden configurative tropes such as “*transfer* of jurisdiction”, “*withdrawal* of Israeli military government and its civil administration”, “*withdrawal* from all populated areas”, “*withdrawal* in mutually agreed phases to *redeployment* points along the borders of the occupied territories”, “further redeployment”, *etc.* (H.25 1992: 59-60) molded the nature of conceivable actions. Such tropes are entrenched in the (supposedly) peace-oriented Palestinian discourse; they gained primacy over revolutionary and self-determination vocabulary. Thus, a new competing cause, “the cause of genuine peace”, emerged on the PLO’s agenda, which later substituted its original *raison d’être* as a liberation movement and expressed its goal to “support and advance *the cause of genuine peace* based on international legitimacy and justice.” (H.27 1992: 62) The PLO executive committee declared in the name of all Palestinians that: “Our brave people will remain determined on their *aims and rights* until just and *honorable peace* is attained...” (I.3 1993: 144, emphasis added)

Substitution and discontinuation of “liberation rationale” in favor of the “cause of peace” (or an “honourable peace”) carried with it the possibility of reinterpreting the relationship between the occupied and occupier

(Palestinians and Israelis respectively). The occupied-occupier relationship was reproduced in the form of a *dispute* between two *parties* which needed to be settled through *only* direct negotiations: “We see no way for any *dispute* to be *settled* without *direct talks* between the *parties* to that *dispute*” (Abu-Sharif, G.8 1988: 310, emphasis added). In short, the order of replacement is like this: dispute replaced conflict (Doc.3597), before that, conflict had replaced occupation and the latter replaced conquest and imperialism, as shown in earlier chapters. Introducing the dispute relationship involves a *difference of opinions* about certain “outstanding issues”, less than a national cause, and a commitment to resolve “all outstanding issues ... through negotiations” (I.2 1993: 142). The term “outstanding issues” is deceiving as it misleadingly implies that, “other” issues were already resolved. This belittles the depth of problem.

The “peaceful settlement” (*al-taswiyya al-silmiyya*) and the “dispute to be settled” (*hal al-sira', hal al-niza'*) replaced the logic of liberation altogether. Such phrases explain the extent to which the Palestinians have internalized the Israeli formula for “self-government arrangements”, “coordination” and “self-rule” for the “inhabitants of the territories” whereby these inhabitants are given “an opportunity to *run their own affairs* in most *spheres*” (H.29: 1992: 65, 6, emphasis added) or to “enable the Palestinians to *administer* their own affairs” (H.42 1992: 120, emphasis added). To internalize does not necessarily mean to accept, rather to go along with it as a *fait accompli*. To be sure, the Palestinian leadership drafted and approved a similar self-governing model that involves the establishment of a “new authority” to “enable the Palestinians to gain control over political, economic and other decisions that affect their lives and fate.” (H.32 1992: 73) The result of the practical measures taken to create a “new authority” with little administrative self-governing arrangement has never been deliberated or critically analyzed.

Indeed, Oslo Accords define the scope of “spheres”⁷² in a functional and service-based way. Moreover, spheres-based agreement has decentralized the Palestinian authority vis-à-vis Israel into a mere direct “coordination” not only between the main Palestinian authority but also every authority-organ has its quasi-independent relations with Israel. Serious debate on possible ramifications was demoted in maintaining rhetorical devices, quickly contradicted by concrete practices, such as adherence to the national firm Palestinians rights, the new situation “does not in any way prejudice the exercise of their legitimate right to self-determination,” and so on (H.32 1992).

Despite the change in the representative Palestinian discourse, the essence of the occupier-occupied relationship between Israel and Palestinians did not change much in reality. However, the peace process introduced an additional net of intermediary institutions (e.g., offices, centers, committees and sub-committees⁷³) to administer and run Palestinian affairs. So instead of terminating the institutions of the Israeli military government and its “civil” administration, which have been in place since 1967, the intermediaries

⁷² September 1992, the Israeli Government led by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin proposed the following 15 spheres: Administration of justice, administration of personal matters, Agriculture, Ecology, Education and Culture, Finance Budget and Taxation, Health, Social Welfare, Industry and Commerce Communication, Labor, Local police, Local transportation, Municipal affairs, Religious affairs, Tourism (H.41 1992). The Spheres “encompass nearly all aspect of the Palestinians’ daily life. Issues relating to security, foreign relations, Israeli and vital Israeli needs in the territories will remain in Israel’s hand in the framework of residual power.” (H.41 1992: 99) Israel transferred authorities in the following spheres: “education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, tourism, and other authorities agreed upon.” (I.4 1993: 149, article iv) Hanan Ashrawi declined this proposal.

⁷³ Examples: “Coordination”, “Liaison Office”, Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee”, “Joint Regional Civil Affairs Sub-Committee”, “Maritime Coordination and Cooperation Center”, “Aviation Sub-Committee” and “Ministries”.

coexisted with them. In fact, the traditional occupation institutions “empowered” and “legitimized” the new intermediaries (J.6, article vi 1994).

The intermediary institutional dispersion represents a schema for division and delegation of labor between existing and new institutions. So the entire act of managing the occupied Palestinians was redistributed afresh. The flow of information and power via intermediaries was given a new shape through mechanisms of “coordination”, “cooperation”, “liaison”, “communicate” and so forth. These mechanisms establish and service the micro-power relations that “monitor” and ensure the continuation of “exchange of information between the two sides” (I.19 1994, Annex I: 181; J.6 1994, article x, Annex iii). The control extends over dead as much as it does the living Palestinians; hence the PA is obliged to “inform the Civil Administration in a routine manner of birth or deaths” (J.6 Annex ii, 1994: 217). This allows traditional institutions of occupation to update their detailed information about its occupied subjects. It also, retrospectively, indicates a Palestinian participation and internalization of the primacy of the occupation institutions in determining and keeping track of who is Palestinian and who is not. The gist of these measures warrants an Israeli overarching in the new framework of Palestinian-run institutions.

Instead of ending domination, the peace process furthered it by compelling the occupied to *coordinated* and *cooperate* with its occupier. The current Palestinian state of affairs is ordered by a Palestinian-Israeli relationship based on dependency and dominance over almost all imaginable domains (e.g., economy, military, jurisdiction, cultural sphere, *etc.*).

Facts and indications gathered from the negotiation record and agreements between the PLO/PA and Israel are particularly telling. The relationship is codified into agreements and treaties that institutionalize the Israeli hegemony and dominance under the pretense of ambiguous formulas of “coordination”, “cooperation” and “state-to-state relation”. Security and economic relations are among the key arrangements that govern the Palestinian/Israeli relationship on the macro and micro-level. Security-wise, at the macro-level,

the PA/PLO has endorsed foreign tutelage composed of military bodies. They argued for “bilateral and regional security cooperation from Israel based on the principle of reciprocity and sovereign equality” and “strong international presence... under the leadership of the UN, NATO, US, EU, or a combination therefore” (Doc.2702, annex). It is not clear what “reciprocity and sovereign equality” means in a context of gigantic and powerful institutions.

Co-operation or collaboration with Israel (*al-ta'awun ma' isra'il*) used to be taboo in the Palestinian discourse. Palestinians executed many of their fellows on the ground of “*al-ta'awun*”. With Oslo Accords and the Roadmap of 2003 cooperation, especially security cooperation (*al-ta'awun al-amni*) became systematic and customary. The prefix, “co-”, connotes a joint act and purpose, and moderates the psychological distance between involved parties and distorts the reality of the occupier-occupied relationship by representing it in the mask of something else. The logic of co-ordination and co-operation has been internalized at micro-level of daily interactions. For example, the PA complained about the Israeli raids on Palestinian towns because of the *lack of a prior coordination* with the PA, not raids or the Israeli military “missions” *per se*. This is what the Chief PLO/PA Negotiator Saeb Erekat argued for: “Israel *has not coordinated its activities with Palestinian security forces* despite its obligation to do so under the Interim Agreement and the Road Map. It *failed to share any information about its planned military activities in Nablus.*” (Doc.2918, emphasis added) In other instances, the Palestinians asked Israeli security to submit a name-list of the “dangerous [Palestinian] people” to the PA in order to arrest them instead of Israel doing it. (Doc.2657, Doc.1832).

The Agreement on Movement and Access (AMA) for the Rafah Crossing between Gaza and Egypt (signed in November 2005) is an exemplary model for the supposed borders/crossing into the Palestinian state (Doc.3264). In essence, the AMA operates with “invisible” Israeli control. The agreement creates three types of responsibility: first, the Palestinian side performs the required action; second, the EU and US contribute with funds, equipment and

monitor the performance of the Palestinians; third, the Israeli side approves and decides.

The coordination-cooperation schema proscribed a US-led training and preparation of the Palestinian security personnel, European funding, and Israeli ability to evaluate and approve or disapprove the Palestinian performance. This schema co-opted the Palestinian security and political leadership. For example, the Palestinian Prime Minister, Salam Fayyad, was recorded in a security meeting as saying that the “Israelis, even [Yuval] Diskin,⁷⁴ are saying good things about Pal[estinian] performance.” (Doc. 3274)

The application of coordination-cooperation resulted in a process of externalization of a section of the Palestinian people who do not seem to fit the peace process mold, and hence, they fit the constitution of an internal Palestinian ‘other’. Many security meetings provided candid exchange of information and political analysis on the situation of Hamas and Gaza, especially since 2006. The language depicted the ‘internal other’ as a security threat and an obdurate obstacle to the peace process motion. The following summary of a security meeting between the Palestinian side represented by Saeb Erekat (SE) and Col. Hazem Attallah (HA) and the Israeli side represented by Ephraim Sneh (ES) and Eitan Dangot (ED) demonstrates the openness of questions and answers with regard to the conditions of Palestinian ‘other’:

ES: how many loyal men do you have now in the PG?

ED asked about the recent transfer of guns from Jordan. HA replied that 200 guns were transferred to Ramallah and 465 to Gaza. He said that a number of the guns are not fit for use (some are very old –1950s). He said he needed at least functional Kalashnikovs. He concluded that this transfer is insufficient. His preliminary assessment was that 60 out of the 200 guns in Ramallah are simply not useable.

⁷⁴ Yuval Diskin is the former director of the General Security Service (*Shabak*) in Israel.

ED asked about number of people that Hamas has on the ground in Gaza.

HA said the estimate is up to 5000.

ES asked about reports that there may be an agreement with Hamas: If so, what will happen?

SE said it will [sic] not happen. The issue is not about forming a joint government –rather it's about the programme, and the Quartet conditions. (Doc.640)

In practice, surveillance and censorship of “mosques” and control of “*al-zaqat*” (Islamic religious donation), “killing Palestinians”, incarceration and violations of human rights have become established Palestinian measures to deal with the ‘internal other’ (Doc.4827). “Observing and follow[ing] incitement in mosques, schools, universities and residential clusters, and local media” also became usual activities (Doc.160, Doc.173). Ironically, the US-EU training programs (supposedly) “heavy on human rights” (Dayton 2009: 7) did not impede human rights violations. As General Keith Dayton put it: “the [PA] intelligence guys are good. The Israelis like them. They say they are giving as much as they are taking from them –but they are causing some problems for international donors because they are torturing people.” (Doc.4676) The way the *General* articulates torture and aid highlights perfectly his (as a representative of US-EU project) callous indifference towards the former, but a more concern with funds for his mission in the West Bank and Gaza. As a matter of fact, the Head of the PA security forces admitted that despite his understanding of human rights the PA forces were given orders to shoot Palestinians, in his own words: “In Qabatya today when someone shot at the NSF [PA National Security Forces], they shot back. That is the way, they have to learn to respect the authority of the Palestinian security forces. I understand human rights, but this is not Switzerland.” (Doc.2520, HA)

The Palestinian security apparatus internalized the Israeli security language to the extent that they contemplated “the possibility ... of establishing a secure buffer zone to prevent missiles launches” (Doc.616, HA). Acts against

occupation sounded unreasonable to the Palestinian leadership. For example, in a security meeting with Dayton, Erekat wondered, “why anyone would attack Karni [Crossing]. What is their interest?” Activities like attacks on Karni or launching missiles were constructed as a vehicle, “to undermine the president [Abbas], and generally to cause trouble.” (Ibid.) In other words, these acts are irrational and only “cause trouble”, and most importantly, the Palestinian leadership did not view Israel’s policies as a valid justification for such acts. The above framing constitutes a positive link between Israel, the PA and internal Palestinian politics that helps to interpret acts of resistance against occupation as being against the Palestinian leadership.

Indeed, the PA is co-opted by the realist-liberal peace, or the American-European framework of peace. And since 2002 it has increasingly believed that implementing the precepts of this peace and doing “everything possible to build the [state] institutions” is the only way towards Palestinian statehood (Doc.4827).

Confusion by Design

The piecemeal transformation of the Palestinian political discourse established a certain vision of “the possible” and “the realistic” (*al-mumkin, al-waqi'i*) based on fragmented readings of the equivocal geopolitical conditions, diplomatic interactions and interpretations of UN resolutions, yet with an equally caricature-like grasp of the object of this reading, the reality (*al-waqi'*) in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza, and how others, mainly Israel and the US, interpreted this object. The PLO/PA gave up the quest for justice in favour of a “realistic” territorial existence, its boundaries were conceived through the so-called “Arab and international legitimacy”, believing that they have already made a compromise by accepting 22 percent of historical Palestine. In his letter to President Clinton during the Camp David negotiations in 2000 Arafat made it clear that: “by accepting UNSC resolution 242, I have accepted 22 percent only from the historical land of Palestine. Thus I have made the biggest and foremost concession for a final settlement” (cited in Abu-Alaa 2006: 352).

However, the internalized terminology (e.g. “based on” and “in accordance with resolution 242 and 338”, “agreed upon”) tilted towards the Israeli understanding: that the compromise is not yet made and it needs to be worked out from within the 22 percent.⁷⁵ For example, the Declaration of Principles specifies two things: “permanent status issues” and “permanent status negotiations”. Moreover, Article IV states clearly that certain permanent issues, “will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations.” (I.4 1993: 145) Ironically, the PLO recognized Israel yet without a single word to describe its territorial character.

Peace is not singular or unitary but a compound situation of consistent and inconsistent narratives, justice and injustice; it is a situation where neither component is denied but rather given an opportunity. Therefore, my critique of the peace process is concerned with the denial of an equal opportunity to articulate the terms of peace, and justice and fairness from the beginning. However, the peace process framework determined these terms in advance. The language of power/politics modulates the contents of the concept of peace; hence, it is either just or unjust according to power/politics conditions. The US laid down principles of the “just peace” between Israel and the Palestinians after it had emerged triumphant in the first Gulf War 1990-1 as follows:

A comprehensive peace must be grounded in the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition, and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin test of fairness and security... we must foster economic development for the sake of peace and progress... foster economic freedom and prosperity for all people in region... By meeting these challenges, we can build a framework for peace. (Bush 1991, emphasis added)

⁷⁵ Israeli interpretation of 242 is different from the Palestinians

On this view, although the “peace” framework was stabilized to some extent, the object of negotiations was confused from the beginning. The PLO’s starting point is the historic Palestine (and settled on 22 percent), whereas the Israeli starting point is from within the 22 percent of Palestine (West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza). Despite this key ‘misconception’ (?) peace rituals continued on ambiguous grounds to mediate over the territorial and ideal aspects of peace within the phrase “territory for peace”.

The market metaphor embedded in the phrase “territory *for* peace” (or “land for peace”) together with the positivist and reductive notion of security formed the ground on which peace and justice were given concrete meaning in the process of peacemaking. An arbitrary intertextuality from selected UN Security Council resolutions fixed the meaning of “just”, “lasting” and “comprehensive” peace. Meanwhile, these principles gained broader recognition by think-tank and non-governmental organizations. For example, The Alliance for Peace echoed the above citation in declaring that it aims, “at the achievement of lasting and comprehensive peace based on the formula of land for peace, the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 in all their aspects.” (L.4 1997: 331)

Justice and fairness evolved as no more than an exchange of land, implementation of resolutions 242 and 338, and security and economic development. From this perspective, a “just and comprehensive peace” constitutes the interplay between these elements, and thus a process of isolation and exclusion of reality on the ground and the suffering of the vulnerable. In other words, the termination of the occupation and the move to address the rights of the Palestinian refugees were undermined in the supposed “just and comprehensive peace” formula, while alternative visions to this peace were disregarded. These “peace” principles filtered down to local leadership. For example, in August 1989 a handful of West Bank and Gaza local figures signed a memorandum calling for “implementation of the principle land for peace” (G.27 1989: 347). Generally speaking, it can be said that there was some sort of consensus on the broader framework; however, the details

of “how much” (e.g., land, security, sovereignty) are left to the businesslike negotiations; indeed, this is what the discussion is turning to in the following chapter.

Palestine Re-Imagined?

The Disappearance of Palestine as an Imagined Totality

The peace process is a constitutive chapter in the Palestinian discourse history on all levels. It has played a significant role in the production, revision and displacement of the action-orienting⁷⁶ concepts like Palestine and the Palestinian national rights, or the constants (*al-thawabt*). Although such concepts continued to organize the official Palestinian discourse, their visceral contents were transformed and reproduced afresh. This is what I shall refer to as the logic of replacement.

The imagined “state of Palestine” —in the West Bank and Gaza— replaced Palestine as a perceived totality, and it is supposed to replace the PLO (Doc.3597). The new imagery of Palestine has interrupted the Palestinian people as an “imagined community”, to use Anderson’s phrase, and casted further ambiguity over and within the Palestinian subject-position. Therefore, supplementary qualification is inserted in sentences, sometimes in brackets, (e.g., “Palestinians (living in the oPt)”) to specify who is included, excluded and whose opinion matters (Ibid., brackets in original).

The PA expressed “content with the 1967 [armistice] line” as a “baseline for the border” (Doc. 2731). It is worthwhile placing sufficient emphasis on the orienting metaphor in the term “baseline” in representing the elasticity of the

⁷⁶ Action-orienting regimes in particular concepts are themselves constructed (Foucault 1970; Carver 2008).

Palestinian understanding of *al-thawabt* and how far one may proceed from there. The imagined map of the 'new Palestine' is unsettled in the Palestinian political consciousness, and hence the strains of indeterminacy embodied in phrases like "modifications" on the 1967 armistice line, land swaps and annexation (Ibid.). In an interview on the Israeli Channel II in November 2012, which coincided with the Balfour Declaration's anniversary, the PLO/PA President Abbas went beyond the tacit meaning of Palestine as subsumed in the peace process principles. He unequivocally said that "Palestine now for me is [19]67 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital, this is now and forever. I believe that [the] West Bank and Gaza *is* Palestine ... and the other parts [are] Israel." He also underlined his *no* right to return and live in his original home in Safad, which was occupied in 1948. This is of course an individual choice, but interpretation flows from within text and context, and therefore, while speaking from the subject-position of the 'President of' and from an Israeli TV, political messages with regard to right of return should not be missed out.

Indeed, that represents what Said called the oxymoron of the "overlapping territories" (Said 1994: 210), where at once the Palestinians are fighting for recognition and internalizing imperialist designs for Palestine.⁷⁷ Notions such as "baseline" and "swaps" are not without deep infiltration in the Palestinian narrative, rights and spatial perception of Palestine. Endorsing these notions implicitly involves the recognition of Israel's entitlement to the refugees' properties beyond the 1967 non-border line (land in particular, which Israel

⁷⁷ The PLO internalized the Israeli made "1967 line" and what originally an imperialist British design. In 1949, the British High Commissioner adopted the *Land Transfer Regulations*, which divided Palestine into three Zones: Zone A where land transfer is limited to Palestinian Arabs (about 16.680 km²), Zone B (8.348 km²) where land transferred from Palestinians to Jews; and the Zone outside A and B (1.292 km²) which could be freely transferred. The West Bank and Gaza fell entirely in Zone A according to this division and annexed map (Doc. 3369).

classifies as Absentee Property⁷⁸). Moreover, it deeply intrudes on the refugees' right to restitution.⁷⁹ Hence, the PA/PLO's simultaneous bidding for restitution and swaps is inconsistent, however, this is not to derogate from the right itself rather from the PA/PLO policy towards that right. The leadership is conscious of this dilemma since a confidential analysis carried out by the Negotiation Support Unit (NSU) underscored the implication of the swaps principle on the refugees rights (Doc.3001).

To speak of the question of Palestine in its totality had officially ended in 1993. The logic of partition penetrated through the totality and sliced it up into various issues, sub-issues and "claims" which may be agreed or disagreed upon (Doc.2547).⁸⁰

The Palestinian question has been bifurcated into various parts in a typological order as "core issues" (this includes: territory, refugees, Jerusalem, security, water) and "generic issues" (this includes State-to-State issues: compensation, economics and trade, fiscal, infrastructure and services, energy, tourism, monetary, *etc.*) (Doc.2093). Each sub-issue is given a particular track. For example, the "refugee issue" is split between Tal Baker/Saeb Erekat and Ehud Olmert/Abu Mazin tracks. As a result, four 'men' seized the right to decide the fate of about 5-million refugee with "unclear Palestinian red lines" (Doc.3460).

⁷⁸ On the Absentee Property Law see Badil 2005: 41-55.

⁷⁹ On the Palestine refugees right in international law see Takkenberg 1988.

⁸⁰ A clause related to "end of claims", "end of conflict", "finality of claims", states the following: "The applicable legal principles, rules, and relevant precedents that govern the status of claims between parties following the conclusion of a treaty between them..." (Doc.2547)

Each issue is placed within a mathematico-judicial schema of percentages, numbers, UN resolutions and pragmatism.⁸¹ Consider, for example, the land, Jerusalem and refugees “issues.” The “land issue” is reduced to the size of the land occupied in 1967 and as a matter of percentages, swaps and exchanges.⁸² Jerusalem is also split into “East and West”, “Yerushalayim and Al-Quds,” “territory and arrangements” (Doc.2003). The “refugee issue” is divided between a set of options: return to Israel, return to the putative Palestinian state, compensation or a settlement in their current place of residence or in a third country (Doc.2731). As far as the return option is concerned, a certain group of refugees was prioritized over the rest; the PA prioritized the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.⁸³ Meanwhile, these options were produced as a means to detract from the possibility of return inasmuch as more efforts were invested in “marketing” the non-return options. This will be discussed further at the end of this chapter.

Core and generic issues come with a “matrix” of agreed or not agreed upon “positions”, “offers and counteroffers” (Doc.3610, Doc.2826). The difference between the Israeli and Palestinian positions is articulated as “gaps”. In the words of the Palestinian negotiators/politicians: “We look into the *positions of both sides* and means to *bridge the gap* between them.” (Doc.2454, emphasis added) Erekat echoed the above: “We all know what the end game looks like (1967 border with minor modifications...). *It is a matter of trade-offs that can be agreed [upon] quickly*” and “tradeoffs within and between issues” (Doc.1815, Doc.4861, SE, emphasis added). The term gaps is at once

⁸¹ The Palestinian pragmatism is relative to the Israeli perception of pragmatism which best summed up by these phrases spelled out by Israeli negotiators: “forget rights” and “facts of the ground” (Doc.2499).

⁸³ Note that the PA argued for return of more than 50000 (5000x10 years) and less than a million, i.e. maybe only return of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

strategic and misleading, because it falsely minimizes the difference⁸⁴ and insinuates an impression that the process is “moving forward” (logic of motion) and “trade-offs” (logic market) are underway to keep the process rolling (Doc.2093).

The transformation from the national representation of the Palestinian cause to a mathematico-judicial and a market-like negotiations served as a common dominator in the production of new apparatus for that purpose, such as the PLO Department of Negotiation, NSU, and discounting old ones like the Department of the Refugees Affairs. Obviously, this formula dispensed with the *fida'iyyun* (freedom fighters) subject-position and replaced it with an army of lawyers, negotiators, experts, advisors, *etc.* This diverse mosaic of infrastructure and the “discourse in transformation” are mutually constitutive. Out of this confused assemblage emerged a technical and political language, sub-institutions, sub-committees, categories, and so forth (for examples, see Doc.1739).

This transformation is intimately related to the relation between the forerunning institutions embodied in the PLO and the subsequent institutions of the ‘new Palestine’ and ‘Palestinians’ as represented the PA. While officially, the PA is “an extenuation of the PLO [and gains] its legitimacy from it, which will remain its political and legislative reference.” (J.1 1994: 207) Given this prescription, the PLO is expected to determine the structure of the PA in advance. However, this is not the case. Israel was given the right (at

⁸⁴ On the land issue the gap was on how much Israel would annex. The PA proposed 1.9 percent, whereas Israel wanted 7.3 percent of the West Bank (Jerusalem is not included in 7.3 percent). On refugees the difference is on wording (responsibility vs. suffering, totally Israeli rejection of return). On security, the difference is on the international presence, and the degree of the Palestinian state militarization, Israel rejects both options and argued for demilitarized state, while the Palestinians argued for a state with limited arms. On settlements, Israel insists on annexing Ma'ale Adumim, Ariel and the areas around these settlements. Jerusalem was not discussed and instead the Tzipi Livni argued that the parties should say: “there are gaps [on Jerusalem]” (see Doc.2826; Doc.2797; Doc.2454).

least) to have a say in the design of the PA structure, legislative and executive power according to Oslo II (J.17).⁸⁵ For example, although the PLO Department of the Refugees Affairs still exists in name, it did not appear anywhere in the negotiation record represented in the Palestine Papers.

In practice, however, the shape of the PA institutions was bound to, and “empowered” by, Israeli policies and institutions. This resulted in an ambivalent PLO-PA sway between formal and practical discourse. On this view, the Palestinian politicians were caught in this dilemma. It was not clear whether to speak from a PLO or PA position, hence the injection of the forward-slash between the PLO and PA (PLO/PA). The forward-slash tells us a lot about complex situation where is almost impossible to distinguish between the two entities in practice, and simultaneously it is still possible to alternate between them. The “PLO/PA” imperative is confusing and expedient at the same time. It turned out to be useful since it has made it possible for the leadership to situate itself strategically in two positions. On the one hand, the leadership has maintained an exclusive representation of the Palestinian people without corresponding accountability. And on the other hand, the PLO prerogatives and institutions were virtually put on hold. So whilst speaking from the PLO’s position, the PA, represented by a thin elite class became the actual player.⁸⁶ In sum, the PLO played the role of the legitimizer for decisions usually taken by a limited number of an unrepresentative leadership and institutions *under* occupation took the command to determine the fate of the entire Palestinian people.

⁸⁵ In September 1995, the “Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Oslo II” (J.17) laid down the structure and institutions of the PA. There are articles on the elections, structure of the Palestinian council and its size and responsibilities, the executive position of al-Ra’iys (the President or Chairman), etc.

⁸⁶ None of the PLO related institutions was represented in the process of negotiations. For example, the PLO Refugees Department was not present in the negotiation over the rights of the Palestinian refugees, particularly return and restitution.

This player perceived Israel, especially after the first *Intifada*, as leaning towards “a compromise [*hal wasat*] based on 1967 borders.” (Abu-Alaa 2005: 77). Articulating the settlement on 22 percent of historic Palestinian as “*hal wasat*” is the most ironic and false assumption. The internal features of the phrase “*hal wasat*” (which literally means, a middle solution, compromise or meeting half way) evoked a sense “equality”, “two sides”, “balanced interests of the two sides” between the PLO and Israel; and impelled a Palestinian re-framing of the Palestinian rights into Israeli “concessions” (*tanazulat*), “compromise” (*taswiyya*), and “gainings” (*muktasabat*) (Ibid. 77, 98, 199).

Concepts and mechanisms that the PLO/PA relied on oriented the power-play in the interactions between itself and other countries (Israel, in particular). First of all the phrase *al-taswiyya al-silmiyya* (peaceful settlement) is misguided. The meaning that is loaded in the Arabic word *taswiyya* (derived from *sawwa*) entails equality and justice. While being plugged into a relationship of “parity” and “partnership”, “two sides”, and within already well-established inter-state relations (e.g., international relations between Israel and the US, in particular) impelled the PA to act on a faulty consciousness of imaginary state capacities unmatched on the ground.⁸⁷ The negotiation paradigm created a false equivalence: two equal parties sitting at the negotiation table to negotiate their respective positions, “our position” vis-à-vis “your positions” (Doc.2176). Logically, this order transferred the burden to the Palestinian side, as it requires them to reciprocate “equally” or else be perceived as suckers and a non-partner. They are expected to make “offers” and “give” as much as they “take”, notwithstanding the very little or nothing they initially have to reciprocate with.

The PLO/PA reliance on essentially *statist* concepts and terminologies (e.g., ministries, ministers, national security, governments, elections, *etc.*) without corresponding state-order in the real world has created a confused image of

⁸⁷ State related concepts (e.g., “ministries”, “ministers”, “coup d’etat”, “embassies”, *etc.*) structure the discourse of the PA.

reality and self-understanding, which is neither a state entity nor a liberation movement. Consequently, the PLO/PA has lost, or at least constrained, its actual non-state power. This account of power, it is not about Israel's power onto the PLO/PA, rather a systematic flux of relations and acts embedded in the order of this relationship that disarms the PLO/PA from its genuine abilities as liberation organization, and certainly not a state. While being co-opted in a deceptive subject-position of a state entity, the PLO/PA maneuvering capacity was diminished from within. This is what precisely constrained the means for the struggle against occupation power.

Power and resistance to power coincide. "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power." (Foucault 1978: 95) Resistance, in all forms, is the Palestinian power to resist the power of occupation and colonialism therefore it is not outside them. However, the power to resist originates from different regimes and rules. The (classical) power of colonialism originates from state apparatus, whereas counter-forces to colonialism emerge from non-state apparatus. The different nature of the two powers makes acts of resistance less predictable in magnitude and form. From this vantage point, harmonizing resistance with the power it is initially meant to challenge and dismantle breaks the opposing nexus between them and makes the former more co-optative. The quasi-state structure within which the Palestinians found themselves after the Oslo process reduced prospects of resistance.

The American diplomacy ditched the idea of dealing with core issues and endorsed the Israeli unilateralism, with the PA collaboration, as the best way forward. This is especially clear in Obama's diplomatic approach, known as "proximity talks" piloted by George Mitchell, a renowned American diplomat for his contributions in the Good Friday Agreement. The so-called "proximity talks" mounted pressure on the PA to "go with the process" while urging the PA not to miss the opportunity and accept whatever Israel is offering: "with

Obama, it is absolutely clear that this is the *last time* [and...] *the best time*.” (Doc.4844, emphasis added)

Through the Israeli (and American) lens, this analytic of the conflict serves an overall objective of creating a Palestinian state on what may be agreed with the PA on each sub-issue without agreeing on any substantive issue, i.e. a state with “provisional borders”. Rice, for example, argued for applying the German model: “Germany was a ‘provisional state’ until 1990.” (Doc.485; see also Doc.4882; Doc.2942)⁸⁸

All in all, the peace process, by-design, permits only generic issues as a negotiation subject which means that the input is always less than the actual problem; hence any outcome is always less than an agreement on the total or the core issues.

Struggle: By Any Means or Nonviolent Means?

Mohammad Dahlan:

And we’ve told Hamas that if *they* even think about *terrorist activities* after the agreement, *we* will *crush them*. *They* have the right to struggle through *other* means —but *not* violence. (Doc.38, emphasis added)

International law establishes a direct link between self-determination and the “legitimacy” of the struggle “by any means” against powers that subdue peoples right to self-determination (UNGA Resolution 2649 XXV). Apparently, this specific resolution does not make any distinction between violent and non-violent means. Given the function of referentiality, and the fact that the

⁸⁸ Rice’s analogy between Germany and Palestine is ill-fitted, both historically and contextually. Germany was an aggressor country and the Allied Forces occupied it in order to eliminate the Nazi regime and build the democratic Republic of Germany. However, Palestine was never an aggressor but the victim, while Israel has been occupying and colonizing the Palestine for a long time (see Doc.485).

Palestinians are seeking their self-determination endorsed by international law, they have expressed their right to use “any means” to achieve that goal. Nevertheless, the violence/non-violence distinction turned out to be an uneasy issue in the Palestinian discourse. In 1993, the PLO re-denounced terrorism⁸⁹ and pledged to undertake expansive measures, beyond the customary (however contested) definition of terrorism,⁹⁰ against “other acts of violence” (I.2 1993: 142). Despite this pledge, the paradigm of non-violence remained on the margins of the PLO/PA discourse until the appearance of the so-called Quartet Principles (or Conditions, *shurut al-ruba’iyyia*) in 2006.⁹¹ Phrases like “culture of non-violence” and “non-violent means of conflict resolution” began register frequent appearance in documents, plans, the negotiations record, and above all in the street (see Doc.1987; Doc.1987, Doc.2162).⁹²

The most important outcome of this language is the constitution of an arbitrary nexus between non-violence and the legitimacy principle:

⁸⁹ In 1986 the PLO condemned “all acts of terrorism” (see N.A. Winter 1986). The condemnation was reconfirmed in 1988 in Arafat’s Speech to General Assembly.

⁹⁰ Although the definition of terrorism is contested, however, there is a consensus in Western academia that terrorism is a “tactic”, a “technique” and “instrumental” which aims to inflict fear among a wider number of civilians in order to achieve political ends (cf. Richardson 2006, Blakeley 2009; Lutz and Lutz 2010).

⁹¹ The Quartet required “all members of a future Palestinian Government must be committed to non-violence, recognition of Israel, and acceptance of previous agreements and obligations, including the Road Map.” See Statement By Middle East Quartet, 30 January 2006.

⁹² This does not mean that non-violent struggle was not contemplated in the Palestinian case. To the contrary, there were studies arguing for a nonviolent struggle in the academic sphere. Mubarak Awad was among the pioneers who argued for nonviolence and gave examples of nonviolent measures used at different periods by the Palestinians. However, in juxtaposing nonviolent struggle with armed struggle, Awad conflated them. Namely, nonviolence would signify a struggle devoid of armed means only. This does not exclude violence *per se* (See Mubarak Awad 1984).

Calls for a Continued Cessation of Violence: While the NUG [National Unity Government] reaffirms the Palestinian people's inalienable and internationally-recognized [sic] right to resist occupation through legitimate means, it extends the unilateral Palestinian ceasefire with Israel. (Doc.1674, Key Points on The Palestinian Unity Government's Platform, 9 May 2007)

Every [Palestinian] party must do two things: (1) accept the PLO charter and commitments, and (2) reject violence and only use democratic means for implementing their program. (Doc.1962, YAR)

The non/violence has become a Palestinian concern as much as an Israeli one. The "success" of violent struggle against the occupation is constructed as a threat to the PLO/PA political line. For instance, the PA considered Israeli withdrawal from Gaza to be a threat to its policy of negotiation and signals "a victory for violent elements" (Doc.177). The PA Prime Minister, Salam Fayyad, argued against the opening of the Gaza border crossings because "the message will be that rockets yield results. I told Rice to weigh in on Israel on this but she didn't get anywhere with them." (Doc.2330)

Despite the ambiguity of the word violence and the phrase "legitimate means" or "democratic means", none of them was contextually reviewed. This omission strategically leaves space for constituting any act other than negotiations as violence. President Abbas (2012) excluded any option of "violence" in resisting the occupation and stressed that: "We want to use diplomacy. We want to use politics. We want to use negotiations. We want to use peaceful resistance. That's it."

As I mentioned elsewhere, discourse does not need to be coherent or linear, it is the opposite. Although the PLO/PA draw heavily on international law, referentiality was shelved with regard to the means of the struggle as the PLO/PA ruled out any option beyond negotiation and diplomacy. In this regard, the end result is an attenuated conceptualization of the means of the struggle. Phrases such as "legitimate" or "democratic" or "non-violent" means aim to belittle the already little power which the occupied left with to resist its occupier than what the default formula of international law allows. The latter considers "any means" to be legitimate while resisting foreign occupation.

Violence/non-violence distinction seeks to disarm the occupied Palestinians from their right to use violence as a means of resistance to the occupation, whereas the Israeli occupation continues to inflict its violence on the Palestinians, and continues to use “any means” to sustain its dominance. It is worth emphasizing that *armed struggle* is only one aspect of violence.

Above I have examined the imaginative fragmentation of Palestine materially (territory and population and the means of the struggle), now I will turn to the ideational aspects and discuss the concept viability and a viable state.

In June 1997, the European Union Presidency concluded that: “The creation of a *viable and peaceful* sovereign Palestinian *entity* is the best *guarantee* of Israel’s security.” (L.28 1997: 359, emphasis added) The former US President Bill Clinton echoed the same point: “I think there can be no genuine resolution to the conflict without a *sovereign, viable, Palestinian state that accommodates Israeli’s security requirements and the demographic realities.*” (Clinton 7 January 2001) Unequivocally, viability unfolds as a security function that absorbs the Israeli terms and terminology (security and demography) in advance before any negotiations. Thus the priori imposition of the Israeli conditions is constitutive part of the interpretation of *viability*. For Israel, the nature of any tolerable Palestinian entity must be no more than an arrangement of an “enlarged autonomy”, which the Palestinian might call a “state” if they wish (L.3 1997: 329).⁹³

⁹³ In 1997, major Israeli political parties (Likud and Labor) reached an understanding on what they consider acceptable structure in the West Bank and Gaza. The understanding states: “If the Palestinian entity *subject itself to limits* presented in this document, its *self-determination will be recognized*. According to an *alternative opinion* it will be regarded as an *enlarged autonomy*, and according to another *opinion*, as a *state*.” (L.3 1997: 329, emphasis added)

It is more common to speak of independent or sovereign states, however, the term “viable state” is an anomaly in political and international relations theory. Since 1974 the Palestinians have been calling for the establishment of an “independent Palestinian state”; statehood is a key element of *al-thawabt al-wataniyya* (the national consonants). The viable state (*dawla qabila lilhaya*) phrase entered the Palestinian discourse following George W. Bush’s speech in 24 June 2002 where he outlined his vision for ‘peace’. Since then, the “Bush vision for peace” (*ru’yyat Bush li al-salam*) has been inscribed in the terms of reference. President Bush laid down the interpretation of “viable state” as follows: (1) it achieves Israel’s security, (2) it is peaceful and democratic, (3) it is, “based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, with Israeli withdrawal to secure and recognize borders” (4) it is to “resolve questions concerning Jerusalem, the plight and future of Palestinian refugees” (i.e., short of return); in 2004 he added (5) “contiguous, sovereign and independent”, (Bush 2004) and (6) “Palestine as a Palestinian homeland” (Bush 2007).

However, a viable state from the Palestinian standpoint has to be economically and politically viable (Doc.2863), geographically contiguous and “capable of absorbing most Palestinians here [in the West Bank and Gaza] and in the Diaspora [i.e. the refugees]” (Doc. 2328). In another meeting, Abu-Alaa stated clearly that viable state means, “A state that has adequate land space that is geographically contiguous and is *able to absorb all civilians of whom refugees* are a part.” (Doc.2309, emphasis added) The third aspect accommodates very well the Israeli understanding of “our *mutual interest* in the establishment of a viable Palestinian state” (Doc. 1963, TL) and Bush’s interpretation of a viable Palestinian state, mainly points number four and six.

The Palestinian endorsement of adjective “viable” to describe their putative statehood, regardless of their interpretation of its contents, implies a further elasticity of the meaning of the Palestinian national rights and an acceptance of negotiation on the internal substances of the already limited self-determination that the PLO accepted.

Peace: A Metaphorical Marketplace

War sketched the rough contours of the supposed peace. After June 1967 War the UN Security Council passed resolution number 242 to frame the terms for a (supposedly) “just and lasting peace” between the Arab countries and Israel. The resolution called upon the latter to “withdraw from territories occupied in the recent conflict [1967 War]” in keeping with the principle of “inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war” and in exchange for the “termination of all claims or states of belligerency”. In essence, this formula is congruent with the realist interpretation of peace; it juxtaposes *territory* with *non-belligerency* and constitutes land and peace as convertible entities.

The metaphor loaded in the phrase “land/territory for peace” is the first building block of the market logic in the peace process that constitutes land and peace into bargain and barter objects. The phrase combines two concepts that belong to two different configurative connotations and rules of formation. Land has a quantifiable physical existence, whereas peace is ideational and qualitative. On this account, performing mathematical calculations over land is more tangible than working on the idea of peace. Hence, all types of logarithmic questions arise: how much land is required? What sort of peace is to be made for such area of land? If peace is equivalent to security, then how much land needs to be annexed for security reasons? and so on. Moreover, the deliberate omission of the definite article (“the”) encouraged the “businesslike” or “the souk mentality” to determine the quantity and the nature of peace. Peace “agents” were fully conscious of their position in market-like schema. Hanan Ashrawi, a former negotiator and spokesperson of the Palestinian delegation to Washington in 1992, characterized negotiations as making business: “The second week of negotiation so far continues to be serious and discussions are substantive and businesslike” (H.55 1993: 132). In one of the plenary sessions Saeb Erekat mocked negotiations “souk mentality” (Doc.2618).

The role of peace “agents” is conceptualized through certain market terminology such as, “broker”, “players”, “partners”, which is more appropriate to business or commercial transactions than deciding over national and historical matters (Doc.2942). The US position as an “honest broker” implied a threefold subject-position: the buyer and seller of subjects occupied by Palestinians and Israelis, and the middleman position occupied the US.

But the market terminology and style also precipitate at lower levels. The NSU’s reports and analysis which inform the plenary level are rich with phrases like: “the API must be operationalised and *marketed*” (Doc.5194, emphasis added), “ ‘shop’ between Palestinian negotiators” (Doc.2095), “A ‘US only’ initiative will be more difficult to *market* to Palestinian refugees”, “*buy in*’ of refugee communities in host states” (Doc.2937, emphasis added), “sell ideas”, “more saleable” (Doc.419). Or as an Israeli maps expert puts it: “The leaders haggle, and we generate a map”. (Doc.3424, LA).

The market logic underlies the exchange relationship in the “land for peace” principle. Accordingly, additional market terminologies have gradually grown in number and significance, and infiltrated through the political language propagating the land/peace correlation. The Palestinian implicit endorsement of the “land for peace” (i.e., resolution 242) in 1974 marks the beginning of the discursive internalization of the market logic. Later, this logic was stretched beyond its original subjects (land/peace) to regulate humans, language and legal rights. The diplomatic record is imbued with a web of verbs like: offer, give, take, want, pay for, package, deal, land exchange, lease, compensate, swap, sell, buy, transfer,⁹⁴ etc. As such, land, humans, ideas have become a commodity and the object of these verbs. The following examples will elucidate:

⁹⁴ On the concept of transfer, see Masalha (1992) *Expulsion of the Palestinians*.

The 7.3% offer by Olmert is *the most generous*, and will be *perceived by Israelis as the most fair*. This is the offer. (Doc.2826, TL) *1:1 swap*. I cannot accept this percentage. (Doc.2484, TL, emphasis added)

We have *offers* and *counter offers* on refugees (Doc.4861, SE)... We've already paid in advance. We've already *delivered* on security... They want us *pay* 16 times for the same thing. Give them [families whose houses were demolished by Israel in Jerusalem] a *package* to rent something... (Doc.4882, RS) It has to be *Salam* [Fayyad] —not you or the Jordanians to *pay* them. (Doc.4882, SE, emphasis added)

The analysis of this web of signs should be situated inside their broader market orienting-regime and the subjects on which they operate. Scrutiny of the Palestinian Papers indicates three main subjects: land, humans and language.

Firstly, land became a variable with the market-like operations. The phrase “land/territory for peace” (*al-ard muqabil al-salam*) has been assimilated within the Palestinian discourse as a key element in the peace process “terms of reference” (H.32 1992: 73). Land is understood as the “real substance of the peace process” (H.31 1992: 70). How much land is required to achieve peace is something that market operations mediate. This has strengthened the formula of peace through partition and at the same time belittled the possibility for peace through other ways. Ample energy, effort and time have been dedicated to bargain “how much” land ought to be exchanged in the name of peace. The following examples show how the Palestinian land is articulated as a mere abstract numbers and percentages devoid of its historical and national meanings, especially in the case of Jerusalem:

SE: So he should ask: *67? Swaps?* What will be *percentage?* You have the different *offers*. Can your experts define a *number?* The same applies to Jerusalem... *Even the Old City can be worked out* [discusses breakdown of sovereignty over Old City] except for the Haram and what they call Temple Mount. There you need the creativity of people like me.

SE: A decision on what *percentage*. We *offered 2%*. They said no. So what's the percentage... 0.07%. It is *part of the swap* if we get sovereignty. Otherwise no.

JS: So *swaps, percentage* does not preclude different *numbers* ...

SE: 1 to 1.

JS: And *value*?

RD: *Value* can be negotiated in the bilateral. (Doc.4899, emphasis added)

Here an offer and counteroffer:

UD: There is difference between *offering a "package" deal* and our discussions on territory. You have not presented a *counter offer* to us.

SE: Yes, we did. On territory, we have *offered 1,9%* of the WB.

UD: this is not a counter *offer to our "package"*. It deals only with territory.

SE: But we have made *detailed offers* on refugees, territory, Jerusalem etc. We have submitted *detailed papers* on all issues. (Doc.3651, emphasis added)

SE: What is left are the needed *tradeoffs*. When Olmert spoke of *6.5% in exchange* for 5.8, and AM agreed to *swaps* in East Jerusalem, this is significant. Same with security... On refugees, there were discussions *on numbers* that will return to Israel over a number of years. The deal is there. (Doc.2437) You know there are *tradeoffs* within and between issues... So if we have agreement on something, it is a *card* that I won't announce until the other issue is announced. (Doc.4861, emphasis added)

Secondly, it is common to think of land/territory⁹⁵ in a positivist way; but the same process was also applied to the human body (exchange of population, prisoners), concepts and language. The market style of negotiations structured thoughts and imaginations. For example, Palestinian "national rights" are re-constructed into something convertible into numbers, percentages, values, financial indicators, and hence exchangeable objects. This approach is rooted in resolution 242 and what American diplomacy says (or does not say) about the refugees. Article 2/b of resolution 242 disregards any reference to resolution 194 in favour of "achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem". I argued before that the meaning of "just" was left open to market-like peace process.

⁹⁵ Notice that land and territory are not synonymous in the legal language.

The market side of peace covered the human face in the guise of a numerical existence within a mathematico-judicial formula. Let us now elaborate on two specific human categories: the *refugees* and *prisoners* to examine how the market rules mediated on them.

The refugees' subject has a very strong political aura in general, and a Palestinian one has even greater political and historical subtexts originating from the historical context. The Palestinian refugee identity is multi-layered for reasons determined by the political environment in which the individual finds his or herself in and how s/he interacted with it. For example, the Palestinian refugee identity is composed of refugeeness in the host country, refugees under occupation in the West Bank and Gaza, internal refugees in Israel, refugee-citizen in the case of Jordan, and a second or third term refugee.⁹⁶ Therefore, the self-image of a refugee unfolds through a complex set of multidimensional rules and norms projected from the conceptual history of each concept (e.g., refugee/international law, Palestinian/PLO, *etc.*).

In the meantime, the way the refugee is perceived by others is re-projected from within the internal framework of the other. As a result competition over the representation of the Palestinian refugees ensued, yet without their consent. For example, Jordan as a host country of about two millions refugees (UNRWA Statistics 2012) claimed the right to speak on behalf of the refugees (Doc.3343). The PLO has challenged Jordan's claim on the basis of the UN endorsement of the PLO as "sole representative of the Palestinian people." Today, the fate of the refugees, is at the mercy of a small unrepresentative individuals and institutions *under* occupation.

⁹⁶ There are Palestinian refugees who became refugees twice. For example, Palestinians refugees were forced to leave Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein, the same scenario is now talking place in Syria.

Although the refugees represent approximately half of the Palestinian people, their presence in the peace process and in the Palestinian political discourse is metaphorical: a virtual commodity that can be sold, bought and bargained over. They are only present as objects, which have never been represented or been able to intervene because they were left out from the start. The refugees and their rights constituted “bargaining chips” owned by the PA as the pronoun “my” indicate: “these are *my bargaining chips*” a Palestinian negotiator said (Doc.3284, emphasis added). The PA claims the right to speak on behalf of the excluded refugees. The exiled population has been the source of the Palestinian narrative, identity and struggle is constituted as a burden and obstacle to peace. In consequence, the refugees represented an unspeaking and dehumanized subject-position and hence a bargain object. This helped Israeli interlocutors to frame not only the refugees’ return to be an “unrealistic” negotiation subject, but also restitution was reduced to a “lump sum” transaction.

... the only way to facilitate a “*buy in*” of the various refugee communities is to put the emphasis on individual justice... success ... depends on our capacity to *market* a resolution proposal to refugees” communities ... *selling* a US led proposal might be quite a challenge. (Doc.3284, ZC) [R]estitution [of the refugees] is totally *unrealistic* ... I agree on a *lump sum* ... The Palestinian government would be in charge of *distrusting money* ... [this is] what can be *sold* to the Israelis and the Palestinians. (Doc.3284, TB, emphasis added)

The denial of any responsibility for the refugees’ plight is deeply rooted in Israeli society. This has been accomplished by silencing the unpleasant discourse concerning the 1948 events. The year 1948 is represented as a “sacred year”, “absolute justice”, independence, and fulfillment of dreams, redemption and triumph in the Israeli popular consciousness. The discourse about *an-Nakba*, transfer and villages’ destruction is systematically erased (Pappé 2010). The post-1967 history is the only history that matters for the peace process, as if the Israeli-Palestinian conflict starts there. This is even the case for the report of the UN Fact Finding Mission to Gaza Conflict (best known as Goldstone Report 2009).

Since the Palestinian question was split between “tracks” and “issues,” the refugee “issue/track” was divided between four “men” and two tracks: “Abbas-Olmert” and “Erekat-Becker.” The refugee subject-position appeared in the mathematico-judicial framework of negotiations with an obscure referent. To be sure, there was no definition of who is a refugee in the diplomatic process (Doc.3651). Furthermore, the Palestinian “redlines” on the refugees’ file and “referent” was unfixed, ambiguous and usually dealt with “in secret”. (Doc.3460; Doc.2437; Doc.3048). This partially reveals how the refugees were absented. The absence of a referent, unclear principles and secrecy were effective mechanisms to the process of de-articulation of the refugees question by marginalizing its subjects and their representation, and hence downgrading its status and position in the political and concrete policymaking.

The terminology used in the discourse of some Palestinian intellectuals suggests the depth of the marginalization of refugees. Consider these indicative phrases: “engage the outside Palestinians” (*ishrak filastiniyyi al-kharij*), “activate the role of the diaspora” (*tafiyyi dawr al-shatat*). For example, Sari Nusseibeh argues that the right of return contravenes the “public good” and therefore the “best-option scenario” requires the forfeiture of that right or be fulfilled elsewhere. The only solutions he suggests for those who are unwilling to fit that mold is to ask to be “discounted” or “left out of any deal” (Nusseibeh 2011: 140-142). Nusseibeh’s terms foreclose and preempt the very prospects of the return option in advance.

The refugees question was classified in the “final status issue” and hence *deferred* to later negotiations. It was opened for discussion in the Camp David/Taba Summits in 2000/1. President Clinton submitted his “take it or leave it” vision for the solution, best known as the Clinton parameters.⁹⁷ The US position on the refugees is a generic reproduction of these parameters since then. They pointedly preclude the right of return and any mention of

⁹⁷ The Palestinians and Israelis submitted their reservations on Clinton parameters (see Shlaim 2009; Abu-Alaa 2005)

Israel's responsibility for that matter altogether. To be sure, the parameters demand a "formulation on the right of return that will make it clear that there is no specific right of return to Israel itself but that does not negate the aspiration of the Palestinian people to return to the area." (Doc.48, 23 December 2000)

Discursive replacement operated over the refugees' question. The Roadmap, which represents a practical application of peace-making theory, displaced the "right of return"; it replaced it with "an *agreed*, just, fair, and *realistic* solution of refugee issue". As mentioned elsewhere, the Roadmap is an essential element of the Palestinian terms of reference, and therefore it is not controversial to say that the Palestinians have endorsed a "realistic" solution for the refugee. Textual displacements have ensued to reach the supposedly realistic solution. The Palestinian officials re-interpreted resolution 194, from the "return to their homes" into the "Return to Israel —to be implemented in accordance with an agreed annual quota and within an agreed period of time" (Doc.3597). This forming, first and foremost, internalizes Israel's overriding interpretation of "return," whether to admit refugees into Israel or not, and to define the status of those it may admit (e.g., immigrants, second or third class citizens). Second, the phrase "return to Israel" downgrades the statute of the right of return. In simple words, the refugees' *right to choose* between return or not, is diluted and made contingent on Israel's will.

The mechanism's main principle isolates the question of the Palestinian refugees from the global refugees' phenomena and represents the Palestinian refugees as a special case exterior to international norms and laws.⁹⁸ A Palestinian "agreement draft" may serve as an exemplar of the internal Palestinian thought on this issue (see Doc.3597). The supposed mechanism would be composed of Palestine, Israel, hosting countries (Jordan Lebanon and Syria), other countries (donor and receiving countries, e.g., Canada) and

⁹⁸ Establishing a new institution like the International Mechanism is in line with Israel's stand which aims to de-link the refugee issue from international law and UNRWA. Israel considers UNRWA "part of the problem" (Doc.2437, TL).

it would be led by the United States. It has three main tasks, to: (1) “assist in coordinating the orderly and secure implementation of the permanent destination options to be offered to Palestinian refugees”, (2) “shall also provide *rehabilitation assistance*”, (3) and “*All Palestinian refugee claims shall be resolved in accordance with procedures, criteria and time-limits determined by the international mechanism.*” (Doc.3597, emphasis added).⁹⁹

The mechanism’s main principle isolates the question of the Palestinian refugees from the global refugees’ phenomena in the world by representing the Palestinian refugees as a special case exterior to international norms and laws. This aim was partially achieved in 1950s by excluding the Palestinians from UNHCR (see UNCHR 2010, Article 1/C, D, E), while the International Mechanism would practically accomplish this goal. It is important also to underline the lack of fixed resources and the dependent nature of the intended mechanism on donors’ goodwill; it is not an advocacy but a framework with voluntary tasks as tropes like to “assist” and “help,” indicate. Furthermore, it outsources responsibility by transferring it from the party caused the problem at the first place (Israel),¹⁰⁰ to other parties. The third task unequivocally excludes international law (resolution 194, in particular) and sets new conditions and criteria. The International Mechanism is the “exclusive forum for dealing with the Palestinian refugee claims” (Ibid.). On this perspective, international law is virtually neutralized and Israel is tacitly pardoned.

In addition to the Roadmap, Arab states have proposed a set of principles for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict in December 2002

⁹⁹ Form the US perspective, the solution for the refugees issues lies in three things: (1) the “Palestinian state”, (2) “new international mechanisms”, (3) and “compensations” (see George Bush 10 January 2008).

¹⁰⁰ There is sufficient thorough and serious historical research that proves Israel’s responsibility and intent for the driving the Palestinians out of their homes in 1947-8 (Pappé 2007).

(reconfirmed in 2007), best known as the Arab Peace Initiative (API). The initiative suggested, “a just solution to the Palestinian Refugee problem to be *agreed upon in accordance with UN General Assembly Resolution 194.*” (API 2002: article 2/b, emphasis added) The insertion of “agreed upon” and “in accordance with” phrases in conjunction with “194” is rhetorical. It is not exactly to affirm the refugees’ rights, but rather to allow a twofold interpretation, each directed to a specific audience. One interpretation underlines “194” is meant for the internal consumption (especially the refugees) while the other underlines “agreed up” and “in accordance with” to offset the return option and market it to Israel and the peace sponsors. The API position on refugees question is no more than an upgrade of what resolution 242 said about the matters.

The API spurred a Palestinian reinterpretation of “*haq al-‘awda*” (the right of return) by de-articulating resolution 194 and international law in this regard from the political language or use them as supplements. This was fulfilled in two steps: the first step wrapped the refugees’ question inside an opaque text, while the second replaced the specific resolution addressing the refugees’ rights by the general, the API. This ambiguous insertion left the fate of the refugees open to bargaining and deep uncertainties. The official Arab authorization to trade the refugees’ rights, which is unequivocally stated in the API, gave a cover for the PA/PLO pragmatism.

Since the 22-Arab *governments* backed the API, the PLO/PA call for an “agree upon solution” to the refugees question had been emboldened and dispersed without hesitation into the public sphere. Indeed, the Palestinians had already proposed less than the right of return in the first session of the Camp David negotiations on 7 November 2000: “Talking about a return of 4 millions refugee is a catastrophe [*karitha*] for Israel, and this is not acceptable. But we are calling for the right of return [*haq al-‘awda*], and a significant return (*‘awda mu‘tabara*)... and we are confident that the refugees in Syria and Jordan would not return [*lan ya‘uwdu*].” (Abbas cited in Abu-Alaa 2006: 243, emphasis added) The call for return was made on the assumption that

the majority of the refugees “would not return” to Palestine if the peace sponsors would concoct tempting alternatives to return. Accordingly, return is transformed into a symbolic gesture that neither rectifies the deep injustice nor achieves national or human rights of the Palestinians.

Not only the right of return was a bargain subject, but also the language that signifies it was constituted to be so. For example, the PLO/PA suggested that the mention of resolution 194 be discounted if Israel accepted the addition of the API in the terms of reference (Doc.3284). Equally, the refugees issue was a trading card and secondary to other final status issues like Jerusalem and territory as expressed in this sentence: “Let’s see them move on Jerusalem and territory and we will move on security and refugees.” (Doc.2769, SE) As such, the refugees question, their rights and the language that articulates that are relegated to second or third rank and rendered tradable.

The new Palestinian interpretation of resolution 194, whether at the expert level or at highest political level is identical. For example, in the internal emails explaining the position of refugee issue in the API:

Reference to [the] UN Resolution 194 stresses the fact that the solution to be found should be *based on* international law and respect refugee choice. This is the best guarantee for any solution to be just and perceived as such by refugees.

‘To be agreed upon’ means that the resolution should also *adapt to current realities and to the legitimate interests and concerns* of the different stakeholders in the issue, amongst which, in particular, *Israel & the future State of Palestine*. (Doc.3271, emphasis added)

In the same vein, the PA/PLO President Abbas approached the refugees’ issues through the API, as he puts it:

The API represents close to a universal consensus... many people either understate or exaggerate the article on refugees: either say it is not enough, or interpret it to mean that 5 million refugees will return. *Neither is correct*. The language is correct in stating “just and agreed upon.” Therefore I recommend that you focus on the API.

On numbers of refugees, *it is illogical to ask Israel to take 5 million, or indeed 1 million* – that would mean the end of Israel. They said 5000 over 5 years. This is even less than family reunification and is not acceptable. (Doc.4507)

1) Focus should be on the API, “it is the basis” he [Abbas] said. 2) “The API is an equation and a clause (requirement...) i.e. the equation is full Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories in return for full Arab and Islamic normalization, the clause/requirement is the refugees.” As we said a just and agreed upon resolution based on 194. *Emphasize agreed*”. These were his words. (Doc.1669; emphasis added)

President Abbas’ reading of the API excludes the absolute majority of the Palestinian refugees from their *individual* right to return. To him, a return of “even 1 million [refugee] would mean the end of Israel.” This indicates a tacit internalization and implicitly acknowledgment of Israel as a “Jewish State”¹⁰¹ in the political calculation of the leadership. To be sure, the PA signaled its indifference to how Israel defines itself as put by the PA negotiators: “If you want to call your state the Jewish State of Israel you can call it what you want.” (Doc.2003, SE) “It’s your decision —we [PLO/PA] recognize your state however you want [to define it yourselves].” (Doc.2002, YAR) In numbers, the Palestinians are talking about the return of less than a million but more than 25 thousands refugees to “Israel.”¹⁰²

The relative simplicity of the legal statute of the refugee questions is reproduced in more arcane expressions like “agree upon”, “in accordance with”, “realistic solutions”, “annual quota”, “time limit” in the API and Roadmap. Also it has been wrapped inside other enunciations and texts with the aim to subvert the right of return. To do that, the refugee issue is divided into four isolated solutions: reparation, settlement, reallocation, and “some” return to

¹⁰¹ Ahmad Khalidi (2011) analyzed the implication of recognizing Israel as a “Jewish State” on the Palestinian narrative, history, moral and legal claims and effect on the Palestinians in Israel.

¹⁰² Saeb Erekat also echoes this: “On refugees, AM said we need a credible number, not 5 million but not 1,000. Abu Mazen said. I am ready for the endgame. I know there are lots of painful decisions to make, but I am ready to make them. I hope I have a partner in Israel.” (Doc.4625)

Israel (Doc.2344; Doc.2436, AA). The Palestinians were talking about a *symbolic*¹⁰³ return as they regard the “full implementation of the right of return is unlikely” in their political imagination. Therefore, discourse focused on creating a formula which could “be perceived as a real option” in order to “market” it to the refugees (Doc.2731; see also Doc.3202). Meanwhile, stressing and maximizing the non-return options is one way to reduce the possible number of returnees (Doc.2344; Doc.4066).

The refugees were removed from the beginning and they were never given the chance to intervene, let alone set the agenda; others vie to represent and design “offers” in their name and afterwards seek means to “market [such offers] locally and internationally”. For the purposes of marketing, a new “ ‘PR’ unit” and kind of “a minimum of coordination with refugee communities” were recommended (Doc.3548). This order substitutes representation with a minimal *coordination*, which in concrete terms, is a deliberate denial of any adequate representation.

On 14 September 2008, a meeting with the title, “Progress meeting on Refugees” took place to discuss the “available” options for the refugees in detail. The PLO/PA chief negotiator “hardly disagree[s] on anything” the on the Israeli list of agreement and disagreement points. Directly to the point, the PA/PLO and Israel are in agreement on the following: (1) compensation (not restitution), (2) rehabilitation, (3) settlement choices (except return), (4) termination of UNRWA, (5) the International Mechanism is the exclusive forum, (6) Establishing an International Fund, (6) Israel will “contribute” to the International Fund, (7) no other obligation beyond the Treaty (Doc.3651).

¹⁰³ As it appears from the NSU memorandums and recommendations, the PA/PLO was doing its best come up with pragmatic and symbolic solution for the refugee issue. First, PA/PLO has acknowledged Israel “legitimate concerns” regarding its “capacity to absorb” the Palestinian returnees, and hence accepting to negotiate the number of the returnees (Doc.3028). Second, another recommendation suggested finding new “resettlement options... in order to alleviative the pressure put on Israel...” (Doc.2930)

Points of disagreement have little to do with the return of the refugees to their homeland because return was downgraded to a mere emblematic matter and without plans to implement it in practice. However, disagreement lingered over secondary, though important, issues such as linguistic framings (e.g., reference to 194 and the API vs. two states for two peoples), reference to the “Jewish refugees”, the wording of responsibility question for the refugees’ plight, granting Palestinian refugees a Palestinian citizenship,¹⁰⁴ Israeli rejection of restitution and preference to “remain vague” on the Israeli contribution to the compensation either to refugees or to hosting states (Doc.3651, TB).

When Saeb Erekat’s assistant lawyer, Ziyad Clot, began to question the list, Erekat left the meeting room abruptly (Doc.3284). Firstly, Clot challenged the ambiguous referent, i.e. the absence of a clause to define the Palestinian refugee in the treaty. Secondly, the clause on refugees was too general with no satisfactory details concerning Israel’s *financial* contribution, and the lack of implementation procedures. The Israeli side represented by Tal Becker replied to Clot’s objections by asserting that it was “agreed initially with SE [Saeb Erekat] that a reasonable balance should be found on the level of details”. Erekat remained silent and did not contest Becker’s point as far the record can tell.

This particular meeting reveals three conclusions: a very deep Palestinian ambiguity, a gap between the decision-makers’ level and their assistants, and secret understandings between a limited number of Palestinian decision-makers with Israel and the US. For example, it was underlined that the PA shared “sensitive information with the Americans” which was unknown to even the “committee heads” (see Doc. 3959). Finally, it showed a Palestinian

¹⁰⁴ To be sure, the PA/PLO President Abbas was recording as saying that: “All refugees can get Palestinian citizenship (all 5 million) if they want...” (Doc.4507, AM)

readiness to accept a “pragmatic” and symbolic solution, short of any significant return.

Who is responsible for the refugees’ exodus in 1948 was classified among the “disputed” issues. Responsibility is indeed directly linked to the Palestinian and Israeli respective narratives. Israel refuses to recognize any responsibility for this exodus despite the increasing evidence of its responsibility as documented by several Israeli historians. The US fully backed the Israeli position as argued by former US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice: “Responsibility is a loaded term” and “it is the responsibility of the international community, not Israel”, and she pushed the Palestinians to “imply responsibility without using that word/saying it” (Doc.2942). The PLO/PA, however, considered the issue of responsibility as a “trading card”, Saeb Erekat clearly stated: “When she raised the issue of responsibility, I told you I can’t. *These are my trading cards.*” (Doc.3048, emphasis added)

The Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails are yet another related human subject over whom market rules mediated. The prisoners constituted another category for further bargaining, listing, pricing, linking, “released for” and used instrumentally to bolster specific leaders. This is explicitly articulated in the following conversations:

TL: I know the complexity of the *lists* [of prisoners], and the *price* will be the *price*... When we need to release prisoners, we need to do it with *moderates*...

AA: Can AM expect 1000 released?

SE: You used “*benchmarks*” in Berlin. *So let’s invent something* – how about we are in this political process, as part of the process.

TL: How about a *link to the situation in Jenin and Shechem* [Nablus] – areas with greater Palestinian security control. Can we release to those areas? [Discussion on criteria for release, numbers, lists, Hamas list]. TL: Just throwing ideas: let’s assume Hamas asked for a *list* – we release some to them and some...

SE: Don’t link us. It is time to release prisoners as part of the political process.

TL: If I give you “heavy” ones, I may then need to give Hamas “heavier” ones.

AA: You can release some to AM before Hamas, and some after.

TL: Most of the “big fishes” are on the Hamas list.

SE: Suggestion: I know the *complexity of the lists*, and *the price will be the price*. But if you want to tell Palestinians that is not the only way you function, look at the list of *pre-Oslo prisoners*.

TL: I prefer *to release for the peace process* than on a holiday.

SE: ... So instead of Hamas releasing Marwan Barghouthi, *have AM do it* – the same with the pre 93 prisoners.

TL: No. Maybe we can connect Gilad Shalit, as we have done to Rafah, and as opening Rafah is connected to you – *you get credit [market]. That way you get credit for release of prisoners*. (Doc.2826, emphasis added)

The same pattern is used in other conversations:

AA: As for the prisoners, if Israel responds to the demands of Hamas and releases 450 prisoners, some of whom are very important prisoners, this will *embarrass us*. But *if Israel releases the prisoner because Abu Mazen demands this, then the situation will be different*. (Doc.2436, emphasis added)

AA: Any release of prisoners for Hamas should be after a release for Abu Mazen. ... Particularly the old prisoners from before Oslo... I want to speak about *real prisoners* that will be influential in the negotiations. (Doc. 2797)

HA: How to use the potential of the prisoners in support of the peace process... We need coordinated moves and measures in the interim period. Coordination of names, categories of prisoners... We need coordination for who will be released as opposed to you releasing whoever you want to release unilaterally. (Doc. 2797, emphasis in original)

The above citations illustrate how Israeli and Palestinian negotiators/politicians operated within the same rationale, style, concepts and vocabulary. As a result, it was self-evident to both sides that prisoners represent a bargaining chip in the process. Prisoners were therefore listed and categorized into “heavy”, “heavier”, “pre-Oslo”, political affiliation, “moderates”, and used strategically as a means to “support the peace process”, support certain politicians (“release for AM”, “let AM do it”, “you get

the credit”) and certain political parties (Fateh versus Hamas). Despite the PLO/PA’s desperate efforts to demonstrate to the Palestinian public the ability of its policies to achieve some concrete results, Israel refused to release prisoners.

The prisoners’ issue is a major emotion-laden subject to the Palestinian public. However, it is still a variable matter, which helps Israel to change the negotiation compass from the main conflict issues. Indeed, so long as the Palestinians lack sovereignty, Israel will remain able to release and detain more and more Palestinians at will. Therefore, a Palestinian participation in a formula that constitutes the prisoners a bargaining chip is both morally and strategically misguided.

So far I discussed how the market rationale modulated the representation of land and humans; now the discussion turns to the third subject of this rationale and how it operates over language itself.

Linguistic maneuvering is especially acute in politics and diplomacy. Kissinger noted at the onset of his famous thesis, *A World Restored*, that diplomacy aims to build a “legitimate” system as a result of a shared understanding. “Diplomats can still meet but they cannot persuade, for they have ceased to speak the same language” (Kissinger 1957: 2). George Mitchell, the architect of the “Good Friday Agreement” and later Obama’s special envoy to the Middle East understood this dilemma in saying: “*we need language that both sides can agree to.*” (Doc.4844, emphasis added)

Although the Palestinians have internalized a great deal of the realist-liberalist peace-building and Israel’s security language, the Americans, Israelis and Palestinians still spoke a totally different language on specific issues. To be sure, there was an agreement on the overall framework, but difference on the details. Even at the non-political level (expert level) Palestinians and Israelis have different perspectives as put by a Palestinian maps expert, “We must have a common language, agree on common maps and data, and then we

can have a discussion about the issues.” (Doc.2339, Samih Al-Abed) Market logic operates inside language itself. In other words, the bargain is within and over language as a means to bridge difference in the following examples:

I suggest that *you take out East Jerusalem* and I will *take out our language* on national aspirations... we want Jewish, you want independent and sovereign. Lets *take both out*. (Doc.2055, TL)

TL: Tradeoffs like no refugees to Israel in return for the borders you want – we cannot discuss it like this if we go through the issues one by one. [INTERNAL NOTE: At another point she implied that the tradeoff for them would likely be security + refugees for borders.] (Doc.1962)

TB: I believe that 6.1 will be agreed at the end. Saeb, you told me that if we accept the reference to the Arab Peace Initiative here, you would be ready to remove the reference to 194.

SE: I told you that we might consider it. (Doc.3284)

Linguistic complications became more evident during Mitchell’s efforts to “revive” negotiations between Israel and the PA in 2009. Language encumbered his mission from the beginning as he tried to accommodate all Israeli terms and phrases, which excludes the main issues such as Jerusalem and borders. The following excerpt is sufficient to demonstrate the tension arising from language:

GM: *We are making efforts to find language that is satisfactory to you*. Then we will make an effort to get Israeli agreement... So our discussion with them earlier was general and *did not get into the precise language* as we intend to do with you today... We need as *straightforward a formulation* of that concept as possible:

An independent and viable state encompassing all of the territory that was occupied in 1967 or its equivalent in value. (not equal!!!!)

SE: What is this? What is it part of?

GM: ToR [Terms of Reference] or side letters. This is better than swaps for you,

JS: Your ToR *language didn't say equal*.

JS: We did not want a mathematical formula, so *we used "equivalent"*. I know you have a specific area ...

GM: I will read it all out loud and RD [Rami Dajani] can write it down. I recall our discussion on territory and your *concern on the previous language*, that it would preclude swaps from their territory. I raised it with them—that it meant they would get the blocs and you would get nothing—and they said that was not the intent and it did not occur to them. Now *we need to think of the context in which this language can occur*. (Doc.4899, emphasis added)

Perhaps the implications of the market side of peace have been transformed into a repetition of linguistic-play that the Palestinians have imparted. The market style and the vast terminology and concepts it is bound up with have infiltrated the Palestinian consciousness. It is therefore very hard to resist, or detect, the systematic demoralization and dehistoricization of the conflict and its subjects when market regime reigns over the national struggle.

Palestine: A Primal Scene in Schoolbooks

As the analysis above demonstrates, Palestine ceased to exist as an “imagined totality.” Instead, it appears as an eclectic assemblage of temporal, demographic and spatial fragmentation in the Palestinian political discourse. In examining school textbooks, this section serves as an example of the performative entailments of the political discourse on the walks of everyday life. Education is a suitable subject of analysis for this purpose. After all, it is a repetitive activity and in a dialectical relationship with discourse. The analysis here is brief and specific. It examines the Palestinian elementary school textbooks prepared by the PA from grade 1-7 covering four subjects: national, civil, history and geography education. These subjects are selected because they reverberate throughout political questions in constituting the primal scene of Palestine as it unfolds in the new *Palestinian* mediated textbooks (i.e. self-representation). The Palestinian textbooks have been examined and criticized heavily before, however, most of these studies are “anxious to assess the extent to which the curriculum and its textbooks promote incitement to hatred of Israel and Jews; secondly, they have identifies omissions” (UNESCO Report 2006: 14).

It is worth noting that after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, the Israeli authorities modulated the content and design of the textbooks in order to guarantee a Palestinian education devoid of national sentiment and historical and spatial memory. The direct Israeli intervention ended in the late-1990s in consequence of the Oslo Accords as education was among the “spheres” which were transferred to the PA’s jurisdiction (see J.6 1994). In 1998, the Palestinian Legislative Council decided to draft a new school curriculum in stages (see resolution no. 3/3/255), in the meanwhile, an Israeli mediated curriculum continued to be used in Palestinian schools for several years until the Palestinian Ministry of Education gradually started to distribute its new textbooks.

The PLO/PA spirit of the Oslo process is discharged through the new textbooks. Although Oslo Agreements granted the PA mandate over education, they have also restricted its freedom by certain equivocal clauses regarding “culture of peace” and “fighting incitement” which have deformed and silenced essential terminology in the Palestinian narrative. The word ‘Palestine’ and its imagined spatial equivalence have been silenced, at best they are highly ambiguous in the textbooks, as we shall see.

The imagery repertoire throughout textbooks is political; it seeks to proliferate narrative, identity and spatial consciousness. Maps are key pre-mediated imagery that enables students to locate themselves inside certain (clear and abstract) boundary lines, colors, shapes and landscape which help to construct an imaginary visual spatial identity and a territorialized one. Students are exposed from an early stage to a world which is “actively spatialized, divided up, labeled, sorted out into a hierarchy of places of greater or lesser ‘importance’ by political geographers, other academics and political leaders.” (Agnew 2003: 3)

Palestinian students in the first to seventh grades encounter illustrative images, maps and names representing the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza in their textbooks such as the Nativity Church, Dome of the Rock, Hisham’s

Palace in Jericho, Cave of Patriarchs in Hebron, Dead Sea, Gaza Airport, Sabastiya Ruins, Jenin Plain, Gaza Plain (NE 1st G; CEi 2nd G; NEi 2nd G.; NEii 2nd G; CEii 3rd G). The frequency of the visual echoing creates a pattern in which certain images in Palestine garner pervasive familiarity to the extent they become iconic spatial features. As a rule, images of Palestine from places beyond the West Bank and Gaza do not appear altogether, on occasions, however, some odd indication may be registered but it remains a secondary, in the background and an exceptional appearance (e.g., picture of Akka (Acre) Wall see NE 7th G: 47).

When the map of (historical) Palestine is provided there are three curious lapses in the caption to evade speaking of Palestine as a geographical totality. The map is either presented without a caption, or with a one that either leaves the word “Palestine” out or (at best) mentions it vaguely as a secondary word in the caption. Moreover, explanatory information (e.g., demography see *GoP 7th G: 43-45*) and symbols are situated only within the boundary of the West Bank and Gaza (i.e., inside the “1967 border” in peace process parlance) while the rest of the map is painted in a plain color and with no or very limited information. The figure below, from a second grade schoolbook, displays a map of Palestine without a caption and with instructive signs over certain areas in the West Bank and Gaza only. The map is juxtaposed with a text asking students to “fill the table with the names of crops in the *Palestinian areas*,” (see Figure 2, emphasis added) notice reference to cities in the West Bank and Gaza in the provided table to the right (Hebron, Jenin, Nablus, Jericho and Gaza).

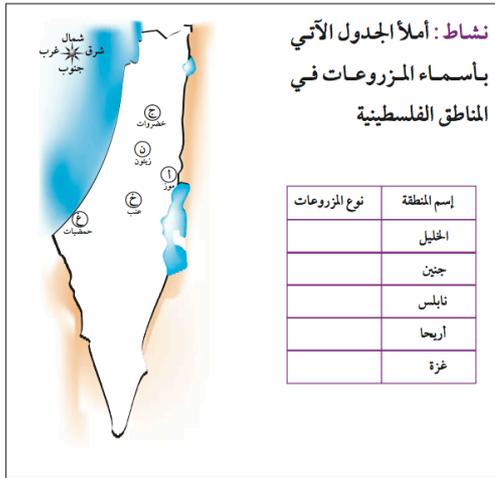
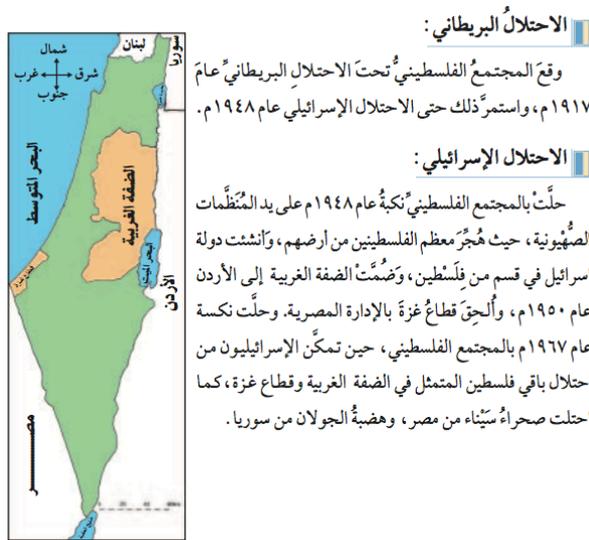


Figure 2: Schematic map of Palestine with information on areas in the West Bank and Gaza only NE2nd G:34

Figure 3 shows a curious imagery and text juxtaposition. First and foremost, the word “Palestine” is absent although names of neighboring countries are indicated (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt). Inside the map boundary there are two colors, green and brown,¹⁰⁵ where information is placed on the areas in brown to signify the “Palestinian areas” (see also figure 2). Ironically, there is no equivalent text on the area in green. In the absence of a caption, the text on the right constitutes a relationship between the two colored areas and indirectly informs students of the current names of these areas. There are complex relationships and inferences to be drawn —perhaps beyond the capacity of 5th grade student— from the map, colors and text. The two words, ‘Palestine’ and ‘Israel’, are readily written within the descriptive text but not over a map or an image. This complexity is strategically used in order to leave ample space for connotative ambiguity (see Barthes 1977), for a word inside a corresponding boundary (e.g., the phrase “West Bank” is surrounded by the

¹⁰⁵ The choice of colors on maps has political meanings related to self-image and representation of the other. Nurit Peled-Elhanan (2012) showed in her analysis of the Israeli textbooks how the brown color is used to depict a negative image of the Arab or Palestinian space, while the Israeli-Jewish space is painted in green to represent development and progress.

“Green Line” or 1967 borders) is not as malleable for interpretation as being inside a text.



The British Occupation

The Palestinian society had fallen under the British occupation in 1917, which continued until the beginning of the Israeli occupation in 1948.

The Israeli Occupation

The *Nakba* befell the Palestinian society in 1948 was committed by the Zionist organizations, which forced the majority of Palestinians to leave their land. Consequently, the State of Israel was founded in part of Palestine. The West Bank was annexed to Jordan, whereas the Gaza Strip was annexed to Egypt. In 1967, the *Naksa* (relapse) befell the Palestinian society as Israel occupied the rest of Palestine including the Sinai desert from Egypt and the Golan Heights from Syria.

Figure 3: Palestine map demarcating the West Bank and Gaza

NE 5th G: 30; see also NG 5th G: 63; HG 6th G: 53



Title: Administrative Institutions

Caption: Governorates the Homeland

1. Enumerate the governorates of the *homeland* (emphasis added).

2. To name the governorates in which we live, and spell out the name of its governor.

Figure 4: Governorates of the West Bank and Gaza

NE 6th G: 42

Figure 5, however, benefits from the referential formula (“according to the UN Partition Plan”) to articulate the phrase, “map of Palestine”, in the caption (NE 7th G: 22).



The caption below the map reads as:

The map of Palestine according to the UN Partition Resolution of 1947.

Figure 5: Palestine map according to the Partition Plan of 1947 NE 7th G: 22

At Grade 7, however, students begin to be exposed to further geographical and historical information about Palestine. The text articulates the “natural borders of Palestine” as the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. It spells out the area of Palestine as 27,000 square kilometers and border-length with neighboring Arab countries. But also it gives additional details on certain areas, such as the area of the West Bank (5842 square kilometers) and Gaza (366 square kilometers), but it leaves other areas without any details (see GoP 7th G: 4). However, there is still a serious omission despite this level of information about historical Palestine. That is, the direct and explicit link between the text and provided map is omitted. The caption does not say “the map of Palestine”; instead, it says: “Map no. (3) the Arab Countries Adjacent to Palestine” as shown in the figure (6) below.



خريطة رقم (٣) الدول العربية المجاورة لفلسطين

ج- حدود فلسطين :

- ١- نذكر حدود فلسطين الطبيعية كما هو وارد في الخريطة رقم (٣).
- ٢- نذكر دولاً عربية مجاورة لفلسطين على الخريطة.
- ٣- نقارن مساحة فلسطين مع الدول العربية المجاورة.
- د- تشرف فلسطين على البحرين الآتيتين :
 - ١- البحر المتوسط من الغرب.
 - ٢- البحر الأحمر من الجنوب.

Figure 6: Palestine and surrounding countries

GoP 7th G: 4

In general, there are two narratives: one represented textually while the other is represented through imagery. Schoolbooks are at ease with the former and very disciplined and specific on the latter. Imagery, cartographic images in particular, are powerful educational tools that create a dialectical spatial consciousness. The selected images and maps in the Palestinian textbooks prepare the students to see Palestine as fragments; meanwhile certain areas are visually and textually emphasized. As a result, students are left out with a confused and fragmented imagery that encumbers their perception of Palestine as an imagined totality.

Peace Securitization

Security as Peace

In this chapter, I will try to explain how the Palestinians officials have gradually internalized a securitized version of peace. Also I will examine the structural and institutional implications of this internalization.

Security-related questions are fundamental in international relations and peacebuilding theory. As Der Derian puts it: “no other concept in international relations packs the metaphysical punch, nor commands the disciplinary power of ‘security’ ” (Der Derian 1995: 24-25). Then, no wonder to find a chapter on “democratic peace” wrapped inside every under/graduate Security Studies module. A security-guided peace paradigm takes partition at a face value as a logical solution for conflicts that involve two ethnic or national groups, whereby each group would be given a state of its own as the best way to reduce the “security dilemma” (Mearsheimer & Van Evera 1995; Kaufmann 1996). This rationale dates back to the 17th century Westphalian peace. This conventional wisdom is at the heart of the Israel-Palestine peace process: two states for two peoples “living side by side in peace and security”. Security has been an orienting concept for the peacebuilding process. For instance, the EU supported the “creation of a viable and peaceful sovereign Palestinian entity” granted that it would be “the best guarantee of Israel’s security.” (L.28 1997: 359) In these circumstances, peace is usually juxtaposed with security as a default setting; meanwhile, neither the meaning of peace nor security were deliberated or contextualized.

The phrase “peace and security” has been constantly reproduced in the form of a self-evident “truth” and singular simulacrum. The security-peace nexus

has travelled within the language of peace sponsors (later the Quartet), and gradually the Palestinian leadership internalized it in order to join the peace club. For example, in 1993, the PLO went beyond the “recognition” of Israel to underline the recognition of the “*right* of the State of Israel to exist in *peace and security*.” (I.2, emphasis added) This language conceives “peace” and “security” as being interdependent and co-constitutive elements. As a result, the phrase became an underlying conceptual frame and a strategic refrain in Israel-Palestine policymaking discourse.

A “security-based diplomacy” became a hegemonic paradigm (Diker 2010: 90) in structuring and contextualizing power-relations between the Palestinians, Israelis and peace sponsors. For example, the EU (one the main sponsors) declared the peace process “the only path to *security and peace* for Israel, the Palestinians and neighbouring states.” (K.5 1996: 275, emphasis added) Israel’s Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu argued for a peace “based *first on the security* of Israel and its citizens. The *test of peace* agreement is *security*” (K.10: 1996: 282, emphasis added). More pointedly, Israel believes that it has “special security needs” that no one can comprehend (Doc.2797). From the Israeli standpoint peace *is* security. The Israeli representatives argued persistently that the task of the peacebuilders is making security: “Last week we had breakdown in security and peace collapsed. And what we need and have committed to do is rebuild the foundations of security; the old ones that were there that need refurbishing.” (K.25 1996: 298) The emphasis put on security dominated the peace rituals (in form of meetings, summits, communication, *etc.*) to the extent it constituted a “precondition” and a priori: “in order to have peace, we need security first” (Doc.2324; Doc.616, AG).

The Copenhagen School of security studies helps us to understand the process of securitization (Buzan *et al.* 1998). Initially, the linguistic linkages, juxtapositions and echoing of “peace and security” constitute the rudimentary infrastructure for peace securitization. Peace as a referent object is represented as something at risk. On this account, a process of identification

began to constitute the “enemies of peace” and authorize “extraordinary” measures to defeat or stop them. For example, Hamas and Gaza were represented as endangering peace, thus indeed the PA, Israel and peace sponsors undertook joint extraordinary “security measures” against them.

By and large, security is imagined through a military prism whereby powerful military institutions and personnel designed the agenda. Having Israeli “peace” negotiators in their military uniforms at the negotiation table is by far the most notorious epitome of this model (Abu-Alaa 2006: 356). Western discourse constructed the PA security reforms as the key for achieving security and hence peace, and pointed towards a further Western engagement in concrete strategies coupled with material and financial sustenance to implement structural reformations within the Palestinian security institutions. This effort was dubbed as *capacity building*. On the ground, however, American and European military institutions¹⁰⁶ drafted the required security arrangements and reforms of the PA’s structure.

Nietzsche’s analysis of moral judgment proves to be timeless and relevant. He explains in the genealogy of morals how “the judgment ‘good’ did *not* originate among those to whom goodness was shown. Much rather has it been the good themselves, that is, aristocratic, the powerful, the right-stationed, the high-minded, who have felt that they themselves were good, and that their actions were good...” (Nietzsche 2003: 11, emphasis in original). By a similar way of thinking that Nietzsche found, the developed and powerful countries and institutions defined the criteria for “good” and “bad” governance in much of the developing and less powerful countries. Palestine is no exception in this regard.

¹⁰⁶ For example, “Security Working Group” has been submitting reports and executives summaries to the Department of the Army, US Security Coordinator, US Consulate General, Jerusalem, APO AE 09830. (Doc.390)

Indeed, the same military Generals who served in the occupation of Iraq in 2003 were appointed to “oversee” the Palestinian reform.¹⁰⁷ The oversight and evaluation of the proclaimed successful institutional and capacity building did not spring from people to whom these projects are made, but rather from powerful institutions like the US Department of Army, International Monetary Fund (IMF), EU, the World Bank and the military generals.

A prevailed perception constructed the failure or success of the peace process as being dependent on the “Palestinian management of the internal security.” (Doc.2455) The British Secret Intelligence Services (MI6) concluded that, “a real opportunity to revive the peace process, starting with security steps by the PA.” (Doc.238) The Palestinians accepted this order and acted accordingly. For instance, Erekat wrote to the US Special Envoy for the Middle East Security General Jones “we undertook that implementation of a comprehensive agreement will be *contingent on Palestinian security performance* as required by the Road Map.” (Doc.2702, emphasis added)

The following citation illustrates the hierarchy in the security planning: the US and the UK make plans, the PA performs, and Israel judges and takes decisions.

Tony Blair: “Yes, *I spoke to Jones* on this and *he agreed* that we need a whole package for Hebron. *I’m [Blair] having a long meeting with Barak* and am thinking of *bringing Jones with me*. I understand that if *battalion succeeds* in Hebron then you can move to another area, but *we need to negotiate with Israel* to ensure we are all clear on where we are going. Nablus worked but Hebron needs a whole package.” (Doc.2330, emphasis added)

¹⁰⁷ Among these military Generals: Lt. Gen. Keith Dayton, Lt. Gen. William Fraser, USAF, Col. William Costantini, USMC - Special Assistant to the Assistant to the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff, LTC Richard Sele, US Army, Lt. Col. Darren Duke, USMC (Stationed full-time here, between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem), US Con Gen Jake Wallace, US Con Gen Peter Evans, Political Officer, (Doc.2260).

In essence, the caliber of the so-called capacity building schemes is subsumed in the ability to respond to security contingencies. This paved the way for security reforms and training arrangements to ensue. Two security institutions were established in order to retrain, rebuild and reform the Palestinian security forces. The Office of the United States Security Coordinator (USSC) and the European Union Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support (EUPOL COPPS). The USSC:

was established in 2005 to assist the PA in rebuilding its security capacity. It provides advice and guidance to support PA Security Forces' efforts at reform, within the context of the Roadmap and the Two-State Solution. Working to the US Department of State, it is a multi-national team led by a US 3-star General with access to relevant PA and Government of Israel institutions. Work is focused on bolstering Palestinian security institutions, particularly the Ministry of Interior, as well as professionalizing the Palestinian Armed Security Forces (PASF)." (Doc.2455, emphasis added)

Having considered the basic security-oriented discourse in which the Palestinians were plugged into, now the analysis turns to the degree of the Palestinian engagement with it. The basic discourse on peace and security creates a scope for policy practices and funds allocation. Once the concrete policy debates began to evolve, the image of peace as security has been elaborated into a more sophisticated device to legitimize and justify certain policy blueprints and their related material consequences. The powerful rhetorical device on security helped stabilize and validate the Palestinian internal discourse in two ways: first, violent Palestinian policies and acts (against their own people) were considered security measures, a Palestinian "responsibility" and necessary steps (according to the roadmap, logic of motion) *towards* the Palestinian statehood.

From the beginning, the Palestinian representatives endorsed Israel's exclusive monopoly over "residual powers" which includes security and foreign relations (H.48). In other words, half of the "peace and security" phrase was at Israel's discretion. It is worthwhile here to mention briefly the philosophical underpinnings of the orthodox peacebuilding in order to understand the implications of monopolizing security. Orthodox peace is

ontologically dependent on state entities (or authorities) and epistemologically it is framed by operations of power and authority. Peace is thus derived from “rational” security representations. In practical terms, this reverses the order of the phrases to read: “security and peace”. The articulation points to peace as a mechanism producing security and not necessarily about justice or addressing conflict issues. That explains why this side of peace is inappropriate for the question of Israel-Palestine.

After signing Oslo Agreements, the PLO began to rebuild its security apparatus while preparing to relocate itself to the West Bank and Gaza, it dispensed with existing PLO security apparatus such as the Palestinian Liberation Army and *al-fida'iyyun*. The new Palestinian security structure is directly connected with the Israeli one under different formulas such as “liaison committees”, “coordination”, “cooperation”, “District Cooperation Office (DCO)”, and so on (I.4 1993). As a result of the security cooperation/coordination between the Palestinians and Israelis the term *al-mutaradin* (the fugitives) entered into the Palestinian security language as a security object threatening peace. The fugitives are those who carried out activities against Israeli targets, they are wanted by both Israel and the PA. Up until 1993, these very individuals would be called *al-fida'iyyun*, *al-thuwar* or *al-munadilun*, however, the *al-mutaradin* subject has replaced the former subject-positions altogether because they no longer have a place in the transformed Palestinian discourse.

Security-riddled concepts and vocabulary infiltrated the Palestinian perception, especially after the endorsement of the Roadmap in 2003. The Roadmap represents an operative blueprint of the realist-liberal peacemaking theory, which by default prioritizes security. To be sure, the Roadmap is dependent on the Palestinian “security performance”. It revived the logic of motion and progressive rational thinking, and insinuated a relentless war on Palestinian “violence and terrorism”. Meanwhile, bearing in mind that fighting foreign occupation is warranted by “any means,” including violent ones, under

international law, and reading between the lines of this discussion tells us how the legitimate became illegitimate.

The Roadmap “peace” plan articulates two things: the “road” and “map” that will guide the Israelis and Palestinians to the destination of “peace and security”. The “road” is articulated by “partition”, “two states solution”, “security arrangements”, democratization, and economic prosperity. For instance, the Palestinian security forces issued a document listing their achievements in 2008. Among these achievements is “Security Reform and Capacity Building inside the Palestinian Security Institution” which was translated into “Countering of terrorism penetrations inside the Security establishment.” This included arrests of security services members for cooperating with Hamas and Islamic Jihad activist, “failure and neglectance [sic] in guarding Islamic Jihad prisoners, and shooting fire towards an Israeli camp.” Also cooperation and coordination of activities with Israel were considered an achievement number three (Doc.2277). Ironically, cooperation with internal Palestinian entities (e.g., Hamas and Islamic Jihad) was deemed punishable, meanwhile cooperation with Israel was praised as an achievement and a component of the capacity building.

In 2007, the PA started a programme with an adjunct “classification committee”, exchange of names, “psychological” treatment in order to “re-absorb and reintegrate” the fugitives and put them “under control”. Each individual was “classified” and the majority of them were made to sign an “undertake accepting the terms of reintegration”, names of “non-Fateh militias ... will [be] submit[ed] to Israel. If Israel does not object, we [PA security] will treat them like Al-Aqsa.” (Doc.1832, Doc.1831). According to a PA security plan issued in July 2007:

There were three lists: First, a list of 38 names who were not part of Al-Aqsa Brigades. The arrangement was that they spend 1 week under supervision and are then released. Second, a list of 173 names who were part of Al-Aqsa Brigades. They were required to spend 3 months under close supervision and then get released if there were no problems. Third, the PA submitted a list of 260 names of people “wanted” by Israel, to which Israel responded by a list of

110 names that it had no problem with. The PA is awaiting Israeli response regarding the remaining 150 names. (Doc.1950)

In 2004, the PA developed a plan to re-impose the security control over the West Bank and Gaza. The *modus operandi* of the plan internalizes the regular Israeli security concepts and mechanisms. It calls for an uninterrupted security and political coordination with Israel, prohibits “direct friction with the Occupation forces”, security control of certain areas, deploying checkpoints, reform Fatah and disarming armed groups within it, and formation of operations groups against: (1) suicide operations, (2) Qassam rockets, (3) shooting, (4) weapon smuggling and manufacturing, (5) tunnels, (6) violence finance, (7) and incitement (Doc.168). In another plan, the PA echoed and operationalized the same Israeli terminology such as “suicide operations”, “illegal arms”, “information about individuals trying to ensue acts against Israel”, “fighting terrorism”, “fighting incitement”, “observe and record incitement in mosques”, “increase checkpoint at cities entrances”, “barring friction with the Israeli side”, “control of media apparatus”, and “fighting incitement against the PA political programme” (Doc.173). The 2004 and 2007 security plans seem to be an Arabic translation of the US/UK Plan (see Doc.238).

The PA adopted the US-UK-made security plans¹⁰⁸ proposing “an intensive, short-term security drive to address Israeli and US preconditions for re-engagement” to “enable the PA fully to meet its security obligations under Phase 1 of the Roadmap.” The Plan is hierarchical: “formed by [the] US; buy-in by the Quartet; then buy-in by the PA” and “Palestinians’ performance would be verified by the US/UK; we would ask Israel to judge it on results.” (Ibid. p.1-2)

¹⁰⁸ See Doc.168; Doc.173 which represent the Arabic version of the British (Doc.238) security plans prepared by the PA.

The key objectives of the Plan are: firstly, that “PA civil policing... further constrain the rejectionists”, secondly, “systematic security cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian agencies.” Thirdly,

Degrading the capabilities of the rejectionists — Hamas, PIJ [Palestinian Islamic Jihad] and the Al Aqsa Brigades— through the *disruption of their leadership’ communications and command and control capabilities*; the detention of key middle-ranking officers and the confiscation of their arsenals and financial resources held within the Occupied Territories. US and —informally— UK monitors would report both to Israel and to the Quartet. We could also explore the *temporary internment* of leading Hamas and PIJ figures, making sure they are well-treated, with EU finding. (Ibid. p.2-3, emphasis added)

Security through Institutional/Capacity Building

Before proceeding with the discussion on institutional building it may be useful to re-establish the link between institutions and security in the orthodox peace-building thought. Establishing an effective central authority to govern the Machiavellian “*fortuna*” or the Hobbesian “state of nature” is something kernel for peace to materialize. In contemporary peace theories, security institutional capacity building replaced the classical idea of a sovereign as the guardian of peace. While analyzing the text of Israel-Palestine diplomatic record, one finds an underlying pattern of peace/security discourse mediating concrete policies regarding institutional and capacity building schemes in Palestine.

The analysis turns now to examine actual domains that aid serves and the specification of capacity/institutional building arrangements, and how this structure of aid interlaces with the Palestinian discourse.

Let us recall the wave of optimistic discourse that dominated the political debate after the spectacular signing of the Declaration of Principles in September 1993. In response, the European Community amended its aid regulations to incorporate the West Bank and Gaza (J.4 1994). Simultaneously, it crafted a programme called, “Financial and Technical Cooperation with the Occupied Territories” as a means to “foster sustainable economic and social development” (J.3 1994: 209). Although the programme spells out Occupied Territories, in reality, its scope is limited to the *spheres*

which were delegated to the Palestinian authority in accordance with the Oslo Accords, and it is perfectly attuned to liberal economic peace.¹⁰⁹

In June 2002, the EU together with the US (i.e., the donor countries) designed a plan entitled “Donor Support for Palestinian Reform” (Doc.130). The responsibility of design, finance and supervision is divided among several Western countries. The table below briefly indicates what sectors each country is taking care of:

Country/Institution	Targeted Sector
The UK, Belgium, IMF, World Bank	Financial Management and Economic Policy-Making...
European Commission (EC), Norway, UK, US, world bank	Public Administration and Civil Service Reform
EC, US, World Bank	Strengthening Local Government
Australia, Denmark, EC, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, US, World Bank	Rule of Law
EC, Sweden, UK, US, World Bank	Private Sector Development

Table 1: Distribution of capacity building projects and sectors between different countries

The plan prescribes “capacity/institutional building” as an “investment in peace” and “transition to statehood”. It advances particular sectors that do not affect or interfere with the Israeli colonialist policies and projects in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza. Moreover, each sector is confined within the framework of Oslo Agreements, which effectively legitimizes Israel’s hegemony and codifies it in agreements. For example, the Paris Economic Protocol¹¹⁰ represents the upper ceiling of the Financial Management and Economic Policy sector. Donors considered the Paris Protocol as an

¹⁰⁹ Aid from the European Community covered the following areas: “infrastructure, production, urban and rural development, education, health, environment, services, foreign trade, setting-up and improvement of institutions necessary for the proper working of the public administration and the advancement of democracy and human rights.” (J.3 1734/94, article ii, 1994: 209, J.4 1994)

¹¹⁰ Paris Protocol was signed in May 1994 between the PA/PLO and Israel. It represents a framework that governs and regulates the economic relations between the two entities.

indisputable overarching rule. The following example illustrates how the representatives of donor countries already internalized the Israeli dominance. The EU special representative to the Middle East peace process Mark Otte explained that

the salaries that *the EU can do nothing*, as the money for the salaries is *being withheld by Israel*. The only leverage is for the US to tell Israel to release the funds.

[The] AM's [Abu Mazen] statement that *salaries* would be paid early in Ramadan. He [Otte] said [that] he was astonished at this statement, given that *Israel is the only party that can allow that*. (Doc.728, emphasis added)

Representatives of the US, IMF, World Bank ("Washington consensus"), EU, Japan and the UNSCO echoed the Donor Support for Palestinian Reform plan in suggesting:

the establishment of seven working groups in the field covering the areas of *market economics, financial accountability, civil society, local government, elections, judiciary, ministerial and civil service* reform. The objectives of the working groups would be to (i) flesh out the Matrix and identify priorities; (ii) provide status reports on Palestinian efforts to date... (Doc.131, emphasis added)

The security paradigm is a paramount feature in the design of such capacity-building arrangements. The status quo and Israel security conditions were the main criteria for choosing which sector to include and which to exclude whilst designing reform schemes. Therefore, the overall institutional/capacity-building arrangements coexisted with the occupation order in place instead of ending it.

New security institutions such as the Security Working Groups (SWGs) were established to control the flow of information, assessment and "coordination with Israel". A close attention to these plans and statements reveal how "coordination" and "cooperation" with the occupation became an embedded part of the rules of the game. The "SWGs will be asked to report on Palestinian progress as well as what is requested from Israelis and donors" (Doc.131). The colonialist spirit in the design of security institutions goes

beyond material aspects to a cultural and ethical one. For example, although these groups operate within a non-Western environment, they imposed a Western ethical security codes such as the “European Code of Police Ethics” (Doc.159, Annex).

In the aftermath of the US call for PA structural reforms in 2002, several institutions¹¹¹ were set up to be part of the gate-keeping infrastructure that shape the donors’ mood and priorities. The purpose of the new security institutions is to administer the reformation process and “bring together interested donors and international entities”. Yet the task of donors is limited to security-related aspects such as finance projects to control Palestinian movement and access, security reforms and the areas that may enhance security (Doc.1748). Also these institutions (e.g., PNA-TTR and the USSC) filtered all “*queries and commensurate information* responses are coordinated through a single donor relations function within the PNA-TTR.” (Doc.1748, emphasis added) Bearing on the “path dependence” concept (Pierson 2004), the control of information from the beginning offers the best opportunity to form the basis of aid-security nexus.

The Israeli veto power is rooted at the micro-level of aid and donor projects. This power flows systematically from within and without direct Israeli intervention. For instance, during the preparation for the Bethlehem Investment Conference in 2010 the Palestinians had already prepared a “list of names [whom the] PA wants to invite” to the conference for “Israeli [security] clearance” (Doc.2330). It seemed natural and axiomatic for donors and planners to seek Israel’s approval in advance. General Dayton explained that: “Nothing had been provided to the Palestinians unless it has been thoroughly coordinated with the state of Israel and they agree to it.” (Dayton

¹¹¹ Among the security institutions which were established to control the flow of information are the following: Palestinian National Authority Technical Team for Reform (PNA-TTR), Security Working Group (SWG), Security Sector Reform and Transformation (SSR&T), the US Security Coordinator (USSC).

2009: 7) Israel maintains a supreme power over the process of institutional building in Palestine. In any circumstances, funding must be approved first by Israel because the American “congress won’t approve before checking with Israel” (Doc.5171, KD).

The US has maintained a sense of ownership of these institutions because it is by far one of the key funders of the PA institutions. Senator George Mitchel articulates this point in saying: “it is unacceptable to the US [to give Hamas control over the West Bank institutions], after financing and training we’ve carried out —this defeats the purpose.” (Doc.4844) Foreign ownership of the (supposedly) national institutions provides a means for systematic and embedded intervention, control and exclusion.

To understand the actual contents of capacity/institutional building it needs to be contextualized. The following statements help to explain how embedded the security theme is in the said capacity-building missions.

In April 2004 George Bush sent a letter to Israel’s Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon declaring that

The United States will lead efforts, working together with Jordan, Egypt and others in international community, *to build the capacity and will of Palestinian institutions to fight terrorism, dismantle terrorist organizations, and prevent the areas from which Israel has withdrawn from posing a threat...* (Doc.180, emphasis added)

The EU/US reform arrangements link capacity to building to democracy and to police training:

Governance and capacity building have been priority areas on the donor agenda since the beginning of the peace process, as donor engagement was premised on the idea of establishing a foundation for transition to Palestinian statehood. For it is part, the World Bank prepared in September 1993 a seven-volume study entitled *Developing the Occupied Territories: An Investment in Peace... Institution building, as defined by MOPIC* [Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation], *includes institutional development, democracy development, legal development, and police training and support.* (Doc.130, emphasis added)

Furthermore, military/security institutions (e.g., MI6, The US Department of the Army) and military commanders were the foremost designers of capacity building schemes in Palestine. For example, General Dayton decided how to spend 80 million US dollars on security:

I'll leave a copy of the recommendation I gave to my government on how to spend it (\$43 million on communications equipment, upgrading training centers (Bethlehem and Jericho), training, \$10 million train officers, \$23 million to create new NSF [National Security Forces] battalion as discussed before, \$3 million for MoI [Ministry of Interior] for strategic planning capabilities.

US money will focus on capacity building of MoI and focus on NSF while EU funds should focus on Police. (Doc.5171, KD, emphasis added)

Besides security, aid is not without instrumental political functions. The EU Special Envoy Mark Otte pointed out that the European aid and funding aim “to *change people’s ideology and political beliefs*. It is in the greater interest of the EU to see an Islamist government that *adopts an acceptable code of conduct*, and sets a positive example, than a total failure.” (Doc.5173, emphasis added) However the US, as he argues, used aid and funding in order to fail Hamas’ government. The Deputy Director of the USAID David Harden argued explicitly that “The ‘sellability’ of Salam Fayyad’s vision is critical, not at the level of the international community, but on the Palestinian street. It should include a strategy to ‘regain’ Gaza... *USAID is interested in an aggressive plan to demonstrate change in environment on the Palestinian street and alter the momentum.*” (Doc.1871, emphasis added)

Financial and material, aid and donation are premeditated to service and administer the so-called capacity/institution building schemes, which became the main employer in the West Bank and Gaza and an effective pressure tool on the Palestinians. Now, aid is ventured on the basis of the Palestinian performance and compliance to arbitrary conditions of the main donors such as the US. Deviating from these conditions would swiftly dry out the financial sources of the PA, which translates into a chronic, and repeated “salary” deficit (*azmat al-rawatib*). The salary deficit is a pressure instrument on the PA that led the PLO/PA President Abbas on 17 October 2006 to declare

“bread more important than democracy” as a euphemism for the preeminence of the donors’ conditions over the Palestinian national rights, freedom and their right to resist the occupation. Another example would explain how donors used *money* explicitly to influence the political choices of the PA. German representative to the PA Jorg Ranau unequivocally tried to bargain the release of the former Israeli captive soldier for money, in his own words: “There will be *no money before movement on Shalit.*” (Doc.5178, emphasis added) Moreover, the flow of the US aid is tightly coupled with the PA’s policies. The PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad complained about the “difficulty with US money. People on Capitol Hill are displeased with AM’s [Abu Mazin, Abbas] comments in [A]mman and our efforts to explain them did not succeed.” (Doc.2330)

Conclusions

What Makes the Palestinian Discourse?

It is worth recapitulating how the story began. Between 1947-8 two antonymous events took place simultaneously in Palestine: the emergence of an organized Jewish community in the form of the State of Israel and the disappearance and disintegration, albeit temporarily, of the Palestinian community. This paradoxical event was the happiest moment in Jewish-Israeli history and the most “ominous day” in Palestine’s modern history that the Palestinians call, *an-Nakba*, usually translated as ‘catastrophe’ in the English language. However, this translation does not capture the inner metaphor in the Arabic word that signifies the physical disconnection between Palestine and its people. Since “that day” the Palestinian political project has been an attempt to find a way to undo *an-Nakba* and reestablish the links between themselves and Palestine. The shift to diplomatic thinking in 1988 and the subsequent peace process discourse are just another episode in the search for the healing of past wounds and present traumas.

It is worth reiterating what I have observed in the introduction. Today the follower of the debate on Palestine since *an-Nakba* would be overwhelmed by the multiplicity of details that dwarf the overall picture. The Palestinians used to imagine and speak of Palestine as the totality of everything within the mandate map. However, this regularity was discontinued after 1948, which opened a space for statements to articulate Palestine by its parts. This also triggered a process of a re-interpretation of the ‘self’, the ‘other’ and ‘context’, and the relationships that bind them together. While details have attracted ample academic inquiry, the evolution and change within and between these details did not muster the same attention. What are the underlying rules that produced and ordered these details and how they have changed over the last six decades is what this research mainly attempted to examine.

Since 1948 Palestinian political discourse has been in constant change and transformation. The flow of political statements was sustained for a period of time, and gradually other patterns appeared while others disappeared. Given this situation, what I refer to here, as a Palestinian political discourse is a constellation of mini-discourses that belong to different eras; each discourse passing its rules of formation into other discourses. Therefore, the discursive rules of formation have evolved through a manifold process of deferral, differentiation, equivalence, juxtaposition of concepts and ideas that belong to different historical and political thoughts. This rich inter-discursive process encompassed ample conflicting, ambiguous and paradoxical elements, and hence the dynamic and unfixed relationships, which served as the means of articulation and de-articulation. In other words, based on such processes particular interpretations were constituted and sustained, and simultaneously other (competing) interpretations were discontinued.

This dissertation has two interrelated original contributions: the principle contribution uncovers the Palestinian political discourse's main rules of formations and logics, its transformation and evolution, and how these logics directed policymaking. The second contribution is in the realm of theory; it tries to understand the link between change and discourse.

On a theoretical level which is beyond the immediate concern of this research, I find it counterproductive to try imposing criteria of consistency on social studies. Social events abound with inconsistent and paradoxical combinations that lead the discursive dynamics and inevitably, to change. Therefore, academic consistency contravenes social evolution. A second finding claims that reliability is at odds with the interpretative enterprise because social research itself is an unrepeatable social phenomenon that has its own specific temporal and material conditions of production.

Processes of change are tightly related to dynamics of discourse and its process of development. I have explored six interconnected mechanisms that induce difference and change. Firstly, discursive articulation establishes contestable and unstable links, meanings and relations. This is a constant

struggle inside discourse that leads to constant slippage of meaning. Secondly, text and discourse are essentially intertextual and interdiscursive which involves interaction between diverse rules of formation of interacting discourses. Such interaction may generate new rules of formation or transform existing ones. Thirdly, there is change within the institutions and ourselves. Fourthly, following Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation, there are elements whose meanings are undetermined and therefore the ongoing struggle transforms element into discursive moments and vice versa. Transforming element to moments supplies discourse with new meanings that have never been available before. Fifthly, hegemony and antagonism are unavoidable in discourse; they work in different directions. Antagonism contests and destabilizes chains of equivalence, which in turn deconstructs existing meanings and subjects and opens up the possibility of new meanings to evolve. Hence, hegemony is a matter of degree and contingent. Finally, "differend" calls for enabling silence to be uttered; this requires new rules of formation, or adjustment of existing ones so that differend ceases to be silent. On the other hand, the discursive endeavour de-articulates and turns what is uttered into a "differend". Change takes place inside discourse; it does not come from any extradiscursive outside.

To imagine the degree of transformation in the Palestinian discourse one simply needs to juxtapose present statements and their processes of construction with previous ones relating to the same subject. The discourse of capacity building and reformation of the PA opened the debate on the "generation" of the "new Palestinian", a subject-position that systematically coordinates and collaborates with the occupation institutions. For example, a senior Israeli officer asked General Dayton: "How many more of these new Palestinians can you generate, and how quickly, because they are our way to leave the West Bank." (Dayton 2009: 8) However, in the 1960s and 1970s, the "new Palestinian personality" which the Palestinian movement wanted to "generate" after *an-Nakba* was perceived as the returnee, sacrifice and the revolutionary (*al-'a'id*, *al-fida'i*, *al-thawri*) respectively.

In general, I attempted to summarize the Palestinian discursive rules of formation into eleven overlapping rules: (1) *an-Nakba* and the order of discontinuity, (2) *an-Nakba* and the pursuit of a solution, (3) provisional horizon, socialization and referentiality, (4) motion, (5) logic of division, (6) statehood, (7) realist-liberalist peace, (8) mathematico-judicial schema, (9) market logic, (10) security as peace, and (11) replacement.

1. *An-Nakba* and the order of discontinuity

The metaphorical meaning that is loaded in *an-Nakba* meant two things: firstly, the discontinuity of the physical joints between Palestinian land and people, and secondly: it embodied the seeds of the struggle to recover these links. From this perspective, *an-Nakba* is not only the narrative of the 1947-8 events, but also the continual reinterpretation and reproduction of the history that emerged since then; therefore it is a suitable starting point for examination.

The Palestinian literature that appeared shortly after 1948 described the events and journey to exile through gloomy expressions that depicted contemporary events, mood and psychology. The moment when the physical connection between the people and land was superseded represented a reference point for the present. It is a paradoxical moment that at once separates and connects the social orders *in-and-out* Palestine and *before-and-after an-Nakba*.

The disappearance of Palestine as an “imagined totality” made it possible for different identities and spatial mapping and constellations to evolve. The mood of the exiled was mediated by legal and political conceptions (including events of war) producing “the Palestine refugees” subject. This regime singled out the Palestinian refugees and de-universalized their case. Spatially, however, Palestine was de-articulated into divisions (occupied and remaining land) annexed to different non-Palestinian sovereigns. Likewise, demography was reinterpreted afresh into three groups: the refugees, the Jordanian-Palestinians, and the Arab-Israeli, yet each grouping was ambiguous,

uncertain and confused by its own subjects. The internal, regional and international environment has radically changed and every Palestinian individual has directly to deal with foreign arrangements. *An-Nakba* de-articulated Palestine and new discursive reconstruction emerged in a relatively short period of time.

The Mandate resolution in 1922 formed the framework for handling the question of Palestine. The modality “Palestinian” was erased, and in consequence, the resolution represented Palestine in the same operative Zionist myth: a land without people for a people without land. The League of Nations and its successor the United Nations, and its related bodies continued to operate the concepts of Mandate resolution until 1974 when the UN recognized the Palestinian people and their right for self-determination. Indeed, this language has infiltrated the Palestinian discourse and internalized it as “international legitimacy”, which emerged out of indifference to the Palestinians’ rights.

The Palestinian political orientations were divided mainly along the lines of Pan-Arabism, regionalism and Marxism. Pan-Arabism helped crystalize the Palestinian self-representation as part of the *al-qawmiyya al-‘arabiyya* and therefore, local nationalism (*al-wataniyya*) did not appear as a nodal concept until two decades later in 1968. Land is a key organizing dominator for the Palestinian identity and social status. Land is juxtaposed with honor, dignity and privilege; losing land is therefore understood as shameful and demeaning. Thus de-linking the Palestinians from their land engraved deep identity deformations beyond any quantitative valuation.

The discontinuity of the pre-*an-Nakba* order informed the construction of new power-relations. The pursuit of a representative entity ensued in order to reverse the interpretation of the conflict from an Arab-Israeli to a Palestinian-Israeli one, hence the PLO was established. The PLO *Qawmi* Charter was the first document that codified the meaning of Palestine, the Palestinian and Palestinian rights. The constructed “Palestinian right” was tailored according to the regional and international political conditions rather than Palestinian

aspirations. This explains the dramatic shifts in the definitions of these rights and the methods to achieve them without going back the Palestinian people.

The period after *an-Nakba* until mid-1960s appears as a hiatus in Palestinian politics, however, analysis of this study reads it as a preparatory period out of which Palestinian political movements and their interpretive frameworks for conceptualizing the context, 'self' and 'the other' resurrected. First, the question of Palestine was central to nationalist and Pan-Arabism discourse. The PLO construed the liberation of Palestine and Arab unity as complementary, ANM considered them dialectal, while Fateh saw liberation as a priori for unity. The last conception was a novelty in Palestinian thinking. The ANM and Fatah were suspicious of the Arab regimes and refused to join the PLO at the outset because they saw it as lacking revolutionary spirit. However, the PLO had what Palestinian movements wanted and thus emerged the philosophy of engagement with the PLO in order to change it from within, until they took it over in 1968. Since then, the PLO has become the space for Palestinian politics. Finally, the construction of Zionism as "an enemy" was largely built by a juxtaposition of Zionism with imperialism and colonialism, and not out of critical examination of its structures and tenets. The association of Zionism with imperialism, and colonialism guided the type of struggle. The gradual transformations in certain elements of the Palestinian discourse, and its rules of formation have spurred the PLO to rework its perception of Israel as an *adversary* (not an enemy) with whom the Palestinians have "compatible goals".

The language of politics and the regional context provided the terminology and conceptual input that constituted a perspective on what had been taking place in Palestine and how to act upon the events. Two antagonistic singular binaries appeared to depict the conditions and modalities: colonizer and colonized, the former impinges on the latter's freedom. The concept of liberty and self-determination informed the construction of the required re/action as a struggle for liberation, that is, liberation was construed as an historical inevitability. The struggle was either described as armed or popular; neither excluded the other. This gave way to *fi da'iyyun* subject-position as an

opposition to the refugee identity. The link between liberation and the armed struggle was dominant in the discourse. However, it was in constant recession as the PLO began to consider diplomatic options until it disappeared completely. Liberation and armed struggle stabilized the discourse; however, both receded and gave way to the concept of political settlement through negotiations and recently, non-violent struggle.

Liberation drew the boundaries and the limits of the Palestinian discourse. It also governed and regulated the flow of relationships and linkages between statements in the discursive field. Therefore, transformation in the liberation construction and its internal rules of formation entailed systematic revisions and re-articulations of other concepts. The meaning of liberation has changed fundamentally in the passage of the past six decades, and finally was replaced by the concept of a “viable state”.

The armed struggle is another nodal concept. While being linked directly to liberation, armed struggle was deemed the “only way” for liberation. This articulation stressed the missing alternative and therefore delimited other possibilities and subsided critical analysis of a liberation-armed struggle relationship. Fatah led the first underground operation in 1965, a symbolic performative act that impelled the PLO to consider a narrower understanding of the struggle as an armed clash with Israel. Indeed, the battle and the waging of the war were considered singular, inevitable and fateful. The armed struggle proved to be a practical device for interpellation and to achieve Palestinian unity under the PLO umbrella by bypassing ideological debates.

The generous discursive capital spent on the construction of armed struggle was a potent vehicle utilized to avoid deliberating a grand strategy and its ultimate goals. Armed struggle vocabulary became an unchallengeable routine. However, ambivalence and the discrepancy between internal and public views on the armed struggle (and on most political matters) offered the possibility of opening up, elaboration as well as a place for something more to be said.

Palestinian interpretations of the 1967 war as a lost battle entailed a reconsideration of armed struggle. The singular form of “battle” disappeared in favor of the long-term battle. The war opened a new horizon and opportunities. The armed struggle and its nexus with liberation started to be qualified and to appear in a typological order with other political principles, and was therefore no longer “the only option”. Instead, political calculations modulated the armed struggle until it was finally dropped from the discourse.

In the mid-1980s, the PLO interest in the West Bank and Gaza politics started to appear in public as the idea of a “mini-state” state there, on 22 percent of Palestine, was sufficiently developed in political thinking. The outbreak of the first *Intifada* stabilized the idea of statehood, which was conceived as a realistic possibility. Indeed, the phrase “no voice louder than the voice of the *intifada*” dominated that period and helped to justify the re-order of priorities on the PLO’s public agenda. In short, the *Intifada* provided the necessary nexus between outside/inside Palestinians. With the help of the flyer mechanism, the referential political language migrated into the discourse of “inside”, i.e. from exile into the West Bank and Gaza. Despite the increasing intensity and spread of the events on the ground, diplomacy-ridden subjects dominated the newspapers’ themes and space. What is outstanding from this spatial juxtaposition on paper is yet another unuttered spatial juxtaposition between inside and outside (exile), and a relationship between internal concrete events and external diplomatic ones.

The terminology of peace, negotiation and dialogue infiltrated the discourse, which in effect replaced the articulation of the struggle for “ending the occupation” to a “struggle for peace”. The building block of the political message looked like this: Intifada + consonants + national + rights + return + self-determination + independent state + Arab Jerusalem. Framing the *Intifada* through a matrix of referentiality and PLO politics led to socialization *en masse* in the West Bank and Gaza, we are familiar with this in hindsight.

2. An-Nakba and the pursuit of a solution

The second metaphorical meaning of *an-Nakba* is the search for a solution. For the Palestinians the order that followed *an-Nakba* represented provisional and temporary conditions. This perspective has been caught up in a self-fulfilling mechanism that produces temporary outcomes; therefore, political decisions were always indeterminate and justified as temporary. Indeed, the Palestinians felt an acute sense of uncertainty because of the lack of the possibility to predict. Constructing choices as temporary implies a dissatisfaction with the existing situation and a timeframe for those choices. However, the timeframe was never specified which led to a blurred boundary between the temporary and permanent, and to further uncertainty and ambiguity. This was a productive and pragmatic tool, as transformation from one phase, or choice, to another was deemed temporary. This strategy induced gradual changes and the reduction of internal opposition.

Zionism, or 'the other', has been seen as an incomplete reality and an existential problem. This spurred two ways of thinking about how to tackle this problem: by liberating either all, or part of, Palestine. Analogy with other liberation movements elsewhere in the world in conjunction with the perception of Zionism as colonialism and imperialist, informed the liberationist logic as the ultimate solution. The content of liberation has been radically transformed. At first, liberation was conceived as the act of compelling the Jewish settlers to leave Palestine. The new founders of the Palestinian movements introduced democratic and liberal elements into the discursive field, which were gradually transformed into moments in the discourse, partly to distinguish themselves from the previous leadership. Chains of equivalence and differentiation mediated over old and new discursive moments. The meaning loaded into these new concepts, moments and relationships between them inspired and oriented the political thinking. This destabilized the previous understanding of the key nodal concepts such as the armed struggle, liberation, and 'the other' (Zionism) to a more inclusive imaginative horizon that entitled everyone to a democratic state. In the 1970s, Zionism and colonialism were replaced by two words: "Israel" and "conflict" to signify 'the other' and the type of relationship that binds Israel with the Palestinian movement.

Liberation continued to organize the discourse, but in different forms. The third alternative was partial liberation and a state built on “any liberated part”. This option was already present on the menu of what could be said about Israel-Palestine in diplomatic language. This logic penetrated into the Palestinian political language, and it was considered to be a possible “temporary settlement” in 1974. This programme was presented to the public as an interim-launching pad pointed towards the ultimate goal of total liberation. However, interpretations varied internally. For some movements this was an end while for others it was an intervening phase in the struggle.

The Egyptian-Israeli war in 1973 and the peace agreement that followed, invoked enigmatic realities for the Palestinians. The war was perceived to be a psychological victory, while Egyptian-Israeli rapprochement was constituted as a threat. This coincided with internal Palestinian indecision on competing visions of a democratic state or a mini-state. The war and rapprochement opened the space for already existing calculations within narrow circles on the mini-state becoming public, and hence stabilizing the interim and temporary logic. Moreover, international and regional socialization bore fruit and culminated in the recognition of particular Palestinian rights as inviolable (that is, with international and Arab legitimacy). Two important conceptual transformations happened at this stage: firstly, liberation was deferred until the Palestinian National Authority was established and there was unification of the “confrontational” Arab states. Secondly, the reclassification of Israelis into progressive and Zionists forces permitted dialogue with the former, for the first time.

The transition from one-state to “a state on any liberated part” was justified as an interim “phase”, yet without any conceivable timeline. The implicit message is that complete liberation had to wait for future phases. Partial liberation produced new grounding rules and regulations, which oriented the discursive flow.

The distribution of liberation concepts had been in constant decline in political statements until it was totally dropped from the Palestinian discourse in the

mid-1980s. Liberation was replaced with “resistance” (resistance vs. termination, liberation, liquidation) to the “Zionist occupation” (occupation vs. colonialism), “resolve the Palestinian issue”, “to find a just solution for the Palestinian issue”, and “the right to confront the Zionist occupation”. This transition reordered priorities and self-perception. Refugees, who were the main authors of the Palestinian political discourse, were framed as not only being a problem, but also a “burden” that needed to be transferred to other institutions like an “international mechanism”. This formulation de-links the refugee question from PLO responsibility. Later, the right of return was construed as a “bargaining chip”.

3. Provisional Horizon, Socialization and Referentiality

Discontinuity of the nexus between Palestine and the Palestinians after *an-Nakba* directly exposed the Palestinians to diverse regional and international discursive regimes that led to a process of socialization, provisional horizon and referential practice. That is, the practice of referring to a wide range of diplomatic, political and legal discourse, which the Palestinian constituted as international and Arab legitimacy. The referential function premeditated the contents of the possible enunciations and governed their dispersion in the discourse.

The reference to *dual legitimacy* supplied the Palestinian discourse with raw discursive material and served the internal justification: it represents the UN or Arab interpretation of the question of Palestine as legally and morally above any other interpretations.

Referentiality infiltrates through discourse, while the referential practice is empowered by the perceived positive or legitimate capital that comes with citing international law or a widely accepted principle. It precipitates different rules for the formation of various discourses and spurs existing relationships to evaluate themselves against a reference point.

Referentiality became one of the key rules of formation of the Palestinian discourse, which compelled a frequent transformation of “firm” Palestinian

national rights (*al-huqwaq al-thabita*). These rights were extrapolated from the unfixed and changing dual legitimacy. Thus, any change in the reference point/s, systematically opened the content of these rights to changes and transformation. The fine outcome of the process of socialization embedded the referential practice. As a result, the Palestinian initial political conception of their cause as a cause of a population uprooted from its homeland was suspended. At the same time, it helped reconstruct the question of Palestine into a territorial cause and a conflict over the details of when, where and how much.

The invisible alliance between socialization, provisional horizon and referentialism has changed the Palestinian self-understanding from inside through framing their own discourse. The Palestinians internalized a deformed system of power-relations, which had grown indifferent to their aspirations and plight. Therefore, they are likely to remain at the receiving end no matter what kind of balance of power exists in the relationship between themselves and Israel. The flow in the direction of power is embedded, from within and internalized in essence. It is therefore not only a matter of a weak versus strong dichotomy, but also a system of power differentials from the beginning.

4. Motion

Examination of the peace process and peacebuilding/peacemaking revealed a loaded metaphorical motion in the discourse. As argued in the first chapter, metaphor is not only a matter of words; it also constitutes abstractions and orients actions. Latent motion in kinetic metaphor and tropes provided an analytical lens that has helped to structure the Palestinian political thinking since 1990. The logic of motion has set the discursive priorities and constituted contradictory forces: forward and progressive forces and backward forces. Ironically, the metaphorical motion coincided with a physical motion and spatial control. The metaphorical motion has also modulated the Palestinians' rights and helped to create a system of classification and a revision of previous pivotal concepts.

Motion logic directed reason, order and priorities. The process was divided into two sequential stages: a transitional phase that would lead to a permanent situation. Everything in this transitional phase is conceived to be unstable and negotiable, and hence a mixture of kinetic and ambiguous terminology evolved as guiding principles.

As the Palestinians have already internalized interim rationale, the principle of “moving forward” justified a re-categorization of the “firm Palestinian rights” (*al-thawabit*) into “final status”, “complicated” issues and an impediment to progress. Thus these rights connote negative correlation with development and progress. The nature of these “issues” is processed within the automata of peace rituals. Therefore, deferring key issues to another *supposedly* forthcoming phase was convenient to the Israeli-American conditions, and hence circumvented the possibility of substantive solutions. And even when later these issues emerged as a subject, it was either too late or processed under different conditions, and with hindsight unfavorable conditions to the Palestinians. The term “outstanding issues” is deceiving as it misleadingly implies that “other” issues were already resolved. This belittles the depth of the problem.

Once the process was put in motion, considerable institutional and structural power managed, via discourse, to keep it going. Moving “forward”, “progress” and “momentum” are hierarchically superior to their implied opposites (backward, reactionary, motionless). Therefore, taking measures to “save”, “protect” and “revive” the process *per se* would appear morally defensible and practically desirable. The effect of this understanding has re-regulated the occupied-occupier nexus through judicial and institutional constructs. It also produced new binary categories in Palestinian society such as, pro/anti-Oslo, with/against the PA, violent/non-violent, resistance/compromise, fugitive/lawful, pragmatic/ideological, realistic/unrealistic, and so forth, which led to further Palestinian political disintegration; the current Fateh-Hamas “split” (*al-'iqisam*) is a case in point.

The other half of the binary always indicates an anti-peace force and thus presented an obstacle to progress. By being “un-pragmatic” and “unrealistic” it was assumed to have impeded the movement of the peace process, and did not fit this system of peace since it was construed as a danger and threat to peace. However, uncertainties in the internal dynamics of motion were overtaken by self-assuring presuppositions elicited from the realist-liberalist peace-building paradigm. Additionally, peace as motion is loaded with meaning in the peace process financiers’ language.

The process of peace inspired yet another “process” modulate motion through a “matrix of control”. The latter process has direct impacts on the spatial sphere of every aspect of Palestinian life, and political institutions in particular.

The metaphorical abstractions internal to the peace process and their entailed actions help to alter key nodal concepts in the Palestinian discourse. Motion-ridden configurative tropes molded the nature of conceivable actions; they gained primacy over revolutionary and self-determination vocabulary. Thus a new competing cause, “the cause of genuine peace”, emerged on the PLO’s agenda and replaced its original *raison d’être as a liberation movement*.

Moreover, a “transition and moving forward” rule intercepted the possibility to articulate. The *possibility* itself was constrained and negotiated through peace rituals. That is to say, self-imagination is not a reflection of the self but rather a complex and unfinished process of analysis, projections and re-projection founded on referentiality and peace rituals. The Palestinians are situated in uncertain temporary settings during the “interim phase” (“Gaza-Jericho first”) while looking for opportunities via peace rituals for further spatial and status *extension*.

5. Logic of Division

Palestine ceased to be perceived or represented as an imagined totality; instead, a mosaic discourse representing its parts appeared. This has profound effects on the Palestinians as an imagined people. Palestine was spatially and demographically bifurcated and categorized into issues and sub-

issues. This is reflected in the textbooks prepared by the PA. Textbooks are an essential medium for making and stabilizing a particular narrative and image at the grassroots. These textbooks familiarize students with visual and textual representation of Palestine as the West Bank and Gaza, while places beyond, are ignored.

The issues that compose Palestine, land, humans and language, were re-imagined. First, Palestine was divided between: occupied land and remaining land, 1948-Palestine and 1967 occupied territories, Israel and the West Bank and Gaza. The latter was divided further into areas (A, B and C), settlements, individual settlements clusters, land for swaps. Each was categorized into sub-groups, tracks and values.

With regard to the refugees, the aim has been to determine how to moderate the return option. This led to a process of de-articulation of the refugees question through a continued process of replacement. That is, the return option was replaced by non-return, “an agreed, just, fair and realistic solution to the refugee question”, UNRWA and international law replaced by International Mechanism, Arab Peace Initiative, Roadmap, etc. As a result, an arcane and ambiguous terminology replaced the simple language of the right of return. Furthermore, not only the right of return was bargain chipped but also the language that signifies it. The subject of these operations, the refugees, was marginalized and absented and therefore public relations campaigns developed to market whatever four *male* negotiators agree upon to the refugees and others. Logics loaded in linguistic terms of division and exchange operated over the human body. For example, Palestinian prisoners in the Israeli jails were also used for diplomatic reasons as bargaining chips and to bolster certain leaders. The Palestinian participation in the formula that constitutes the refugees and prisoners as bargaining chips is morally and strategically mistaken.

From the Israeli-American perspective, this division serves an overall objective of creating a Palestinian state on what may be agreed on with the PA on each sub-issue without reaching a comprehensive solution, *i.e.* a state

with “provisional borders”. Division made it possible to defer and reorder issues in order to continue the status quo. The peace process, by-design, permits only generic issues and negotiation subjects. This means that the input is always less than the actual problem; hence any outcome is always less than an agreement on the total or the core issues.

The peace process introduced additional intermediary institutions to administer and run Palestinian affairs. The new institutions coexisted with the existing occupation institutions. These intermediaries represent a schema for division and delegation of labor between existing and new institutions. So the entire act of managing the occupied Palestinians was redistributed afresh.

6. Statehood

Statehood guided the Palestinian vision of the eventual goal of liberation. However, with the slow disappearance of liberation, together with the appearance of statehood on “any liberated part” and international and regional of socialization have contributed to appearance of the statist-oriented thinking and the two-state option via a “negotiated political settlement” with Israel.

The apparatus of the “politics of phases”, pragmatism and statist framework began to crystallize when the Palestinian movements took over the PLO, and it became a discursive platform in 1974. From this perspective, the year 1968 became a point that opened up the space for the accumulated ideas, imaginations, concepts and terminologies in the Palestinian lexicon to materialize into concrete acts. The statist mood and terminology invigorated the Palestinian understanding of its rights, and produced calculations that had constituted statehood, regardless of the size, as the ultimate answer to Palestinian vulnerabilities, a manifestation of identity on a specific territory, and without fulfilling the right of return.

State and central authority are key features in the realist-liberalist paradigm to which the Palestinians already subscribed. To the Palestinian leadership, a Palestinian state on part of Palestine was increasingly considered to be a

realistic possibility after the inception of the first *Intifada*. This led to a re-interpretation of resolution 242 by moving the debate outside the text of resolution itself. Hence, the territorial and statist dimensions dominated other elements (self-determination and right of return) of what was constructed as “Firm Palestinian Nation Rights”. While reckoning with the American-European rhetorical discourse about a future Palestine statehood, the PA began to carry out the realist-liberalist peace precepts and “everything possible” to build the state institutions.

The notion of statehood justified the Palestinian violence against the Palestinians; it was represented as a security responsibility working towards statehood. The PLO/PA operated by the same Israeli security vocabulary and concepts to subdue the Palestinian violent struggle against the occupation instead of Israel doing it. Current Palestinian institutions, which are supposed to lead to statehood, are arranged with American, European and Israeli dependency and dominance, over almost all imaginable domains. This relationship is also codified in agreements.

7. Realist-Liberal Peace and the Non-Option

Socialization and referentialism played a significant role in orienting the Palestinian perception of “the possible” and “the realistic”. The Palestinian leadership embraced the realist-liberalist narrative of the “new world order” after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It interpreted this order as tentative to Palestinian national rights and therefore decided to work from within, and be part of, this order. Accordingly, the PLO/PA forsook the quest for justice in favor of a “realistic” territorial existence within the limitations of the so-called Arab and international legitimacy.

Meanwhile, the infrastructure of the interim, limited state and national rights was already organized and well-distributed decades before the “new” order. The content, mechanisms, apparatus and terminology of the PLO peace initiative in 1988 were already developed and disseminated incrementally. Receiving uncritically the realist-liberalist analysis was contemplated as a

vehicle in order to realize what had already crystallized in the PLO's political vision. After a long period of a piecemeal socialization, the PLO internalized most, if not all, of the internationally imagined scenarios for the question of Palestine. The American-European designed and financed the PA structural reformations that incorporated the realist-liberalist peace requirements.

The realist-liberalist peace formula has been operationalized widely since the end of the cold war. It suggested a mixture of functional authority, or its equivalent, security arrangements and liberal principles (democratization, liberal economic development). Peace rituals enacted through diplomatic performances (e.g., meetings, speeches, initiatives, communication) represented peace as a dynamic and transformative object that "grows", "entrenched", "built"; it requires a "solid basis", and it has "enemies" and "friends"; it is also precarious and under threat. Subsequently, peace-builders must undertake two opposite acts: to "build and protect". Such perception of peace at the cross lines of building/destroying stimulated the construction of a "non-peace" subject-position that functions as a constitutive other, the "enemies of peace". This intimately corroborates the construction of an internal Palestinian other.

Exclusive articulation moods emphasizing the "non-option, *but* option x" were regularly used to represent the means of the struggle. Initially, the armed struggle was construed as the "only mean/road" (*al-taryq al-wahyd*) to liberation. The grammar used to represent the armed struggle continued. However, it was replaced by negotiations and diplomacy. Therefore, negotiations were considered to be the only option and the only way forward. In other words, the means of struggle changed while the grammar of the formula that articulates them remained the same.

The transition from armed struggle to diplomacy as the only option, is the result of PLO/PA cooptation into the "new" world order in conjunction with the stipulation elicited from a realist-liberalist thesis and an internal perspective that sees struggle against occupation through violent means as a form of terrorism and irrational violence. Therefore, any vision beyond the American-

Israeli frames was deemed a non-option. The non-option is never the default setting, but always something actively constructed by de-articulating other options. Therefore, the non-option was merely among the list of possible options.

Discourse need not be coherent or linear. Although the PLO/PA drew heavily on international law, referentiality was ignored with regard to the means of the struggle since the PLO/PA ruled out any option other than negotiation and diplomacy. Thus, the conceptualization of the means of struggle started to speak of “legitimate” or “democratic” or “non-violent” means instead of default formula that considers, “any means” as legitimate while resisting foreign occupation. In practice, this formulation dispossessed the Palestinians of violent means which are legitimate under international law, while Israel continues to use, “any means” to sustain the occupation.

8. Mathematico-Judicial Schema

What I refer to as mathematico-judicial schema is a mixture of referentialism and market-like operations modulating the discourse since the inception of the peace process. This schema regulated the meaning of a “just and comprehensive solution” to the Israel-Palestine conflict; in other words, it defined the shape of possible Palestinian rights and self-determination. Justice and fairness evolved as haggles over less than 22 percent of the overall Palestinian land, security and economic development.

Ironically, ending the occupation and addressing the rights of the Palestinian refugees did not appear in the supposedly *just* and *comprehensive* peace formula. Alternative visions of this peace were disregarded from the beginning. Text from international law, resolutions, summits, initiatives, *etc.* represented a rich source of discursive material and calculative mechanism to work out the details.

The transformation from totality to sub-issues and categories moderated through a mathematico-judicial schema of ratios and deferral to various legalistic devices. This also altered the role of the PLO and shaped the official

and practical relationship between the PLO and PA. Phrases like “middle solution”, “political settlement” (*hal wasat, al-hal al-silmi*) became dominant. The consequence of the cooptation and socialization with statist concepts and mood of thinking, was that the PLO/PA rationale was misguided by a flawed sense of parity, which minimized its non-state power.

9. Market Logic

Market orienting logic is built into the liberalist-realist paradigm, and UNSC resolution 242 in particular. This logic infiltrated the Palestinian political calculations as they engaged with peace rituals. The phrase “land for peace” in resolution 242 established the land and peace convertibility principle; then the question arose as to how much, and which, land should be exchanged to achieve a particular version of peace. The mathematico-judicial schema represented the foundation and mechanism from which certain elements are classified and selected; meanwhile, the market-like operations regulated the details of the exchange with Israel.

Land, the human body and language were the objects of market models. Land was worked out from less than 22 percent of the total area of Palestine. The refugees and the Palestinian prisoners represented bargaining chips and a political lever. The market face of peace has become a routine in linguistic-play of the Palestinian political consciousness. Therefore, market-like processes compromised the national struggle.

10. Security as Peace

The peace process is fixated in the liberalist-realist peace-building to the extent that security became an a priori condition for peace as represented by the phrase “peace and security”. This paradigm guided the occupied-occupier and peace sponsors/builders power-ridden relationships. The PLO/PA has internalized the peace-security paradigm and recognized the literal phrase: “peace and security” as an Israeli right. The securitization of peace inspired the construction of the “enemies of peace” as a threatening subject-position. Securitization justified extraordinary measures against the “enemies”, and

hence, security institutions and policies to fight these enemies were established. As a consequence, everyday life in the West Bank and Gaza became militarized, civil liberties were diminished, violence and torture were exercised; and those who did not conform to the peace process mold were excluded. Security as peace changed the former subject, from external (Israel) to self-imposed violence enacted by Palestinians against Palestinians. This proved more effective than Israeli direct control.

As mentioned earlier, order and authority are central to the orthodox peace paradigm. Institutions replaced the singular sovereign in the classical theory on peace. Capacity/institutional building arrangements in Palestine ensued to instill “order” and authority based on security/military frameworks. By accepting the latter’s sovereignty over “residual powers”, security and foreign relations the PLO/PA have already embraced Israel’s monopoly over half of the “peace and security” formula.

The security-oriented discourse set scope of concrete policies and financial funds. Capacity building arrangements targeted the “spheres” which were transferred to the Palestinians. In other words, the scope of capacity building was synchronized with the occupation and what occupier was willing to give. While paradoxically embracing the existing occupation order, capacity-building arrangements were construed as a necessary step towards the Palestinian statehood. Moreover, the Palestinian institutions, which emerged out of capacity building, codified the occupied-occupier relationship at the micro-level under different formulas like coordination, cooperation and liaison. Several security institutions functioned as gate-keeping settings that help to shape the mood of donors. Once these procedures operated at the micro-level, they began to constitute and highlight certain possibilities and ignored others at a fresh stage that. That laid the first stone in a persistent path of dependence.

The PA internalization of security concepts helped stabilize and validate its acts against the Palestinians. As the West Bank and Gaza became the geopolitical focus and sphere of the PLO/PA, previous security institutions

were phased out and new ones emerged, and later re-structured under the auspices the US, EU and Israel.

With a near full foreign finance and organization of the capacity building arrangements Palestinian society has increasingly become dependent on foreign aid, constituting further political pressure on the Palestinians. Currently the Palestinians suffer from debt and chronic salary crises, known as the “salary deficit”. There is also a sense of foreign ownership of the supposedly “national” institutions. In this framework, “security” operated in one direction: Israeli security and Palestinian insecurity.

11. Replacement

I found that a regularity of replacement of particular figures of speech by others is in the discursive material corpus I have examined. It was common to find the same grammar and order of certain statements modulating other new or modified versions of previous concepts, terms, and tropes. Replacement rule refers to the mechanism of substitution of initial tropes with corresponding new ones. Replacement facilitates the transition from one position to another and transforms the content without altering the overall governing structure. This creates a complex situation that renders different interpretation not only possible, but also defensible by claiming that the “original” position was not given up and that the leadership “beholds the political consonants [or unchanging rights]” (*al-tamassuk bi al-thawabit al-siyyasiyya*)

Above, I have referred to various situations where displacement occurred. For example, the substitution and discontinuation of “liberation rationale” in favour of the “cause of peace” and an “honourable peace” implied the possibility of reinterpreting *the relationship between the occupied and occupier. The occupied-occupier relationship was reproduced in the form of a dispute between two parties which needs to be settled through direct negotiations only.* In short, dispute replaced conflict, but before that happened, conflict replaced occupation, and occupation replaced conquest and imperialism, as

shown in earlier chapters. The introduction of the dispute relationship involves a difference of opinions about certain “outstanding issues”, less than a national cause, and a commitment to resolve “all outstanding issues ... through negotiations”. Such replacement deceptively uses the same grammar and order of discourse and displaces its contents, which as a result turns negotiation over basic rights into a dispute over trivial matters.

Glossary of Arabic Terms

'a'id (wun)	Returnee, Returnees
al-'amal al-fida'i	Sacrifice acts
al-'amal al-thawri	Revolutionary acts
'amaliyyat al-musalaha	The reconciliation process
al-'ard muqabil al-salam	Land/territory for peace
al-'awda	Return (to Palestine)
'awda mu'tabara	Significant return
azmat al-rawatib	Salary Deficit
al-balad	Refers to the specific habitual area, e.g., village, town
el-blad	Signifies the entire Palestine
al-barnamij al-nidali	Struggle's programme
barnamij al-nuqat al-'ashr	The Ten-Point Programme
al-barnamij al-siyyasi al-marhali	Temporary Political Programme
Dahiyya	Victim
dawla qabila lilhaya	Viable state
duwayla	Ministate
fida'i (yyun)	Sarificer, sacrificers
al-fida'iyyun:	The sacrificers, freedom fighters
hal al-sira'/al-niza'	Dispute/Conflict settlement
hal wasat	Middle Solution, compromise
haq al-'awda	Right of return
hudna	Lull
hukwmat tasrif a'mal	Caretaker government
al-hukwma al-muqala	Deposed government
al-huqwq al-falastiniyya (al-thabita)	The (Constant, unchanging) Palestinian rights (which often referred to as <i>al-thawabit</i>)
al-'inqisam	The split (between Fateh and Hamas)
i'qlimiyya	Regionalism
'ishrak falastiniyyi al-kharij	Engage the outside Palestinians
al-'isti'mar al-'alami	International colonialism
al-jihad al-muqqadas	The holily war
karitha	Catastrophe
al-kifah al-mussallah	The armed struggle
kart al-wakala	Ration cards given by UNRWA
kayan	Entity
al-kayan al-falastini	The Palestinian entity
al-kayan al-'isra'ili	The Israeli entity
al-kayan al-suhywni	The Zionist entity
laji'	Refugee
la sawt ya'lw fawqa sawt al-intifada	No voice loader than the voice of the intifada (motto of the first Intifada)
lan ya'uwdu	Would not return

mankab	The joint between the upper-arm-bone and shoulder in humans and the entire joints between limbs and torso of an animal
al-majmu'at al-dariba	Striking squads
al-marji'iyya	The reference, terms of reference
marji'iyyat al-'amaliyya al-silmiyya	The peace process terms of reference
marji'iyyat al-'mufawadat	Negotiations terms of reference
al-mujtama' al-dawli	The International Community
manshwr	Flyer, leaflet
al-manashir	Plural of manshwr, flyers
munadil	Struggler, freedom fighter
mu'acquqat	Temporary
al-'mufawadat	Negotiations
muktasabat	Gaining, winning
al-mumkin	The possible
al-musalaha	Reconciliation
al-mutaradin	The fugitives
al-nasr al-siyyasi	The diplomatic victory
naksa	Relapse, refers to 1967 War
nakaba	Incline or slant
nashatat takhribiyya falastiniyya	Palestinian sabotage activities
nidal	Struggle
al-nidal al-duplumasi	The diplomatic struggle
al-nidal min ajil al-tahrir	The struggle for liberation
al-nidal al-sha'bi	The popular Struggle
qadiyya	Legal case, lawsuit
qadiyyat al-laji'yyn	The refugees case, issue
qawmi	Belonging to the wide Arab people
al-qawmiyya al-'arabiyya	Pan-Arabism
al-raj'iyyun	The reactionaries
ru'yyat Bush li al-salam	Bush vision for peace
sawwa	To equalize
shari'a	Law inspired by Islamic religious traditions
al-sharaf wa al-karama	Honour and dignity
al-shar'iyya al-dawliyya	International legitimacy
al-shatat	The diaspora
shurut al-ruba'iyyia	Quartet Principles or Conditions
sulta	Authority
al-ta'awun	Collaboration
al-ta'awun ma' 'isra'il	Collaboration with Israel
al-ta'awun al-'amni	Security cooperation
al-tadhiya wa al-nidal	Sacrifice and struggle
taf'yyil dawr al-shatat	Activate the role of the diaspora
tahrir	Liberation

al-thawabt	The consonants, statehood, self-determination and the right of return
al-thawabt al-wataniyya	The national consonants
al-thawri	Revolutionary
al-thuwar	The revolutionaries
al-tamassuk bi al-thawabit al-siyyasiyya	To behold to the political firms
al-tamassuk bi al-thawabt al-wataniyya	Sticking to the national consonants
tanazulat	Concessions
al-tariq al-wahid	The only way/road
tasjil sabiq	Register a precedence
taswiyya	Settlement, compromise
al-taswiya al-silmiyya	Peaceful settlement
tawhid duwal al-muwajaha	Unite confrontation (Arab) states
al-tawtin	Resettlement
al-waqi'	Reality
al-waqi'i	The realistic
watan	Homeland
wataniyya	(Territorial) Nationalism
wathiqat al-'asra	The Prisoners' Document
al-wihda al-'arabiyya	Arab Unity
yaa jamahir	Hailing the audience, people
al-zaqat	Islamic religious donation

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