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**| RESEARCH ARTICLE**

**Palestine's National Strategy to Put an End for Israeli Occupation (2005-2017)**

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**| ABSTRACT**

The present study discusses the national strategies having been adopted by Palestinians to put an end to Israeli occupation. The study aims to show how Palestinians plan to establish their state and get rid of the occupation by using different strategies and policies. The study adopts historical research method to support authentic historical data about Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Such a method has helped researcher provide proper data that may help Palestinian political leaders understand the nature of conflict and this know how to deal with the issues of this conflict in the future. The study also adopts descriptive analytical research method to describe and analyze the data. The study finds that it is very vital for Palestinians to unite and to have one 'unified' national strategy in order for 'popular resistance' to work out. Besides, the study finds that Palestinian leaders and peace activists ought to create ties with Israeli and western activists in order to strongly activate 'popular resistance' against Israeli occupation. Furthermore, the study recommends that Palestinian leadership, factions, peace organizations and national institutes ought all adopt one 'integrated strategy' to confront Jewish influence.

**| KEYWORDS**

Palestine's National Strategy; Israeli Occupation; Palestinian struggle; political leaders

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**1. Introduction**

Palestinian struggle has been going on since Balfour Declaration in 1917. Palestinians have used different forms of self-defense to confront English occupation and Zionism both of which paved way for the Jewish occupation of Palestine. Palestinians have used different defensive strategies to face Israeli occupation, for instance, in 1936, Palestinians went on a massive strike against Britain's policies of enabling Jews to settle in Palestine. These strikes were in fact peaceful in that some local conferences were carried out, calling for peaceful demonstrations. As a results, large masses were protesting in various cities in the occupied Palestine. In the period between 1947 and 1949, Palestinians adopted another strategy of defense: confrontation. During 1948 and 1968, the main goal of Palestinians' fight was to call upon international organization to play a role in helping Palestinians get their rights. During 1968 and 1987, Palestinians were forced to choose military confrontation to face Israeli occupation. After the Declaration of Independence in 1988, Palestinian leaders had a genuine intention to find a solution for the long-term conflict with Israel. Thus, some serious international endeavors started to play an essential role to put an end for the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Therefore, PLO leaders and Israeli officials had signed the 'Declaration of Principles in Oslo'. According to this declaration, Palestinians would be able to reach a 'historic settlement' through which they could establish their own independent state on the basis of the 1967 boundaries. Having signed the Oslo Accord, a 'Palestinian Authority' was established in order to build up the 'state institutions' and to pave way for 'complete Independence'. Due to Israel's insincere intentions and non-compliance, Al-Aqsa Intifada broke out in 2000. Therefore, in the era of Yasser Arafat, many strategies of military confrontation were applied. However, in 2005, after Yasser Arafat's death, and after Mahmoud Abbas was elected as a president, Palestinians adopted unarmed popular resistance. This kind of resistance was due to the useless and ineffective results of the armed resistance against Israel. In other words, Palestinian leadership decided to choose political and diplomatic negotiation rather than military confrontation.

### **1.1 Research Problem**

The problem of this study lies in the fact that Palestine's long process of peace has come to nothing due to Israel's occupation of Palestinians' land. The study discusses both political and military-based issues of Palestinians' trial of liberating their land from Jews in a period between 2005-2017. The study focuses on three variables: public resistance, getting international support and reaching Israeli society by uniting with some peace-related groups. In order to focus on how the use of the military and political aspects may lead to liberation, this study attempts to explore the techniques and strategies used by different national powers under PLO.

### **1.2 Research Significance**

The significance of this study lies in introducing Palestinian strategies in combating Israeli occupation. The study may add some valuable knowledge to the extant literature at political, academic and intellectual levels. It may help Palestinian officials in properly addressing all Palestinian issues at international level.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

**This study aims to:**

- 1- Demonstrate how Palestinians plan to establish their state and get rid of the occupation by using different strategies and ideologies,
- 2- Narrow the gap between theoretical studies and practical experiment in respect with popular resistance,
- 3- Discuss Palestinians' political visions regarding the subject matter of this study and suggest some solutions that may help Palestinians to accomplish their goals and get 'independence',

### **1.4 Hypothesis of the Study**

This study claims that there is a logical relationship between the main study variables: public resistance, internationalized conflict, communication with the Israeli community and a new national Palestinian strategy that leads to 'independence'.

## **2.0 Research Method**

This study adopts two research methods. It first makes use of 'historical research method'. This research method helps researcher to critically analyze the study issue referring to the chronological order of authentic historical incidents. This is to be done by providing a comprehensive explanation and interpretation for such incidents, which may help those in charge to predict the future. It second makes use of 'analytical descriptive research' that describes a phenomenon qualitatively and quantitatively. This approach helps researcher gather, analyze and organize information. Besides it helps research analyze information and show the interrelated relationship between different dimensions in order to come up with some essential generalizations and conclusions that help us understand the present day issues as well as help us predict possible future incidents.

### **2.1 Data Collection**

For collect data, researcher used both primary and secondary sources. For primary sources, researchers conducted interviews. He interviewed Palestinian decision makers, some high-ranking officials, Palestinian ambassadors at overseas. Such significant individuals were chosen in respect with their specialty. For secondary sources, researcher has made use of some extant literature works, particularly, scholarly articles and reports.

## **3.0 Literature Review**

Although the topic of the present study is of great importance, there are few studies in fact that have addressed the issue under investigation (National Palestinian Strategies to End Occupation, 2005-2017). These studies, however, have not comprehensively and critically investigated such an issue. In this section, the study addresses some of these studies that have discussed some of the study variables. Some of these studies are:

1. Abu Arfa's study (2017) entitled as "Palestinian Resistance to Israeli Occupation in Jerusalem from 1987 to 2015". This study highlights the most important Palestinian resistant acts against Israel in Jerusalem (1987-2015). Arfa's study discusses Palestinians' struggle against Israel's serious attempts of having complete control and Judaization in Jerusalem. Arfa's study concludes that Israeli security developments have forced Palestinians to use different techniques and strategies in combating Israeli forces in Jerusalem. The study also emphasizes that Palestinians in Jerusalem still defend their Holy City in spite of the fact that many Arabs and Muslims have left them alone in the battlefield. The study recommends that Palestinians should unite and should set up new research centers in order to make the whole world know about Palestinians rights and to know about Israel's false narration of having right over Jerusalem in particular and Palestine in general.
- 2.

2. Shihab's study (2016) entitled as "Effects of the International Recognition on Palestine's Political and Diplomatic Status". This study aimed to examine the implications of the UN resolution of recognizing the State of Palestine as a state. This resolution was announced after 138 had voted in favor of Palestine to have permanent observer status in the United Nations. The study concludes that the international recognition in the United Nations of the Palestinian state as an 'observer' has strengthened the existence of Palestine in respect with the International Law. The study also concludes that the Palestinian division has had a negative impact, as it is considered an obstacle to the Palestinian diplomatic relationships, which affects the Palestinian cause. Besides the study concludes that the absence of a clear strategy for Palestinian diplomatic action weakens the achievement of political initiatives on the international stage.

3. Hasan's study (2016) entitled as "the Role of Popular Resistance as One of the Means of National Liberation in Promoting Political Participation in Palestine (2005-2013)". This thesis aims to study the role played by popular resistance in strengthening political participation in Palestine. This study is based on the hypothesis that popular resistance is capable of enhancing political participation within Palestinian society. This study concludes that it is very essential to transform the popular resistance into a *national action strategy* without neglecting other options. The study also emphasizes on the importance of adding a new course to the Palestinian curriculum in order to teach students the principles of popular resistance.

4- Swafta's study (2015) entitled as "the Palestinian Popular Resistance and the Possibility of Its Transformation into a National Action Strategy (2005 to 2013)". This study aimed to find out the extent to which popular resistance can be adopted as a strategic option that is unanimously agreed upon by all Palestinians. The researcher made use of the historical qualitative method and the descriptive analytical method to analyze the data. The study also discussed the political programs of the Palestinian factions, especially their vision of popular resistance. The study finds that popular resistance is the optimal solution for Palestinians to get their rights and, therefore, it should take place all times and everywhere.

5- Salahat's study (2015) entitled as "The role of Palestinian Diplomacy in Influencing Palestinians' views and the Policies of the European Union (EU) regarding the Political Development Process in Palestine". The study aimed to demonstrate how influential the European Union is in playing an essential role in paving way for peace in Palestine. The study concludes that the developmental role of the EU plays an essential role in supporting Palestinian authorities at different levels political, financial etc. The study also finds that EU assistance aims to support peace settlement and process. The study recommends that it is necessary for high-ranking officials to develop diplomatic relationships with the EU by setting a comprehensive plan to pave way for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

6- Rimlawi's study (2014) entitled as "liabilities after the General Assembly Resolution, No19/67". In this study, the researcher focuses on the most important internal and external national benefits that develop 'Palestine' as an emerging country. This is to pressure Israel to end its occupation of the Palestinian territories. The study finds that it is very important to have 'an independent state' rather than self-government authority as the Israel occupation has been planning. The study also emphasizes on the role of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the only 'representative for Palestinians'. At the external level, the study recommends that it is very important for Palestine to join 'international' organizations and agencies, which strengthens the status of Palestine and which exposes the Israeli atrocities against Palestinians.

7- Ismail's study (2012) entitled as "Palestinian State: A Model for Building Institutions for Establishing a State". This study aimed to identify the geopolitical landscape in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and its effect on the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state and identifying the obstacles that hinder the establishment of a Palestinian state. To conduct the research, the researcher used descriptive, analytical as well as comparative research methods. The study concludes that the geopolitical situation in the West Bank demonstrates that Israel has destroyed the fundamentals for establishing an independent Palestinian state. The study also concludes that unity is a key element for Palestinians to seek liberation and fight as one body to get the stolen rights back. The study also finds that Arab governments have a negative role in supporting Palestinians and, therefore, they are not going to help Palestinians in establishing their own 'independent state'. Besides, Palestinians should promote their political discourse in order to communicate with the international community.

8- Nizal's study (2010) entitled as "Peaceful struggle in international conflicts: Palestine as a Model". This study dealt with the role of peaceful struggle in international conflicts. It studied some countries that adopted peaceful struggle to get 'stolen rights back'. The study aimed to investigate why Palestinians should avoid adopting 'peaceful techniques and strategies with Israeli occupation'. The study concludes that 'Peaceful struggle' is not an option of defeat, but rather an option of resistance, and it has some essential requirements that are more important to make it successfully work. The study concludes also that Islamic movements' ideologies have developed/promoted the concept of Jihad as a compulsory act for Muslims.

9- Al- Bastami's study (2009) entitled as "Some Examples for Liberation from Imperialism: Gandhi, Frantz Omar Fanon and Saieed. This study aimed to present a critical analytical discussion to some countries that adopted different liberation approaches against 'imperialism'. Some of these models are: non-violence-based i.e., Gandhi, violence based i.e., Frantz, and integration of both violence and non-violence (i.e. Saieed). This study shows how effective some techniques, but not others, were in getting rid of occupation. In this context, the study discusses how some 'liberation movements' were successful in dismissing 'occupiers' though they used different strategies of struggle. The study, in particular, focuses on the most effective strategies to be used for Palestinians to get rid of Israeli occupation. The researcher concludes that the best model to be adopted in fighting 'occupation' is Gandhi's. Nevertheless, other military-based strategies are still legitimate if 'Palestinians' rights' are not been taken peacefully.

### **3.1 Violations of Israeli Occupation against Palestinians**

Since 1948, Israel has never been responsible towards Palestinians. Israel has violated all legal, moral and ethical conventions. Besides, it has committed terrifying crimes against the 'indigenous people of *historical Palestine*'. Israel has not yet implemented the Fourth Geneva Convention but rather violated all the international laws and accords in order to achieve its racist, national and religious goals of controlling all Palestinian territories and expelling the indigenous people in order to strengthen and fulfil their 'religious narrative'. Some of the Israel's serious violations that can go against 'the Fourth Geneva Convention' can be summarized as follows:

#### **1- Adopting deportation policies**

The systematic policy pursued by the Israeli occupation state has led to the deportation of hundreds of thousands of people of Palestinians from their lands to neighboring countries. The condemnation and denial of the international community and the Security Council have not succeeded in convincing Israel to give up such policies. Under Oslo Accord, just few thousands of Palestinians were allowed to return back to their homeland. Such an issue has not yet been settled<sup>1</sup>.

#### **2- Collective Punishment**

Israel has rejected to abide by the provisions of Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Instead, Israel has applied collective sanctions against Palestinians since 1967. Such sanctions have been applied in order for Israel to take over all Palestinian territories<sup>2</sup>.

#### **3- Construction of Settlements in Palestinian Occupied Territories**

Israel has refused to abide by the Geneva Convention mainly warning against the transfer of the population of the occupying country to the occupied territories. Israel in fact has built thousands of houses in the 'occupied territories. By doing this Israel has violated all international laws and conventions. Israel's construction of a countless number of houses has led thousands of Palestinians to flee their homeland, which has thus increased the number of Palestinian refugees.

#### **4- Pursuing 'Destruction Policy'**

Occasionally, Israel hugely destroys Palestinians' properties in order to prove the power of deterrence against some resistance attacks. This policy lies in the violent demolition of neighborhoods and entire buildings. By doing this Israel claims that it preserves its prestige.

#### **5- Providing the Occupied Territories with Foods**

As a collective punishment, Israel prevents Palestinians from obtaining some essential foods as exactly happened in the recent War against Gaza.

#### **6- Scarcity of Food and Poor Provision for Medical Services**

Israeli occupation always attempts to prevent the delivery of important medications and health materials to the citizens by placing obstacles to the movement of medication through its control of the crossings and checkpoints, and through siege as exactly happening in Gaza and Jerusalem.

To sum up, Israel's policies against Palestinians could be demonstrated as follows:

- 1- enhancing the establishment of settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem in order to make the issue of "colonizing the West Bank and East Jerusalem" unsolvable.
- 2- Tightening the embargo upon the West Bank in general, Gaza and the East Jerusalem in particular.
- 3- Squeezing Palestinians and trying to create different divisions between Palestinian citizens and top leadership.

<sup>1</sup> [http://info.wafa.ps/ar\\_page.aspx?id=9154](http://info.wafa.ps/ar_page.aspx?id=9154)

<sup>2</sup> [shabaka.org/-alhttps://](http://shabaka.org/-alhttps://)

### **3.2 Palestinian Experience for Popular Resistance**

Since the beginnings of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Palestinians have been facing a hard struggle against British Mandate and Zionism. The fight took several ways after Balfour's Declaration (1917) who promised Jews with a 'homeland' in Palestine. As a result, Palestinians started demonstrating and protesting throughout Palestine. They sent many important letters to British government to revoke Balfour's decision and to put an end for Jews' emigration to Palestine. In 1936 Palestinians had undergone a long strike against British Mandate. It was a fruitful revolution; yet, it failed to achieve the desired goals because of the different interests of some large Palestinian families<sup>3</sup>. Another severer Intifada took place in 1987. It was a real model for 'popular resistance' that took place due to Israeli's comprehension and assassination to Palestinians. Water shortage and continuous blackout was another reason for this Intifada. This all led Palestinians to struggle and fight Israeli forces where armless Palestinian children were confronting Israel's most advanced technological weapons<sup>4</sup>. After this, Al-Aqsa Intifada (2000) launched due to Israel's non-compliance with Oslo Accord. Israel in fact refused the ultimate resolution in line with what has been agreed on in Oslo Accord. Sharon's visit to Al-Aqsa Mosque was the hair that broke the camel's back. At the beginning of the Intifada, the struggle was 'peaceful'. The situation, however, changed after Israel had used different violent techniques to deter Palestinians, for instance, Israeli forces demolished entire Palestinian villages and cities.

### **3.3 Popular resistance after President Mahmoud Abbas Took Power**

Mahmoud Abbas has been calling for 'peaceful resistance' due to the uselessness of military confrontation. Many campaigns including both Palestinians and foreign activists have been taking place against Israel's illegal settlements in the West Bank where Israeli settlers, with the support of military forces, take Palestinians' lands by force. Such peaceful campaigns make use of international media to portray to the world Israeli atrocities against Palestinians.

### **4.0 Discussion and Results**

This study has shed light on Palestinians' self-defense strategies used against the Israeli occupation from 2005 to 2017. The study has found that there is a co-relationship between popular resistance, internationalization of the conflict, communicating with the Israeli community and establishing a national strategy that leads to Palestine's liberation. The present study argues that it is very essential for Palestinians to have one well-planned 'leadership' with clear goals and agenda to achieve. Such goals must bring benefits to Palestinians and must unify all Palestinian factions under 'PLO' in order to educate Palestinians and lead them to liberation and self-independence. This study has benefited from the experiences of other countries in adopting 'popular resistance' to defend themselves and to get rid of the occupiers. Some of these well-known 'nonviolent resistances' were led by Gandhi in India and Mandela. Gandhi was anti-colonial nationalist and political ethicist who employed nonviolent resistance to lead the successful campaign for India's independence from British rule, and to later inspire movements for civil rights and freedom across the world. Mandela, putting an end to 'apartheid', put an end for 'racial segregation' that privileged whites in South Africa. The Palestinian popular resistance, especially in the second intifada, succeeded in inventing new means and forms of resistance, which was clearly evident in several locations for this type of resistance. Internationalization has led to fruitful results, one of which was 'the International Community's recognition of Palestine and resolutions in favor of Palestine'. Some studies have demonstrated that internationalization is not possible without relying on a national legal strategy, based on comprehensive collaboration between different high-ranking officials and different political parties.

In fact, Palestinian experience has tremendously suffered for Palestinian factions have not united and had one 'clear National Strategy and Goals' to achieve. Besides there has been no effective leadership that can lead Palestinians to accomplish their desired goals.

With regard to the option of *internationalization*, the use of international law and legal strategy as a tool for 'national liberation' from occupation is a legitimate and non-negotiable right. That is Palestinian people have the right to activate and adopt 'internationalization' to enable them make their decisions on their own.

For Palestinian Issue to be effective, the internationalization strategy in terms of concepts, objectives and fundamentals must be closely associated with international and regional political determinants.

As for the Palestinians' communication with Israeli community, it could be impossible for Israelis to establish an organization that can build peaceful ties with Palestinians. This is due to the extreme right-wing having prevented any genuine attempt for both

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<sup>3</sup> Basim, A (2007). Philosophy, Methods and Effects of Non-Violent Resistance in Palestine (1967-1993). Master degree, Birzeit University, p.71, Palestine.

<sup>4</sup> Saeed, M (2010). Non-Violence Resistance: Consistency of the Means with the End. Ma'abir E-Journal.

ربط الإلكتروني [http://www.maaber.org/tenth\\_issue/non\\_violence\\_3.htm](http://www.maaber.org/tenth_issue/non_violence_3.htm)

Palestinians and Jews to have peaceful collaboration and cooperation at various levels. This study finds that it is very hard for Palestinians to completely get rid of Israelis as happened in Algeria. However, for Palestinians to have co-existence with Israelis could be a practical long-term solution that may pave way for ultimate resolution.

Seeing things related to Israeli-Palestinian conflict objectively makes us glimpse conclusions with a sound scientific and analytical approach without to lose hope in being able to change or replace 'reality' with a situation that drives Palestinians to take action.

Activating popular resistance may cost Israeli occupation high cost politically, diplomatically and legally.

Indeed, it is necessary to expose the Zionist policy through communication with the Jews all around the world. It is also essential for Palestinian authority to give up being only 'service-related authorities' to become 'resistance-related authority'. In the same context, PLO must protect the 'national project' of liberation in order to put an end for Israeli occupation. In other words, Palestinian leadership is required to formulate a comprehensive national program and adopt a strategy to instill patriotism in Palestinians based on popular resistance, internationalization of the conflict, and exposing Zionist policy. This can be done by building alliances with Jews who support peace and who acknowledge that Israeli occupation has to come to an end.

With specific goals and timetables, it is important for Palestinian Authority to work diligently to get the desired goals well-accomplished.

It is worth mentioning that if Palestinians do not succeed in their well-defined strategies and plans, a severer division will take place between Palestinian political factions, which thus paves way for Jews to expand their projects of expulsion and deportation on the expense of Palestinians' lands. This will lead to the incursion of colonial settlement and the continuation of the Zionist project.

## 5.0 Conclusions

The present study has come up with these conclusions:

- 1- There is no political vision on part of Palestinians to carry out systematic popular resistance. That is Palestinian leadership has failed to set an effective strategy to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation. Such a failure is in fact related to the fact that Palestinians have been unsuccessful to make the whole world aware about what is happening in Palestine.
- 2- The Palestinian popular resistance, especially during the second intifada, succeeded in inventing new tools, means and forms for resistance. Such types have been of great effects.
- 3- Popular resistance has taken place in a specific set of locations with very limited participation from ordinary Palestinians. Even a large number of Palestinian activists, due to profit and loss accounts, have been unencouraged to lead 'popular resistance'. Hence, it is mainly foreign activists having led and participated in demonstrations of 'popular resistance'.
- 4- Divisions among Palestinian political factions have dramatically weakened 'popular resistance'. Therefore, 'popular resistance' has been monopolized by some specific political parties.
- 5- Absence of democracy has played an essential role in spreading illiteracy between people in respect with the significance of 'popular resistance'.
- 6- There is no collaboration between Palestinian leadership in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Palestinians living in 'Israel'. This has thus weakened the communication between Palestinians and Israelis.

## 5.1 Recommendations

This study has come up with these recommendations:

- 1- It is necessary to adopt and implement a national strategy with specific plans. Such a strategy, which should be in line with the International Law, ought to include all Palestinian political parties.
- 2- It is necessary for Palestinians to have plans to be implemented for the conflict to be internationalized.
- 3- It is pivotal for Palestinians to build strong ties with the International Community so as to the whole world becomes aware of what is happening in Palestine.
- 3- Adopting an integrated strategy, based on international law, that can be effectively implemented. Such a strategy should help Palestinian leaders to bring Palestinian issues to 'international community and organizations.
- 4- Palestinians should keep boycotting Israel completely and should work hard to get many countries around the world to impose 'sanctions' against Israel.
- 5- It is essential for Palestinians to communicate with different universities, media channels and research centers in order to support Palestinians' rights.

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